

HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY

VOLUME VIII

2
HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY

By

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And

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VOLUME VIII

ARCHAIC GREECE

SCULPTURE

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Notice to the Reader.

This eighth volume of the History of Art in Antiquity only bears a single name. By a sudden stroke of death, I am doomed to attempt to pursue alone, so far as my powers do not forsake me, the lengthy undertaking in which I should not have dared to engage, if from the first I had not been assured of the aid of a working companion like Charles Chipiez. It is by him that I have been able to give to architecture in this work the part, that it was justified in demanding, but which until now, from the lack of special and competent studies, historians of art have all more or less sparingly considered.

For the first time, -- I can say this because the honor of it belongs not to me -- no picture that has attempted to represent the efforts made by the man of former times imposed on himself to express by forms sensible to the eye and to convey his feelings and his thoughts, the architect has renewed with us the ancient place, that he has always occupied among all peoples and in all centuries, where art has attained a high degree of fertility, its legitimate place as the ordainer of the art of form, the sovereign master, who to decorate and animate the edifice after determining its dimensions and arrangement, calls on the sculptor and the painter, assigns to them the spaces that they are to fill, and indicates to them the subjects that they are to treat there. The architect has recovered this place belonging to him, at the first in the plan of the work. By one or more chapters devoted to architecture opens each of the monographs, whose series must in time compose the entirety that we had in view. The different arts thus present themselves for each nation in what may be termed the normal order, which corresponds to their organic and natural hierarchy. This inestimable advantage I owe to Chipiez, to the science and taste with which he acquitted himself of the task in the common labor, that had more particularly devolved on him. On the notes furnished to me by him or after conversations frequently prolonged very late in the night, that I could write those chapters that he read and corrected on the proofs, to give them the last precision. If the men of the profession have declared themselves satisfied by these, and have confessed to learning

much, this is due to the exact statements and to the instructive comparisons suggested to my associate by the rare and profound knowledge, that he had acquired of the different methods employed by the constructor, according to places and circumstances, to derive the best possible service from the materials supplied to him by the ground on which his buildings were established; but what we must present to the reader, so as to enable him to appreciate the unequal value and the infinite variety of the means that the architect employed for the purpose of housing his men and goods, this was not alone the explanation of the technical procedures. Each edifice has its personal and living appearance. Of these features of the monument cannot be given in words a faithful and clear vision; with the lack of ^{the} original, only its image can fulfil that office.

To obtain this result, does it suffice as sometimes apparently believed, to multiply picturesque views, to show the reader by photographs or drawings the pylons and hypostyle halls of Luxor or of Karnak, the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, the temples of Agrigente, Segeste and Paestum? But how small is the number of buildings which the excellence of their masonry and the happy combination of circumstances have victoriously protected from the outrages of men and the rigors of the seasons! For even those most spared by time, there is lacking an essential thing, this painted and sculptured ornamentation, without which the discolored and unfurnished edifice is no more than a sort of corpse. Finally, among the types created by the people of antiquity, how many there are of the most interesting and most noble, which are not represented today on the sites where they were once the ornament, except by foundations buried in the earth and by some scattered fragments, to be sought with great difficulty among the rubbish! If before certain celebrated ruins of Egypt, Greece and Italy, the mind of the spectator with some good will can replace the absent parts, and in thought reestablish the principal lines of the entirety, even the intelligence best prepared for that kind of effort is constrained to renounce the attempt, where the ground has only retained confused and obscure traces, where the eye of the passer perceives neither a piece of wall nor the shaft of a column. In such a case if

the historian decides not to abdicate, if he aspires to place the reader in condition to form for himself an idea of the character of the edifices thus vanished, and of the effect that they must produce in their novelty, he is forced to resolve frankly to restore them in all parts; but if he desires not to make a work of pure fancy, he will be compelled to group and to utilize all the indications, that can throw some light on the part of the destroyed monument. He must take the slightest vestiges of the destroyed structures, examine the smallest fragments of their details, check by the evidence of ancient authors the observations so collected, profit sometimes by even a prief allusion, a word dropped in passing by some poet, that hardly thought of furnishing documents to the learned. He will also demand fruitful suggestions from edifices of the same type or from one related to that studied, if there be some example more or less well preserved.

After these researches are completed, the labor is only prepared and started; it will never be completed, if he that undertakes it has little or no imagination. The obligation imposed on him to employ in his restoration only the materials used by the artist, whose vanished creation he wishes to revive. In the uses that he will be led to make of wood, brick, stone, marble or metal, he must restrict himself to apply only the methods, that were known or practised among the ancients; but his principal anxiety will be to replace himself in the condition of mind in which was formerly the author of the work.

What determined the character of the building were the needs and tastes of the people for whom it was intended; the feelings and the ideas that among this people ruled over souls and demanded the action. These needs and tasks, sentiments and ideas of dead nations, the modern architect must represent as vividly as possible. Thus again seized by a sort of divination, the data on which he will base his project will be very near those that the ancient constructor employed. In these conditions, the chances will be great that the restorer of the past, if he has known how by various ways to enter into the thoughts of his distant predecessor, recreates on paper the edifice, which in its arrangements and decoration will strongly resemble the temple or palace, whose appli-

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amplitude, richness and majesty formerly aroused the admiration of men. Doubtless of the ring of the magician caused to reappear suddenly to our eyes for some moments the lost original, this would be distinguished by more than one feature from the monument, all whose lines have only the value of a hypothesis more or less probable. But if the resurrector (if we are allowed this barbarism) was up to the height of his task, if he has known how to combine with a condition drawn from the best sources the gifts of the inventor and creator, the two edifices of the model and the conjectural copy, will have the same appearance and the same form of beauty. One will feel there the expression of the same genius and of the same conception of life.

An example will make better understood what we proposed to ourselves, my collaborator and myself, in undertaking these restorations, where as for the ziggurat, the storied towers of Assyria, the ruins are reduced to almost formless masses of earth, and the same where not one stone of the edifice is visible, as for the temple of Jerusalem. This temple, whose foundations have been buried under the enormous substructures of the temple of Heord, we have desired to show in all its aspects in a long series of plates; but we have adhered at the same time to the declaration, that the temple never really had the dimensions and the complexity, that were attributed to it by the image presented to us. Never did the peak of Mt. Moriah, leveled at the top and artificially enlarged, bear an edifice comparable to that whose colossal pylons rise toward the sky, whose great gates are opened, and whose spacious courts are distributed in beautiful order around the sanctuary, under the pencil of Caipiez. What this grand entirety represents is not the temple of Solomon, or even that already more vast, of the kings of Judah, his successors. It was the temple projected to be rebuilt by the Jews interned in Mesopotamia, when Jahveh had brought them back in triumph to their homes; it is the architectural dream of the exile, told by Ezekiel with singular precision, which near the rivers of Babylon had consoled the captives, and had nourished them by an indomitable hope.

The features under which their imagination conceived this future temple, a glorious retaliation for the miseries of

the past, were the buildings whose appearance was familiar to him, from which they were compelled to borrow those. Their first elements were furnished to him by the memory of aged men, by the remembrance that they had retained of the sanctuary destroyed by the Chaldean conquest on the sacred mount. As for the enlargements and the embellishments by which the ambition of their dreams were pleased, to find their form it was only necessary to observe the edifices that beautiful Arados, Tyre and Sidon, the cities of the Phoenicians, who were their near relatives. By those types, known to all his compatriots, the prophet was certainly inspired in the recital made of his visions. Then one sees what claims to be the graphical translation was given by Chipiez from the description of Ezekiel. What is to be sought there is not a concrete edifice; it is the preeminent Semetic temple, the ideal masterpiece of the religious architecture of the Semites.

In this restoration as in the other plates that he has drawn for the History of Art, Chipiez has shown a marked preference for perspective views, a mode of presentation, to which in our opinion architects have not had recourse with sufficient frequency. These give much more easily to the reader not of the profession, as it is said, the sense of the actual form than by the entirely conventional method of elevations. He shows how familiar to him was the use of the various systems of perspective, from which the architect could make his choice according to the case.

II.

I have stated that the common work was due to the incessant and devoted assistance given to me for more than twenty years by the faithful associate, whose portrait appears at the head of these pages; but I should have reproached myself for allowing to disappear without recalling in a few words, what was his life and how we were led to conclude the agreement, which death came to break on Nov. 10, 1901.

Charles Chipiez was born at Ecully (Rhône) on Jan. 3, 1835; he was a pupil of the Schools of Fine Arts of Lyons and of Chenavard from 1853 to 1855. Coming to Paris in 1856, he spent three years in the office of Constant Dufeux; he then studied with Viollet-le-Duc and with Danjoy until in 1861. In 1872 he obtained in a competition opened by the department

of the Seine the first prize for the construction of the memorial monument of Buzenval.

By the introduction of M. Emile Trelat I became acquainted with Charles Chipiez. M. Trelat was associated with him from the beginning, when he himself founded that School of Architecture, whose commencement was both so difficult and so brilliant. He caused him to enter that little group of open and bold minds, that he invited to combine with him to attempt an undertaking that had its risks. He soon appreciated the master that he gave to the pupils their first selection; he did not delay to recognize in Chipiez the pedagogic aptitude, a feeling for beautiful forms and acquired science.

Occupied by the requirements of the profession, very few architects have sufficient leisure to become interested in the history of their art. Chipiez in his youth had commenced to occupy himself with this history. When he was established in Paris, while laboring much, he lived very laboriously; but then all the time not taken by his professional occupations was spent in the National Library or in the Library of the School of Fine Arts, in consulting the great works in which are reproduced the monuments of the past. With the very small resources at his command, he already began to collect for himself in his very modest lodging the elements of a special library, that he did not cease to enlarge thenceforth, and which even contained rarities at the time of his death. Almost each one of his works represents a long stay before the stalls of the dealers in old books. There was a certain folio, that he had acquired at several times, one day carrying some of the plates composing it, taking others several months later from a different wrapper, and finally completing the whole by means of searching. Those walks on the quays, from which he seldom returned with empty hands, until the change in his health forbade them, were one of the great enjoyments of our friend, his favorite recreation.

The measure of what he had acquired by his reading and reflection, Chipiez gave after 1876 by the publication of the work having for title, *Les Origines des Ordres Grecs*. (Origins of the Greek Orders). This work was illustrated by numerous figures drawn by the author with a view of causing to be understood the ingenious and sometimes subtle theories, that

he stated there. It was then that M. Trelat brought Chipiez to me, who came to present his book. I wrote a very full review of it in the *Journal des Savants*. He was much affected, less by the praise unpaid for by him, than by the attention and care with which I had discussed such of his ideas that seemed to me to call for some reserves.

When in the same year, I inaugurated at the Sorbonne the instruction in classical archaeology and opened my course, I saw Chipiez at each lecture seated in the first row of my auditors. After the lecture was completed, we conversed. He frequently accompanied me to my door, and I did not delay to perceive, that of the architecture of Egypt, Assyria and Persia, of which I had to speak, he knew as much as I. I learned much in those conversations. At the same time he had the courtesy to place at my disposal several young men, who were then working under his direction, and to cause to be executed by them for my lectures, views at a great scale, of which several were like sketches of the beautiful plates, which he then drew and had engraved for the first volumes of the *History of Art in Antiquity*.

It is divined how from these conversations and the composition of these plates, there came to us the idea of a closer collaboration. On different sides I was advised to attempt to derive a book from those lectures, wherein I had undertaken to retrace by following the order of time the entire history of the arts of design among the ancient peoples, from the origins of the old civilizations to the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphrates under the full light of Grecian art. This idea did not fail to attract me, in spite of the enormous labor required by even the incomplete realization of that programme; but on examining even the most authoritative and most learned of the works, whose authors had made a similar attempt, I very soon perceived that architecture had been sacrificed in all. For the archaeologist to be able to write a history of the arts of antiquity without that omission, I was very soon convinced that the assistance of an architect was necessary. He could alone use precise terms, where men had been previously content with something vague and nearly so; he would alone be able to explain by skilfully chosen illustrations and by plates composed expressly, the

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innate construction of edifices and the original character of the forms, all that usually seen with difficulty in views of the actual condition, that were repeated to satiety from one work to another.

This indispensable collaborator, this architect anxious for the theory and instructed in the past of his art, fortune had placed in my path: to allow him to escape would have been folly. We had the happy chance to find an intelligent and liberal publisher, M. Emile Templier of the house of Hachette, who comprehended the interest presented by the work whose plan we took to him, and who placed at our disposal all necessary resources. From 1882 to 1898 seven volumes appeared with our double signature, which at least attests the perseverance of our common efforts.

Nowhere more than in the last of these volumes did Chipiez prove, that I had not expected too much from his competence and zeal. As if he foresaw that his days were numbered, he gave a great development to the two chapters in which is analyzed the temple, the noblest creation of Grecian genius, the Doric and Ionic temples. He made of these two chapters a sort of systematic treatise, which in its necessary brevity contains everything essential, and that renders easily intelligible to every cultivated mind the plates with such a clear arrangement, and the numerous illustrations inserted in the text, that accompany this study. Doubtless, additions were to be made and supplementary information was to be presented when we had reached the edifices of the 5th and 4th centuries, in which we should have had to mention certain refinements in art unknown to the architects of the 6th century; but Mnesicles and Ictinus, and the constructors of the Erechtheum and of the sumptuous Ionic temples of the Macedonian epoch still apply those principles fixed by their predecessors and followed the same rules. Their part in invention is only in the proportions which they vary, and in the ornamentation, that they perfect and enrich, which they later will attempt to complicate and overload.

Due to the reception given to this work in France and abroad, I have the firm assurance that the name of Chipiez will remain inscribed high among the names of the best informed of the historians of art with the safest judgement; but Chip-

Chipiez was ambitious to be something more than a theorist, of building elsewhere than on large drawing paper. What he could have produced as architect, he never showed out once; that was when he was charged with the construction of the professional school of Armentieres. By the happy arrangement of the plan as by the well understood provision for all services, by the skilful use made of the materials supplied by the country, in order to give much color and effect to the whole without exceeding his estimates, he knew how to meet with the approval of several connoisseurs, who went to see that monument nearly lost in an entirely industrial city.

This success ought to have brought to Chipiez other and more important works; but he never again found the opportunity by which he had profited so well. To obtain his dues, it would have been necessary for him to live less retired from the world, less wrapped within an almost shy solitude. Constant Dufaux, the master to whom he referred the best of what he knew, died before being able to lend efficient support to his favorite pupil; now Chipiez was one of those that needed an active and devoted friend to take charge of their affairs, because they are themselves unable to carry them to a good end, for want of shrewdness and connections. He belonged to no set, rendered his services freely, knew not how to ask. For my part, I am commended for having aided him to enter on the functions of inspector of instruction in drawing and superintendent of architectural services of the ministry of public instruction, that during the last portion of his life made a situation less narrow, than that in which I had first known him, struggling with embarrassment in all the force of the word, and with uncertainty for the morrow. His spirit always remained slightly saddened by these difficulties at starting, by the feeling that if he had been placed in happier conditions of ease and tutelary friendship, he could have put forth the strength felt in himself, and to make a still more advantageous and brilliant use of his high faculties.

I have seen Chipiez more frequently sad and anxious than gay and confident. He was one of those that suffer more from what life has refused them, than enjoy what it has finally granted to him. Yet I should not dare to say that he was melancholy. Before the malady that made difficult for him all

prolonged labor, he devoted nearly all his time to the study of the most interesting questions, that can occupy the mind. He maintained an intimate acquaintance with the most beautiful works created by an art, which he sincerely loved; he sought for and analyzed the methods that the thought of the artist must have followed to find its expression in the forms and the edifices transmitted to us. When one has a passion for such problems, he does not know the greatest of evils, idleness and weariness. If by the fault of circumstances, he did not fulfil his entire destiny, what was made of him by the native rigor and ardent curiosity of his mind, is yet worthy of envy.

III.

I do not wish to close this necrology without evidencing the regrets caused by the recent demise of another of our collaborators from the first hour. Saint-Elme Gautier. Our readers were accustomed to find and to appreciate on every page of the work his colored and truthful drawings; the present volume also contains some of them, that are among the best that he signed. He has been a faithful companion to us during the duration of this long course through space and time, which has led us from the pyramids and mastabas of Egypt to the foot of the Acropolis of Athens and to the sacred rock of Delphi. The pencil fell from his hand at the moment when the aid of his talent had become more precious to me than ever. I congratulate myself on having found M. Simoes da Fonseca to satisfy the urgency, who had already proved himself in many other archaeological publications. If I have recently adopted the method of according in the illustration of the work a larger part to direct reproductions of photographic cuts, then in what concerns the execution of these illustrations I have only had to praise the assistance lent me by M. Dujardin for heliogravure and by M. Mauge for zincogravure, yet I could not without imprudence omit ensuring the services of a skilful draftsman. Many monuments are illustrated, which in one way and another resist the work of the most skilful operator and the most perfect lens, while the eye of the artist accustomed to that kind of work discerns in the wear of the surfaces, and ends by finding in the scratches or the dross covering them, the original functions

of the effaced painting or of the relief, that time has removed.

I cannot omit to recall in this matter what I owe in the illustration of the present volume to the friendship of one of the principal artists of the time, M. Jean Patricot. He is the author of the portrait that here serves as a frontispiece. This master painter and engraver was indeed willing to place at our disposal the copperplate, that he executed for the Gazette des Beaux Arts, after a painting, that several years since was much admired in one of the exhibitions of the Society of French Artists. Our entire gratitude for this is expressed to him by my publisher and by myself.

In closing, I also desire to address my thanks to MM. Homolle and Lechat. M. Homolle has afforded me every facility for reproducing even those monuments of Delphi that entered my field, and that he had not yet published; for the pediments of the temple of Apollo, he took the trouble to summarize for my use a memoir in preparation, that I would have received too late to be able to profit by it. As for M. Lechat, I have not only had in view those studies on the archaic art of Athens, which he has just combined in a volume, from which I have borrowed frequently. In a more active and efficient manner, the learned professor at Lyons has aided me. He was not satisfied by placing at my disposal a number of cuts; in accord with him I have laid out the principal lines of the plan followed in this history of archaic sculpture, in which will be recognized more than one idea, that was in germ in the notes, that he courteously furnished to his old master and his old friend.

GEORGES PERROT.

HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY.

BOOK XIII. ARCHAIC GREECE.

Chapter VI. Civil Architecture.

1. Fortification.

From the fall of the Achaean kingdoms to the Median wars, it does not appear that the Greek architect changed much in the methods pursued to give the city an enclosure, that should guarantee its security in time of war. The defense labored and developed its resources only under the pressure of the attack; now the latter in the 6th and even in the 5th centuries still employed the most elementary procedures. When the aggressor did not succeed by the effect of surprise or treason in scaling a poorly guarded wall, or in causing a gate to be opened by men in amouss, there was no means except blockade to triumph over the resistance of the besieged; he counted on hunger and thirst to reduce them.

In the Greece of the archaic age, men were no longer before those palisades of posts and branches placed on a rampart of earth, as described in the *Iliad*.¹ Most cities were surrounded by walls built of stone, those of Asia Minor to repulse the attacks of the kings of Lydia, and later those of the Persians; those of Greece proper, not to be at the mercy of their neighbors, with whom they were constantly engaged in struggles of peculiar hatreds; those of Magna Grecia and of Sicily, to protect themselves against the offensive returns of barbarous tribes into their territories, where all their colonies were founded; but all that was required from the enclosure was that it should be sufficiently high to arrest the march of an armed troop, and sufficiently strong not to crumble under the blows of the beams, that endeavored to batter it; that it should place its defenders in such position, that by exposing themselves as little as possible, they should do much injury to the enemy. Besides, we do not possess a single complete enclosure, like the fortresses of Eleuthera and of Phyle for the 5th century, and for the 4th the walls of Mantinea and especially those of Messene, which can give a precise idea of the rules, that the engineers to whom was entrusted the care of executing these works, sought to apply between the years 700 and 600. Only by conjecture can one assign to this period

what remains of certain walls, and these have nowhere been sufficiently preserved, that one can succeed in restoring the entirety of the work.

The first observation suggested by the remains of enclosures that one can attribute with probability to the 7th and 6th centuries is, that the masonry then most employed in military structures was the polygonal masonry (Fig. 1). We have distinguished this masonry from the so called Cyclopean masonry.² We have stated how from a very early time, the Greek constructor tends to horizontal courses, that better than all other arrangements correspond to the needs of his mind; but in military architecture, where it was often necessary to build in haste under the menace of an approaching attack, this tendency delayed most in prevailing and in producing its full effect. It is necessary to descend to the middle of the 5th century to find city walls with end joints everywhere at right angles. The Greek eye then has its habits and requirements; it is gratified to find even in the long series of these ramparts and towers, lost to view on the hills, that beautiful order of Hellenic masonry, for which it has formed a taste in seeing the temples and other public edifices, which then ornamented its cities.

note 1.p. 2. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 74678.

note 2.p.2. The same. p. 328-332; Plats. 143-153.

Compared to Cyclopean masonry, polygonal masonry represents an advance; it permits obtaining the desired stability without imposing on the workman the use of materials of enormous weight. Thus bonded, materials of average dimensions form a more resistant mass, than those in which the voids did not delay being produced by the dissolving of a mortar without consistency, and by the fall of the stone chips interposed between the great blocks. Another advance is made; the engineer is no longer satisfied to make his wall as thick as possible and to crown it by a defensive gallery. They now desire to attack the assailant obliquely and laterally, so as to compel him to expose his naked side to arrows from the rampart, as it was said, that right side not protected by the shield; men occupied themselves in flanking the wall by means of a plan that arranged projections. Theory then knows several plans that more or less fulfilled

those conditions, those named *tenailles*, *crenailles*, *redans* and *bastions*.¹ Did the ancient constructor attempt them? We do not know; but what is certain is, that he early adopted that one of all, which being given the character of the resources at the command of the attack and the defense among the ancients, ensured to the wall the most efficient mode of flanking; he adopted the arrangement in which the projections are formed by the kind of work that we call tower.

Note 1.p.3. For the meaning of these terms, see De Rochas d'Aiglun, *Principes de la fortification*, etc. 1881.

The tower is a hollow and enclosed work, which while being bonded with the wall, has its own arrangements, and which is repeated at intervals more or less regular along the front of the rampart. These intervals were established so that the two towers bounding them could cross their fire, as we should say today. The distance between them was in proportion to the average reach of the bow and of the sling. A troop being engaged in one of those reentrant fronts, arrows and stone balls rained on them from all directions, from right and left as well as from the front; it had every chance of being decimated and repulsed with loss.

We found this arrangement traced neither at Mycenae nor at Tiryns.¹ Doubtless there the enclosure also offers projecting portions; but the projections made in plan in more than one case seem to have only been caused by the necessity of following the contour of the rock, that in some points forms projections. Those projections do not have fronts of equal lengths, and are not sufficiently near together to command each other; finally the massive wall composing them is solid, like that of the entire rampart. The tower as we have defined it is then an invention of posthistoric Greece. Astride the wall, it is not confused with its straight fronts or curtains; but it is not here that one can study the arrangements adopted to give its independence and all its useful effect; if those very ancient enclosures there scarcely remain in place more than the lowest courses. What one can prove is, that during the entire duration of the archaic age, the engineer almost indifferently gave the towers, sometimes the round and sometimes the square form. "Those which are square," says Vitruvius, "are indeed destroyed

more rapidly by the effect of machines, because when battering rams strike, they destroy the angles, while on those that are convex, they drive the stones toward the centre like wedges and cannot injure them."¹ In spite of the theory, men in all times have continued to construct square towers; they are built more rapidly and at less cost than round towers.

note 1.p.4. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. p. 887-889.

note 1.p.5. Vitruvius. I. 5-40.

Yet we find round towers with the stonecutting required in the walls of Megara Hyblea in Sicily, between Syracuse and Catania. If we have chosen that enclosure to give an idea of the military works contemporary with the temples that we have described, this is only because the excavations ~~that~~ made them known were conducted very systematically, and that their results have been very well explained;² it is especially because, that for other fortresses that seem earlier than the Median wars, there is nothing resembling a date. Here on the contrary, if one is ignorant when this enclosure was constructed, at least everyone knows that Megara was taken and destroyed about 482 by the Syracusans;³ Gelon transported to Syracuse nearly all the inhabitants, and when the Athenians in 415 landed in Sicily, the site of Megara was deserted, according to Thucydides.⁴ All the terra cottas, bronzes and vases gathered there in the tombs are in archaic style, and the monuments thus confirm the evidence of the historians.

note 2.p.5. Orsi and Javalari. Megara Hyblea, etc. (Mon. Ant. vol. I. 1883. p. 889-893.

note 3.p.5. Herodotus. VII. 156; Polyaen, Strat. I. 27.

note 4.p.5. Thucydides. VI, 43. Megara etc.

One then has a right to affirm that from the catastrophe which ruined it, Megara never renewed the appearance and condition of a city. The rampart whose trace still rises above the ground can only be that behind which the Megarans sustained the siege, which ended in the victory of Gelon; therefore at the moment when that struggle commenced it must have had long years of existence. Founded at the end of the 3rd century, Megara had not delayed to surround itself with walls. Natural defenses were wanting to it. Built on a

plain on the shore of the sea, it was dominated at the western side by the heights occupied by the Sicules, which it had dispossessed of the fertile fields of the coast. On the north and south, its narrow territory was bounded by two rich and ambitious cities, Leontini and Syracuse, that at some time would be tempted to enlarge themselves at its expense. Thus menaced on all sides, it certainly did not wait until the first years of the 5th century to ensure its safety.

The enclosure appears to have been about 11,155 ft. in extent (about 2 miles). The wall was 1.19 ft. thick in the curtain. The external surface was composed of blocks of limestone set with dry joints in regular courses; it had a very marked batter (Fig. 2). In some places three of these courses are still found in place. The surface remaining there has a height of 5.6 ft.; it rests behind against a mass of stones for which a bond is formed by lime mortar, it is said. In the only part of the wall completely uncovered at the northwest, have been recognized the foundations of five semicircular towers, whose diameter is nearly 23.0 ft. (Fig. 3). The distances between them vary from 114.3 to 147.6 ft. The construction there is that of the curtain. The same internal nucleus in coarse masonry; the same facing made of stones carefully cut, but which are there cut in tapered form, all joints radiating from the centre of the circle. Of these towers, only the foundations or ground plan remains; we do not know how they were arranged internally, nor to what height they rose above the curtain.

In the vicinity of one of those towers opened one of the principal gates of the city. This was a sort of passage 9.3 ft. wide and 36.0 ft. long, at the middle of which seems to have been erected a closure with two leaves. There is a recess at each side, that must have served to receive the hinges. This entire arrangement is not free from a certain awkwardness. When that entirety was still intact, it never could have had a truly monumental appearance, and it does not even seem very well calculated in view of the requirements of the defense. The nearest tower is 16.4 ft. from the entrance of the passage; the assailants were not forced to approach nearer, and when they passed within reach of the ar-

arrows shot by the soldiers that held it, they showed their left sides, which were covered by the shields. At both sides of the opening was no projecting work to protect the ends of the walls and make access more dangerous to the enemy.

If in these conditions there is a trace of a certain negligence, on the other hand one can only be astonished by the importance of the dimensions that the constructor had given to the wall, which at the south of that gate rose parallel to the mountain; then to make a bend and rejoin the sea. In that portion of the site which they explored, Orsi and Gavallari for various reasons could not follow and uncover the foot of the rampart, as they had done elsewhere; but by means of soundings made at various places, they found the direction and could study the construction. What they proved and not without surprise is, that in that part of its trace this rampart attained the enormous thickness of 31.2 ft., and of 36.0 ft. at one point. There between two horizontal walls with horizontal courses that form the surface on the city and country sides, there was built a third wall in the same fashion, and the intervals between those walls of cut stone were filled by small stones and tamped earth. Why had they taken the trouble to erect there this powerful mass? This is because it was a dike at the same time as a rampart. Located opposite steep and bare slopes, the city was exposed to abrupt inundations caused by the autumn and spring rains. After having seen itself invaded several times, it decided to undertake this great work. The water that fell on the adjacent slopes is now divided among several irrigation canals, and waters the gardens of lemon and orange trees that fill this ground; ~~it must have~~ been received formerly in a deep ditch extending along the entire extent of the wall, that conducted it to an adjacent torrent. This ditch, whose trace has been found without measuring its depth or width, in the other part of the enclosure, that uncovered by the excavators. There as before the dike it completed the system of defense; it rendered scaling more difficult; but at the same time it played the part of a discharge ditch, and thus preserved the city from the danger to which it was exposed by the form of the ground where its founders

had built it.

The engineer already appears wiser and more a master of his procedures in the walls of the Grecian city of Lucania, Poseidonia or Paestum, that we have already visited to study its temple of Poseidon, one of the most beautiful monuments of ancient architecture that time has spared; all from one time, it had the form of an irregular polygon with 8 unequal sides (Fig. 4); rectangular towers project from the curtains and reinforce the angles (Figs. 5 and 6). The wall is made of faces of cut stone leaving between them a space filled with tamped earth; the whole has a thickness of more than 23.0 ft. The masonry is of blocks of average size arranged in horizontal courses; but from the upper to the lower course, the joints often fall over each other, and the stones have projections that betray a certain negligence in stonecutting. There is not yet that perfect regularity of the masonry termed Hellenic, in which all precautions are taken to ensure the solidity of the wall turned into beauty. There is here again a sort of masonry and a reflection of the polygonal system in this wavering of the end joints, that fall at haphazard and in projections in which some stone is larger than the others and crosses two courses. One is inclined to believe that the temple of Demeter, that of Poseidon and that called the basilica, date from the second half of the 6th century. We should voluntarily attribute to the same epoch the enclosure within which are found the sanctuaries. Always menaced by the Lucanians, who finally subjected it about 430, causing it to lose the use of the Greek language and the name received from the first colonists, Poseidonia, even when most prosperous, could not allow itself the luxury of those beautiful edifices without seeking at the same time to protect itself from a sudden attack.

This enclosure presents a peculiarity, that might at first sight cause a temptation to assign a much more recent date to that entire rampart; this is the arch with well cut voussoirs that serves to cover the opening of the eastern gate. (Fig. 7). Perhaps if this concerned a city situated in Greece proper, hesitation would be permitted; but we are here in Italy and not far from Campania once in the hands of the Aborigines; now among them the use of the arch dates back to

a high antiquity. From the time of the kings, the Romans had taught the Etruscans to build it; why did not also these Greeks established in the Italian peninsula, who maintained close commercial relations with Etruria and frequented its markets, profit by the example and the instruction? Doubtless for the construction of their temples and porticos, they could not renounce the very principle of their architecture, those long lintels supported by a row of columns; but to cover a passage pierced in a wall, was there anything more practical than the vault? The constructor desired the opening to be spanned by a round or pointed arch; as soon as he knew how to cut the voussoirs, did they not allow him to attain that result with less effort and more elegance than by means of stones corbelled above each other and cut out so as to show the desired curve on the wall? If the little remaining of the fortified enclosures of Magna Grecia and of Sicily were more studied and better known, perhaps one would find other traces of this use of the arch.¹ Have we not already had occasion to prove, that on the other side of the Adriatic the principle of the arch seems to have been applied earlier in Acarnania, opposite Italy and in relations with it, than in the centre and on the eastern shores of the Hellenic peninsula?²

NOTE 1. p. 11. At Megara Hyblea, the gate whose plan was given (Fig. 3) was covered by a vault according to Cavallari (Mont. vol. I, p. 731); this is indicated by the cutting of certain stones found in the passage; but the author of the statement does not say whether those stones were voussoirs, whether this was a true or a false arch, a semicircular ending obtained by corbelling.

NOTE 2. p. 11. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 345, Fig. 186.

To better inform one's self concerning the art of fortification at that epoch in the western colonies of Greece, it seemed that one could expect much from the excavations during recent years made on the acropolis of Selinonte; but a clear and detailed description of them has not been published, which allows one to distinguish in these defenses of the place, that the Carthaginians had so much difficulty in forcing, in 409, the parts of the wall contemporaneous with the great temples of the 4th century, the works added under

the menace of the Punic danger in the 5th century, and thus representing the attempts at later repairs at the sack of the city by Hannibal. The sketch given of a portion of the ruins shows how difficult it is to find one's self among all these remains of passages cut in the rock, of casemates, curtains and towers (Fig. 8); by the difference in the masonry and the contrary lines of the plan, it is easy to divine that one is in the presence of structures³ erected at several times and at quite lengthy intervals.

note 3.p.11. Salinas. *Relazione*, etc. (Notizie, 1894, p. 202-220). In closing, Salinas speaks of a general plan of the acropolis made under his direction by the engineer Rao. Why did he not publish it? We know that Goldewey, assisted by Puchstein, made of these works one of those drawings in which he excels, and we greatly regret, that he has so far kept it in his portfolios.

If we have sought in Sicily and Italy enclosures like those of Megara Hyblea, which may be dated at least approximately, this is because we find nowhere in Greece proper an entirety lending itself to the same observation. Before the Median wars, Athens certainly had a fortified enclosure, a work perhaps commenced by Pisistratus and his sons, but which had been completed only after the expulsion of the tyrants.¹ However that may be, when the Persians threatened Attica, the Athenians do not seem to have thought of shutting themselves within that enclosure to sustain a siege there; but the enclosure existed; this is what Thucydides clearly indicates, when he relates how Themistocles succeeded in fortifying Athens in spite of the opposition of the Lacedaemonians. Immediately after the barbarians had left Attica, it is said that the people prepared to rebuild the city and the walls; for there remained no more than a small portion of the enclosure.² This peribolos could be neither the wall, which in the citadel itself followed the edge of the plateau, nor that below and known under the name of pelagicon surrounding the base of the rock. In fact, after having recalled in what conditions of haste and with what materials the new wall had been built, the historian adds: - "the enlarged enclosure was extended in all directions around the city."³ On the northern slope of the hill of the Museion

and on the adjacent hills are traces of a city wall; but they are reduced to some isolated stones or to the recesses left by the blocks of the bottom course in the surface of the rock in which they were bedded. With such slight vestiges, one cannot distinguish the remains of the first rampart from those of the wall of Themistocles.

note 1.p.12. What causes one to believe that the wall was not in a state of defense in 510 is, that to resist Cleomenes, Hippas retired into the fort formed by the Pelasgian wall. (Herodotus. v. 84.

note 2.p.12. Thucydides. I. 83.

note 3.p.12. The same. I-82.

If in cities like Athens that continued to enlarge, and which passed through numerous vicissitudes, the walls of the archaic age disappeared under later constructions, in cities of the second rank with a more uniform and modest existence, one has a chance to find remains from that distant past. For example, there is the island of Paros; its ancient capital has retained the ruins of a wall, that indeed really appears to have been that before which the fortunes of Miltiades failed in 439.¹ Its masonry presents characteristics that we find again in other military constructions of the 6th century, the same marked tendency to horizontal courses, but with materials of unequal dimensions, and with end joints oblique or indented. (Fig. 9).² What is most singular is a rectangular tower of very careful construction, whose base alone remains (Fig. 10). Its facing was double; on the exterior the tower had a facing of slabs of white marble, of the beautiful marble of the island. This facing was separated by a layer of small stones from a second internal facing of blocks of gneiss, like the curtain. The wall presents no trace of repairs and the double facing of the tower joins the curtain and combines with it. The tower then seems contemporaneous with the walls. Perhaps in the vanished parts of the rampart were other works of the same sort; but this rampart can be followed for a sufficiently long distance, that it is certain that there were not numerous towers succeeding each other at regular intervals.

note 1.p.13. Herodotus. VI. 133-135.

note 2.p.13. Rubensohn. Paros. II. (Athen. Mitt. vol. XXVI.

p. 181-194, and for the trace of the wall, plate x).

It is the same for the enclosure of another island city, Thasos, which about the time of the Median wars had attained a high degree of power and of wealth, due to the gold mines that it possessed on the adjacent continent at the foot of the Pangea. This enclosure was already mentioned in connection with the revolt of Ionia in 494,¹ and can only be that which opposed to the Athenians in 465 a resistance for three years (Fig. 11).² On examining it and following its ruins in the brushwood as I once did, one is somewhat surprised that it could maintain so long a siege.³ Doubtless here was an acropolis, to which was access only by very steep slopes; the position was sufficiently strong that a Genoese castle was built in the 14th century on the still remaining courses of the Greek fortress (Fig. 12); but if this citadel dominates the entire irregular polygon formed by the wall around the city and its harbors, this wall everywhere else, whether on the crest or extending in the plain, is only a simple curtain without flankings; no towers reinforce the angles or cover the gates;¹ but at each gate the wall forms a projection of about 13.1 ft.; thus it is a sort of bastion with a single projection. This is best illustrated by a very simple diagram (Fig. 13). The enemy seeking to penetrate into the city thus found itself exposed to arrows from its eight sides, that not covered by the shield.

note 1.p.14. Herodotus. VI-28, 43, 48.

note 2.p.14. Thucydides. I-101.

note 3.p.14. I visited Thasos in 1856. Alexander Conze first landed there in 1858. Our drawings agree. See Conze. Reisen auf den Insel, etc. (1860. 122 pp + 20 plates), and G. Perrot. Memoire sur l'isle de Thasos (1884. 103 pp + figs. in text and 4 pls). In Archives des missions scientifiques.

note 1.p.18. I did not notice the vestiges of a single tower. M. Conze indicated one on his plan, so placed at the middle of the south curtain, that one asks why it was placed there rather than elsewhere.

This enclosure has been at least partially demolished several times and then restored; thus it was again varied and repaired, when in 410 Thasos detached itself from this At-

Athenian league to which it had adhered only by compulsion, and entered into an alliance with Sparta;² so one is not surprised to find in place very different sorts of masonry. At the east between the acropolis and the sea is an entire line of wall, where the masonry is frankly polygonal. This is perhaps a remnant of the first rampart built by the Parian colonists, who had first founded the city of Thasos about the end of the 3rd century. In the plain toward the west the wall has a far more modern appearance with its nearly equal courses and its vertical joints; it even presents there a curious peculiarity. At Thasos the most common rock is a marble of a milky gray, which was much in fashion under the Roman emperors. The rampart is everywhere built of blocks of this marble; but in the portion of the enclosure that appears the most recent, everywhere except at the gater and their projections, one sees between two courses of marble at nearly the height of a man, a thin bond of slabs of schist (Fig. 14). In the mind of the constructor, this arrangement could only be an ornament. One regards as a beauty the contrast thus arranged between the light gleam of the marble and the green tints of the schist. There is an endeavor that seems to bear its date. The lines of wall on which it is found cannot be earlier than the last restoration suffered by the walls of the city about the end of the 5th century. If we represent it here, this is to seize the occasion offered to us to mention an arrangement of materials, of which in our knowledge there is no other example in the military architecture of Greece.

note 2.p.16. Thucydides. VIII-74.

The great islands of Lesbos, Samos and Chios adjacent to Asia Minor, earlier than those of the Præcian sea attained to a very advanced civilization; thus what remains of their enclosures appears earlier than even the most ancient parts of the wall of Thasos. For example take Lesbos, the one of all those islands that has been best examined and described.¹ The island contains several cities, that were often at war with each other, and were fortified the best possible. The most important of all is Mitylene, now Mytilene, the sole one that from antiquity has had a continuous existence; now on the hill dominating the city at the northwest there exist

several lines of its ramparts. The wall has a total thickness of 12.47 ft.; between the two faces built of blocks of trachyte or of marble is a filling of small stones and earth (Fig. 15). The masonry of the facings is polygonal with very fine joints, with a tendency to bosses on the external surface, but without chisel drafts next the joints (Fig. 16).¹ One believes that there are recognized in some parts the places occupied by the principal gates and the towers flanking them; but even the foundations of these have disappeared; the ancient enclosure has supplied and continues to furnish materials for the modern builder.

note 1.p.17. Koldewey. Die antiken Bauresten der Insel Lesbos. 29 pls. + illu. in text + 2 maps. Berlin. 1880.

note 1.p.18. The same. p. 4-5.

The second city of the island is Methymne, now Melido, and has scarcely preserved any ancient remains: one perceives only some slight ruins of its walls, sufficing to show that they were also of polygonal masonry.² It was also the same masonry that was found at Eresos, where the site being deserted, the ancient enclosure was spared more;³ but in spite of the identity of the materials, there is neither at Methymne nor at Eresos the same appearance as at Mitylene. At Eresos the visible surfaces of the facing blocks present rounded outlines; that recalls the construction of the wall that supports the great terrace of Delphi.⁴ This is shown by a piece of the wall of Eresos in which opens a little gate made of three heavy monoliths (Fig. 17). There is further a certain part of this rampart where the masonry seems much more primitive with its very loose joints and its stones, that do not seem to have been touched by the tool; it rather belongs to the category of what we have termed Cyclopean than that of polygonal masonry.¹ This is still more sensible in the rampart of Arisba; there little stones serve to fill the intervals left between the scarcely roughed blocks (Fig. 18). In spite of these differences of appearance, it is possible that all these enclosures may be nearly contemporaneous. Stonecutters and masons did not have the same habits everywhere; they built with less care in obscure and isolated cities like Eresos and Arisba than in a brilliant city like Mitylene. With the character of the masonry

masonry, what completes the giving of a stamp of very high antiquity to the Lesbos walls is, that none of the architects who built them applied to them the methods of flanking, that entered into current use after the 5th century. In certain places, one believes can be distinguished the traces of projections that reinforced the angles of the gates; but these seem to have been solid bastions, of a sort indicated in Mycenaean enclosures, rather than hollow structures, than towers in the proper sense of the word.¹ In the partial drawings of the ramparts of these fortresses given by Koldewey, I see towers indicated only in the plan of Arisba, and even those are not distributed at regular intervals on the trace of the wall.²

note 2.p.18. Koldewey. Lesbos p. 18.

note 3.p.18. The same p. 22-23.

note 4.p.18. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. Pl. 151.

note 1.p.19. Koldewey. Lesbos. Pl. X-1.

note 1.p.20. The same p. 4, 5, 22. At Gressos Koldewey indicates the traces of rectangular towers attached to the wall (p. 23); but because of the difference in the masonry, he believes that he can recognize that they do not belong to the primitive masonry; they would be later additions. IX 428, Thucydides states that the "Mitylenians" strengthened the walls of Gressos. IV-18.

note 2.p.20. Koldewey. Lesbos. p. 23, pl. XIII.

If history knows nothing of the time when the principal cities of Lesbos were thus fortified, it supplies this information for Phoca, one of the most illustrious cities of Ionia, that was on the adjacent continent and nearly opposite Lesbos. It was after the fall of the Lydian kingdom, i. e., about 546, that under the menace of the Persian conquest, the Phocaeans surrounded their city by a wall mentioned by Herodotus. As having seen it and being struck by the imposing character of this work, for the execution of which those bold mariners, enriched by the commerce of Tartessos, had spared nothing. He says that "the wall extends for a number of furlongs; it is entirely built of great stones, very well jointed."³ If this wall remained in the state in which we found that of Thasos, it could serve as a type; we should then learn by it how in Ionia, then in advance of European

Greece, was understood the defense of places, and what rules were then followed by military architects. Unfortunately, the only learned man who has especially occupied himself with Phoca declares after having visited the site, that he did not perceive there the least visible remains of its celebrated temple of Athena nor of the rampart mentioned by Herodotus;¹ but it appears that his sojourn at Phoca was very brief and his inspection of the places was very rapid. A competent observer later than followed the trace of a wall surrounding the entire hill of the acropolis.² "This wall," he says, "was of very great thickness; it presented projections in form of towers; at least in them we recognized two of round form." Behind the great blocks forming the facing are little stones that serve as filling. The impression of the traveler is that the wall is perhaps even that mentioned by Herodotus; but there is visible above the soil only a single course, and the traveler could make no measures or sketches. The Turks accompanying him forbade him to take any notes; they would not even allow him to unfold his map. A campaign of excavation at Phoca would be of great interest.

note 3.p.20. Herodotus. I-163.

note 1.p.21. Pappadopoulos Kerameus etc. 1872. p. 2. Yet the author indicates, that on the easily recognized site of the acropolis are distinguished "very ancient foundations" under structures of the middle ages.

note 2.p.21. This refers to M. Graf, who in 1893 spent a several hours at Phoca. (Athen. Mitt. vol. XLV p. 134-135).

We have already illustrated the walls of Eretria in the island of Euboea;³ they must precede the so called Delantian war. We could likewise cite many walls in the Peloponnese, that appear to date in the archaic age, for example those of Gortys and of Alca in Arcadia,⁴ and of Ira in Messenia.⁵ In the citadels of Mycenae,⁶ Nauplia,⁷ Argos³ and of Corinth,⁹ there are beautiful portions of polygonal masonry; but all that would add nothing to the idea on which was based the military architecture of the Greeks before the Median wars. That architecture was then in a period of transition. In the matter of masonry, it tended to regularity of courses without compelling itself to realize this everywhere. For the trace of its defenses, it understood the

utility and even necessity of flankings; it had created the tower, but still only applied this method timidly and without order: it did not derive from the principle that it found all the results that this comprised.

Note 3.p.21. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. Fig. 150.

Note 4.p.21. On the walls of Alee and of Gortys, see Rangabe. *Souvenirs d'une excursion d'Athènes* etc. (*Mémoires présentés*, etc. 1st series. vol. V. Part 1. 1857., and Blouet. (*Expedition de Morée*. vol. II, pl. 31).

Note 5.p.21. The same. vol. II, pl. 35.

Note 6.p.21. We have in view the portion of the southwest wall of the acropolis, where the Cyclopean wall is replaced by polygonal masonry jointed with great care. (*Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, Fig. 94). This wall is seen in the first plane in the perspective view of plate IX. We incline to think that it represents a rebuilding in the first years of the 5th century, when the Argians menaced the independence of Mycenae, and which they finally besieged and subjugated in 468.

Note 7.p.21. *Expedition*. vol. II, pl. 74, Fig. 2.

Note 8.p.21. The same. plate 59.

Note 9.p.21. The same. vol. III. plate 76.

2. Constructions within Cities.

Streets and Squares. Aqueducts and Public Fountains.

It does not appear that from the 3rd to the middle of the 6th centuries, Grecian cities in Europe and in Asia were much occupied in making their streets regular and wider, in enlarging and covering their markets, in ensuring a sufficient supply of potable water, and in providing themselves with edifices, that would increase the convenience of social and political life. They remained nearly as they had been built from day to day in added quarters, during the troublous period following the Dorian invasion. In the course of the contests that had overthrown and driven into exile the Achaean chiefs, their palaces were destroyed, and later on the ruins of those princely residences, on the highest point of the hill or rock that served as an acropolis, were erected temples. The aristocracies that succeeded the ancient hereditary royalties appear to have been very anxious to honor worthily the gods, who in the old cities had

presided over the establishment of the new rule, and who on the distant shores where the emigrants had sought a refuge, had made themselves the protectors of the colonies founded in barbarous lands. To render homage to these tutelary divinities, there was no sacrifice not imposed; architects then scarcely constructed anything but temples. Provided that the gods were lodged in vast and sumptuous edifices, the citizens of even the most prosperous cities were content to inhabit poor houses, whose chambers were scarcely more than very small closets. These houses were scattered at random along narrow and crooked streets, where sometimes the slope was sufficiently steep, that one could not continue except by steps cut in the solid rock.

It was the same in the West in the middle ages of Christian Europe. There likewise the cities placed at the command of the architect without counting, all the money and labor at their disposal, to endow them with churches that would be their glory and their pride. Around those ample naves decorated by a multitude of statues, and that pushed very high toward the sky the spires of their towers, with rare exceptions were only dark and low novels, closely packed against each other. The portals of the most magnificent of those buildings were only reached by oblique and crooked ways. Between the great luxury of the religious edifices and the rudimentary simplicity of the establishments for public and private life, the contrast was no less marked in the France of Philip August and of St. Louis than in Greece as the Dorian conquest had left it.

What modified very profoundly those habits and conditions of existence was the active and intelligent initiative taken by the tyrants, who in the 6th century exercised in most Greek cities an undefined but almost absolute power. Hated by the nobles, that they had despoiled of their privileges, they had every interest in seeking the means for increasing the well-being of the multitude, whose favor had raised them to the highest rank, and of all undertakings suggested by calculation, which are best known to us by the literary evidences and by many traces that these works left on the ground, are the works that they executed to furnish the cities with a supply of water, more abundant than that

which had previously satisfied them.

It is everywhere an advantage very much appreciated by great human multitudes to have water supplied at discretion to the user; but the benefit of this liquid wealth is indeed felt much more strongly in southern countries with their burning sun and long drouths, than beneath our sky, which is often rainy, even in the fine season. Not one of the principal cities of European Greece, except Sparta, was situated on the banks of a true river that always had water, like nearly all our modern capitals. At Sicyon and Corinth, Argos and Megara, Athens and Thebes, were nothing but regimata, as are now called in Greece those torrents that sometimes flow with great violence in winter, but whose beds are dry after the end of spring; until autumn no water will be seen except during a few hours after rain storms. For a stronger reason it is the same in the islands, none of which is large enough to have a stream of any importance with a regular discharge. continental or insular, most Grecian cities could count for drinking water only on their cisterns, to which were never given the vast dimensions assigned to them by Roman architects, on wells often impure and always liable to dry up, and finally sometimes to springs sometimes quite distant from the habitations. In more than one place might be seen at morn and eve processions of women slowly ascending to the higher quarters, bearing on their heads their filled vases, and supporting them with their raised arms. Freeing the shoulders and the chest, the pose forms the joy of artists, who admire it today in the vicinity of Sabine and Umbrian villages; but it is no less a painful effort, that imposes economy of water and complicates life. One comprehends what gratitude the people must feel toward princes, who permanently removed from them the danger of thirst.

Undertakings of this kind comprised two orders of work; the enclosing of the springs with the construction of the aqueduct to bring them to their destination, then the erection of fountains with arrangements allowing a number of women to approach the pipes by which the precious liquid was supplied. In the water supply the architect did the work of the engineer, as we have stated; but art found its

requirements when it was necessary to build and decorate a fountain.

It was particularly the boldness and skill of the engineer, than one admires in Eupalinos of Megara, whom Polycrates, the celebrated tyrant of Samos about 550, charged to take possession of a very large spring, of a copnealodorous-is, to employ the word of the modern language, that gushed forth at the North and behind the mountain, whose southern slopes bore the houses of his capital arranged in tiers above the sea and harbor. The water from that spring was led within a few years to the heart of the city, to a point from which it was easy to distribute it to the different quarters. When Herodotus visited Samos, he saw that aqueduct and placed it in the first rank of the great works, which until his time had been executed by Grecian labor. It is true that Herodotus does not state in formal terms, that this work was undertaken by order of Polycrates; but at the end of the chapters devoted to the reign of Polycrates and his tragic end, he speaks of the aqueduct, and what removes all doubt is a passage of Aristotle, where in defining the politics of tyrants interested in occupying the people in great constructions, he mentions the works executed by Polycrates at Samos.

Note 1. p. 25. Herodotus. III-80; Aristotle, Politics. 7-11. (p. 1314-1324).

In 1322 excavations made at the cost of the successor of Polycrates, Constantinos Apessidis, prince of Samos, uncovered the head reservoir filled by the spring and allowed to the finding of the entire trace of the subterranean aqueduct from the starting point to the outlet (Fig. 19).² Shortly afterwards was given a very detailed description of this work, to which were added measures and illustrations, that have all the accuracy possible to the state of the place; it was necessary in some places to take measures in the water, the land slips occurring in the course of centuries preventing men from passing everywhere in the galleries.

Note 2. p. 25. Fabricius. *Altertümer aus der Insel Samos*, etc. (Athen. Mitt. 1834. p. 185-191. Pls. VI, VIII).

From the spring to the point where the water discharges in the city, the tunnel has a length of about 5000 ft. (

(1.153 miles). It is divided into two portions having neither the same appearance nor the same direction. There is first a curved gallery about 2800 ft. long following the bends of ravines and passing under the beds of brooks, then a tunnel 3230 ft. long traversing the mountain in a straight line from end to end (Fig. 20). The gallery is generally cut in the rock itself, but at the junction of the slopes near the entrance and exit it is constructed of very careful polygonal masonry with dry horizontal joints (Fig. 21). For its entire extent, as Herodotus states, the water runs in clay tiles, many fragments of which have been found in place; there are two types, cylindrical and rectangular, the latter without covering (Fig. 22). The curved gallery and the tunnel have an average ^{height and} width of 5.74 ft., which allows a man to walk upright and two men to pass; but what is peculiar to the great tunnel is, that the pipes carrying the water were not placed on the ground itself of the passage, but at the bottom of a narrow trench cut in the ground. Between this and the arch of the canal proper, the difference of level increases from the entrance to the exit of the tunnel; near the latter it is 27.23 ft., which is not far from the distance of 23.37 ft. given by Herodotus. He certainly entered the tunnel and perhaps passed through its upper entrance. His figures closely approach the reality; at most they are slightly exaggerated. Thus he attributes 997 ft. to the mountain, which is only 743 ft. high, and he estimates the length of the tunnel pierced beneath this mountain at over 3337 ft.

All here attests the competency of the master of the work and the professional qualities of the workmen laboring under his orders. The care taken to conceal from sight by covering with earth that portion of the tunnel outside the walls of the city, so that in case of siege the water could not be cut off by the enemy. The happy arrangement of the reservoir with the piers by which were supported the large slabs serving it as a covering (Fig. 23). Everywhere, the care taken in cutting the rock or the excellence of the masonry. finally, especially the certainty with which was conducted the work of piercing the mountain. It is proved that it was undertaken at both ends at the same time. Now if one could

assume the engineer to be provided with a level with air bubble, a very simple instrument that must have been invented early, he was not acquainted with the compass, and once under the mountain, he could not seek external marks as he had done for the curved tunnel from the spring to the entrance of the tunnel. Yet the two gangs occupied in cutting succeeded in keeping at the same height and in meeting at a point located 1486 ft. from the southern mouth of the tunnel. The error in direction was very small, and to correct it at the time when the gangs began to hear the sound of the picks through the mass, it sufficed to make a bend at the end of the southern branch and to lower its floor 7 to 10 ft.

To properly appreciate the merit of the Grecian engineer and of the rulers that seconded him, it suffices to compare the results obtained by Eupalinos with those obtained in Judea a century and a half earlier, when the king Hezekiah undertook to conduct by a subterranean channel the surplus water of Gihon to the pool of Siloam.¹ At Jerusalem the distance between the starting and terminal points is not 3231 ft. as at Samos; it is only 1099 ft. in a straight line; so that to connect these two points the Jewish miner cut in the rock a gallery describing such great curves, that the total length of the channel is 1743 ft. This is because he almost blindly entered the interior of the hill, losing the true direction at each instant. Everywhere are found the traces of trials, that more than once caused him to despair of the success of the undertaking. On the contrary, Eupalinos proceeded almost as straight through the mountain as recently did the engineers occupied in piercing the Simeon.

NOTE 1. p. 28. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. IV. p. 417-424; Pl. 23. 215, 218, 221.

Where they perhaps betrayed some inexperience was in the addition to the tunnel of the ditch, which is the true channel. Why not have laid the pipes on the floor itself of the tunnel and have avoided that additional work, which must have much increased the cost and duration of the work? It would be difficult to reply to that question while the clearing of the tunnel has not been completed, and until a general leveling of the tunnel is not undertaken. Until the new

order, the hypothesis that appears most plausible is that of an error in calculation. The floor of the tunnel was made a little too high for the water to find the slope required, and rather than lower its entire width, it was decided to cut the ditch on whose bottom flows the current.

This aqueduct seems to have served until the last days of antiquity, and perhaps even later. In the Roman epoch, doubtless the supply of the baths then built at Samos, they sought at 5 miles toward the East water from other springs, which was led to the city in an open canal (Fig. 19); but they still continued to use for drinking the cooler water that flowed underground. This is attested by repairs that can only date from the higher empire. The roof had yielded in places or threatened to fall. At those points it was strengthened by a tunnel vault. Within and not far from its southern exit have been found columns and slabs of white marble, whose ornamentation recalls the motives of Byzantine architecture. It would be possible that a sort of chapel was built there after the introduction of Christianity into the island. Thus would be consecrated to the new deity the work of the former pagans; they made of it an *adriana*. In the Grecian city at the outlet of the channel must have been a temple of the Nymphs; the Virgin or some saint would then be substituted for the proscribed gods. Some easily executed labor would restore to the Samians of the present time the use of that fine spring, thus placing them in condition to pay to Polykrates and Eubolinos a just tribute of gratitude, as their ancestors did for 25 centuries since.

To offer to his people that beneficent water, whose arrival on the flank of the coast could not fail to be saluted with cries of joy, Polykrates must have built fountains, & that were at the same time a convenience and an embellishment of the city; but nothing remains of that portion of his work. By Athens, in regard to Pisistratus and his structures, one can form an idea of the arrangement and of the oriental character of the edifices of this kind.

On the average, it rains at Athens only 44 days annually; thus since modern Athens has been in a way to become a great city, it suffers from a lack of water. In vain to secure the enjoyment of the fine springs of Penteleus, the aqueduct of

Hadrian has been restored. Every summer men are in danger of dying from thirst. This scarcity must have made itself felt at Athens, when under Pisistratus the population rapidly increased by the development of commerce and the influx of foreigners. By allowing this difficulty to become too severe, the tyrant would have risked the loss of his popularity. The question of water, as we should say, attracted his entire attention. This is proved by a frequently cited text of Thucydides, the page where he compares the Athens of his time to that of the age preceding Theseus. He says that then were inhabited only the Acropolis and the district below and south of that.¹ This designates the area comprised between the southern slopes of the citadel and the Ilissos. The historian enumerates the edifices built in that quarter, and among others the temple of Zeus Olympios; then he continues thus: - "on this side are also found other ancient temples and the fountain named Enneacrounos (with nine spouts), according to the form given it by the tyrants, but which is now called Callirhoe (beautiful current), because its sources were then uncovered. This fountain was near and served for the most important uses, and from ancient times until now is still preserved the custom of using its water for the bath preceding marriage and in other religious rites."¹

note 1.p.29. Thucydides. II-15.

Thucydides does speak with as much emphasis of another monument of the past. This is because of the elegance of the little edifice must have caused a sensation. What attests this is a vase painting that must be a little later than the erection of the fountain (Fig. 24). It is further improbable that the hydria preserved was ~~xxx~~ the only vase, on which the ceramists reproduced this image to amuse the Athenians, and to surprise the foreigners to whom the pottery was exported. This was doubtless for a certain time a theme in fashion, and so that everywhere and even in Italy, where this vase was discovered in an Etruscan tomb, one might know what structure the artist desired to represent, he took care to designate it by its name. He wrote this name here with all its letters: - "Gallireconrene."¹

note 1.p.30. Gallire is perhaps the popular pronunciation of galliron.

The edifice consists of a rear wall in which are pierced openings by which the water spouts, and a portico of the D Doric order erected in front of that wall. As it is seen in profile, one perceives but a single lion's head and a single support, which are supposed to cover and conceal eight other heads and the eight other columns placed in the same row. Beneath the portico and below the spouts are two wide steps for placing the jars. Before the lower step is a channel for removal of the water; but it was below the visual plane and the painter could omit to indicate it in this much simplified representation. Before the fountain are six Athenian women, each with her name inscribed on the background. The first looks at her vase that is being filled. Behind, two women go away with their filled jars, and two others approach with empty vases, one of these lying sidewise on the cushion. Those leaning and chatting with those coming. We have there a faithful transcript of the daily scenes of the familiar life of Athens; one believes himself hearing the distant echo of the words exchanged in this gathering place, of conversations that the women were pleased to prolong there, their nude feet in the cool water splashed over the marble slabs.

Where is it proper to place this scene? Where should one seek the site of this fountain of Cillirhoe, that then took the name of Enneacrounos? Until recent times, it did not seem that there could be even a discussion of this subject. The learned men who have studied the topography of ancient Athens agree in designating a point behind the southwest angle of the substructure of the Olympeion, where the bed of the Ilissos is intersected by a ledge of rock, below which is a drop of 16 to 20 ft. After great rains the water of the little stream is suddenly swelled to form there a little cascade; but in time of drought one only finds water at the foot of the rocky ledge all pierced by holes, cold and clear water, always sufficiently abundant there that the women of the vicinity come there to wash their linen. (Fig. 25). As one is informed by its temperature, this water does not come from the invisible stream that filters downward through the pebbles and gravel. There is at that place a flow from deep springs. This now issues from the

sand and pebbles; but as proved by excavations executed in 1893, it was formerly collected at a certain distance within the rock.¹ The channels have been found that brought it to the point of discharge. When this work was undertaken, it would be arranged so that the new edifice was not exposed to be struck or overtaken by the fresnets of the stream. Nothing was easier than to divert the Ilissos, to excavate for it a bed, that caused it to flow when it was running nearer the Olympeion, and north of the Enneacrounos.

note 1.p.32. Ephemeris. 1893. p. 103, 182. Praktika. 1893. p. 111-138. In refusing to see there the Enneacrounos, Skias appears to me to deduce from the facts that he has observed, conclusions that are not due to them. On the contrary, one would expect to see him recognize in the group of basins and channels that he describes and that are represented by plan A drawn by the architect Wilberg, a serious indication of an important fountain at that place. The traces of ancient works had already been pointed out in 1877 by E. Ziller. Athen. Mitt. II, p. 110).

Indeed to this side that we are led to turn our eyes by all literary texts, except one alone, where an allusion is made to the Enneacrounos;² whether one consults on this point Thucydides, Herodotus, Plato and the comic poet Cratinos, or the lexicographers, he always reaches the same result; it is toward the south of the Acropolis and in the immediate vicinity of the Ilissos, that one sees the celebrated fountain. There is only a remark of Pausanias that forms an exception;³ according to the place that in his description he assigns to the Enneacrounos, it seems to have been quite near the Agor, i.e., North of the Areopagus. The contradiction is explicit. Men have sought to explain it in various ways, either by inversion of pages of manuscript or by a confusion that Pausanias made in his notes. Whatever hypothesis be preferred, this isolated assertion cannot prevail against so many other more ancient proofs in perfect agreement.

note 2.p.32. One will find all these texts quoted and discussed in a very precise note by Gh. Belger; Kallirhoe und Enneacrounos, (Berl. Phil. Woch. 1895. p. 830-832, 881-884), and with still more detail in the admirable Commentary on Pausanias by Fraser (Vol. II, p. 112-117). G. Curtius, and

studied with much care the topography of Athens, has not seen in the text of Pausanias a sufficient reason to doubt the tradition, that places the Enneacrounos in the ravine of the Ilissos. (Die Stadtgeschichte Athens. 1891. p.82-83).

note 3.p.32. Pausanias. I. 14-1.

What further confirms the deductions from all these texts is, that the excavations have caused to be found there in the actual bed of the Ilissos numerous fragments of architecture between two basins hollowed in the rock, remains of votive steles, shafts of broken columns, stone beams 9.3 ft. long.⁴ These might have formed a part of a wall that enclosed at bottom the basins, in which was collected the water so carefully gathered from springs. In the thickness of this wall might have been arranged the nine outlets, that gave the fountain its new name, against which was attached the portico represented in the painting. At Thebes where that spring of Dirce that poets have sung, leaves the ground, & the inhabitants recently only had to restore the ancient arrangements to procure a beautiful fountain, where by eight spouts passing through the wall of the collecting basin, & the water escapes into another smaller basin, this is an octocrounos.

note 4.p.32. An unusually great flood in the Ilissos in 1893 carried away or buried in the sand all the fragments, none of which are longer visible. It even constructed and concealed all the channels uncovered by the excavations of 1893. (Belger in Berl. phil. woch. 1893. p.1468-1469).

However poorly informed we may be concerning the details of the constructions of Pisistratus, one divines one of the reasons that decided him to transform the old spring of Callichne, to increase and regulate its discharge.⁴ When he commenced to build the temple of Zeus, which was only completed 7 or 8 centuries later, he had to occupy himself with the needs of all the carters and masons employed to transport to the work the stone from the Piraeus, then to cut and joint it to form the vast foundations intended to support the edifice. The works could be carried on in the dry season only when animals and men could find water very near the workyards. The installation of the Enneacrounos thus appears to have been comprised in the project of the most considera-

considerable of the great enterprises, to which were assigned under the high direction of the tyrant, the four architects whose names have been preserved by Vitruvius.¹

Note 1.p.33. The remark is by Belger.

Note 1.p.34. Vitruvius. VII-15.

Thus strengthened and regulated, the Gallirhoe was a precious resource for these gangs of laborers and for the families that continued faithful to this quarter, the first group of habitations formed in the plain at the foot of the fortress; but in the 6th century it was not to that side that the population repaired and the city increased; the movement operated to the West. Many houses were built there in the rear of the rocky hills that looked on the sea and received its breezes, above the terrace on which the people assembled. Others and still more numerous were heaped around the little temples in which were celebrated some of the oldest cults of the city, in the ravine between the Areopagus on the North, and on the South the row of hills extending from the Museion to the hill called of the Nymphs. This was the quarter known under the name of Melite. The excavations made there from 1891 to 1897 brought to light the remains of buildings of very different ages; the most ancient of these structures appear to be of the 7th and 6th centuries. In that valley is no stream, not even intermittent like the Ilissos. The multitude domiciled and crowded into this narrow area strove by all means to procure the water that it lacked. The earth was perforated by wells; cisterns were built; men devoted themselves to seek and follow in the depths of the rock the least veins of running water, to collect and bring them to the surface. Particularly on the slope of the Phyx were excavations made for that purpose, deeply and in all directions. There have been found everywhere traces of these searches in the form of narrow galleries.²

Note 2.p.34. These hydraulic works are indicated in blue on the great plan of all that region drawn by Dörpfeld, according to the results of several years of excavations. (Antike Denkmäler. vol. II, pl. 38).

In spite of everything water was lacking at Melite during the warm months of the year; now the master could do no less

for that new and popular quarter than he had done for an old quarter from which life had retired. At the cost of an effort that must have been more difficult and more costly than that imposed on him for the Callirhoe, he led to the heart itself of that aggregation the water from the elevated valley of the Ilissos, among this being the fine spring of Coesariani, that rises in a depression of Hymettus, in a ravine whose coolness and shade contrasts with the aridity of the rest of the mountain. Numerous soundings have found and followed especially in the suburbs of the city the trace of the subterranean channel. It passes under the park of the castle, then beneath the theatre of Dionysos, and runs along the south flank of the Acropolis.¹ It traverses the ridge connecting the Museion with the Aeorapagus, and then passes at the left of the dry valley a reservoir, beyond which it continues in two ducts, one of which goes to the West toward the quarter called Koile, while the other seems to direct itself to the North toward the Agora.

note 1.p.35. The existence of this channel was mentioned for the first time in 1877 by the architect Ernst Ziller, who recognized its true direction. (Athen. Mitt. II, p. 108-131; pls. VI-IX).

In that reservoir, before which appears to have been arranged quite a large place, men have desired to recognize the Enneacrounos of Pisistratos.² We have stated and we reject that hypothesis, that is contradicted by so many texts, save that of Pausanias, who himself but half confirms it; but after the very minute study made of all that ground, one cannot doubt that there was a public fountain there, and that very important hydraulic works were executed to supply at all seasons. No inscriptions have been discovered relating to this water, and no mention of them has been preserved by historians; we are no less disposed to believe, that there are very serious reasons for attributing them to Pisistratos, as proposed by the author of ~~these excavations~~. These additions of springs and these erections of public fountains, as before stated, appear to have been in the programme of the most intelligent of those tyrants of the 7th and 6th centuries. To justify the hypothesis that caused Pisistratos and his sons to intervene here, one can further invoke

surer indications than this harmony of needs and this general analogy of politics.

Note 2.p.35. M. Dörpfeld commenced these excavations in 1891 (Athen. Mitt. XVI, p. 443-445). They continued in the following year. (The same. XVII, p. 90-93, 440-445). Where the results of these researches have been more fully explained is in the Memoir entitled *Ἐκκακροῦνος II*. (The same, XIX, p. 143-146). Additional details are given in the relation of the new excavations undertaken by a general expropriation of all that ground had made the work easier. (The same. p. 504-506). (Also see the same. vol. XXII, p. 476-477). In the Memoir entitled *Ἐκκακροῦνος, Ἰεῶνα and Διονυσίου* on *Διμναῖος* (Athen. Mitt. vol. XXIII, p. 205-235, 367), van Prott accepts the theory of Dörpfeld; but he occupies himself more with the temples located in that quarter, than with the fountain and the aqueduct.

Not only by its length, which is not entirely measured, but also by more than one trait in the execution, does the Attic aqueduct recall that of Eupalinos, whose date is fixed within a few years. Here the gallery is less spacious than at Samos; it in general has only a height of 4.27 to 4.95 ft. with a width of 2.13 ft. A man of average height can then pass everywhere; it suffices for him to stoop in walking. Ventilating shafts are placed at small intervals and permit one to descend into the gallery to visit and maintain it. As at Samos, the tunnel was everywhere subterranean, and it was cut in the solid rock, where this appeared sufficiently compact not to fear displacements; where it seemed too friable elsewhere, it was built with beautiful cut stones and covered by wide slabs. Finally, here as in the aqueduct of Eupalinos the water supplied by springs flowed in pipes of terra cotta laid on the floor of the tunnel. By their cylindrical form, by the coating of yellow glaze that covers the internal surface and by their mode of junction, these tiles reproduce one of the types of ducts of which fragments have been found at Samos (Fig. 22). One has the impression that the two works are contemporaneous. The engineers and the workmen that executed them have the same habits and the same modes of working.

What likewise contributes to fixing the age of this aqueduct

is the nature of the material employed; the constructed portions of the tunnel are in stone from Piræus, and of that stone are built the foundations of the Olympeion and the entire body of the temple of Athena on the Acropolis. The foundations of the same temple are composed of another variety of limestone that comes from the foot of Hymettus and that is called stone of Kara; now this is recognized in great slabs that appear to have belonged to the reservoir or to the fountain properly so called. Here is finally a last statement, which has its value. Two wells were cleared out there, and a number of potsnerds were removed; now all the painted pottery in that rubbish was in the geometric style, of the 3th or 7th centuries. The use of those wells was renounced until the time when water was in abundance, due to the aqueduct. Then they were filled with rubbish accumulated in heaps in some corner of the quarter. These holes were then opened before they became common, and there were broken in their turn the vases with black figures called protoattic, with which appeared a style that differs very much from that of the Dipylon. Thus one finds himself led in a different way to the date, that all concurs on the other hand in suggesting to us.

When we visited the Acropolis, it showed us in Pisistratos the precursor of Cimon and Pericles, the first sketch of the Parthenon. Here another form of his activity is revealed to us. The few lines of Thucydides that we have quoted in reference to the Enneacrounos give only a very imperfect idea of the importance of the works, whose plan Pisistratos conceived and carried out in execution to render more healthy and more agreeable for habitation, this city that he left in the full climax of growth and rapid expansion.

If we commenced by describing the aqueducts of Samos and of Athens, this is because among all works of this kind known to us, there is none which by the extent of their tunnels and by the entirety of the arrangements adopted, makes better appreciated the boldness of the skill of the Grecian engineer; but when he served the politics of Polycrates and of Pisis.ratos, he was no more than an imitator, it seems to me. The first example of these hydraulic works had been given about the end of the preceding century at Megara, in

the native land itself of Eupalinos. Later that city was taken and throttled between Athens and Corinth, and could no longer play more than a very faded part in the Grecian world; but in the 8th and again in the 7th centuries, it was the centre of a very active commerce; it founded both in Sicily and especially in the northeast on the Hellespont and on the Bosphoros, colonies of which some were called to a brilliant future. This prosperity also sustained itself under the tyrant Theagenes, and he endowed the city over which he reigned with a public fountain, that yet remained in the time of Pausanias, and which the traveler speaks in these terms; "this city has a fountain erected for it by the tyrant Theagenes; it merits being seen by reason of its grandeur, its decoration and the great number of its columns."

Note 1.p.37. Pausanias. I. 40-1.

Excavations made in 1399 recovered the fountain of Theagenes and makes known some of its principal arrangements.¹ The spring that fed the aqueduct was not reached; but a part of the latter was cleared between two acropolises of Megara. The aqueduct is dug in the ground; but the banks are supported by limestone slabs, that leave between them only a space of 1.64 ft. The tunnel was 4.1 ft. deep, but the bottom was filled with earth on which were placed the tiles (Fig. 26). There remained above a free space of scarcely 3.3 ft. Then one could not conveniently pass along this tunnel, but shafts had been arranged from place to place, which allowed one to reach the points where repairs had become necessary. The tunnel was formerly covered by slabs laid across. Here as at Samos were terra cotta pipes of two different types. The most ancient tiles were cylindrical. Later and doubtless after having added new springs, over those ducts were placed others of rectangular section, in which the water ran uncovered (Fig. 27).²

Note 1.p.38. Delbrück and Volmüller. Das Brunnennetz des Theagenes. (Athen. Mitt. vol. XXV, p. 23-33; pls. 7, 8).

Note 2.p.38. The longitudinal section is made beside the ducts. It shows them as seen from the side.

The reservoir and the vicinity of the fountain have been but imperfectly uncovered; they are concealed beneath houses, and one could scarcely dig there except in the courts of the

nouses. Yet it has been possible to prove the existence of a rectangular basin, whose longer sides are 62.3 ft. long, and the shorter sides are 45.0 ft. The masonry composing it is isodomic with dry joints. A number of the end joints are oblique (Fig. 23). The reservoir was covered. The slabs forming its roof have disappeared, but the octagonal piers 1.64 ft. diameter have been found in place, that supported it. There were 6 transverse rows of piers with 5 in each. This is an arrangement analogous to that which we have found in the head reservoir at the Aqueduct of Sarno (Fig. 23). The bottom of the basin was covered by a thick coating of stucco, intended to prevent all loss of the fluid.

The water reposed and settled in this vast reservoir. Then through orifices made in the southern wall it passed into a long and narrow basin, which extended along the entire facade. This sort of trough was bounded by another wall, whose outer face rose about 1.6 ft. above a paved area (Fig. 29). On this area stood the women that came to draw the water. The ropes that they used for lowering their jars into the basin had finally creased the top of the parapet. They had cut deep and wide grooves into the limestone (Fig. 30).

Modern structures encumbering the ground did not permit exploring the fronts of the other faces of the reservoir. In what the excavations caused to appear was indeed recognized the ample dimensions, such as Pausanias indicates; but one seeks in vain the decoration and the numerous columns that attracted his attention. It is probable that ^{on} one side of the basin, there was here as at the inneacrouns a portico, whose ground was at a level below that of the paved area, and beneath which the water fell from the lions' heads. Something of that kind was seen by Pausanias; but one could ask if the entirety that he judged worthy of admiration was not the work of an architect of the Hellenistic or Roman age. The fountain of Theagenes must have suffered more than one restoration; but from the time of the tyrant it certainly had its monumental facade. What allows one to affirm this are the painted vases with black figures in very great number, on which are represented public fountains.¹ In nearly all these paintings, of which the most recent still date from the 5th century, the fountain has its external portico-

portico, and its water spouts of frankly ornamental character.

note 1.p.40. Alone in the catalogue of the vases with black figures in the British Museum, I find nine of water carriers or representations of women at the fountain. II.329-338.

What then were these public fountains in cities of some importance, and what pains were taken to make them monuments with elegance and beauty, one has already divined by this representation of Callirhoe, that we have reproduced. (Fig. 24). This further results still better from the scene painted on the body of another hydria, where the fountain presents its facade, instead of being seen in profile, which allows one to understand the general arrangement of the edifice and all details of its ornamentation (Fig. 31). Between the two antes that form the ends of the portico are four columns quite distinct from each other. No bases. The capital is composed of a cap and of an abacus. For all entablature is a band whose divisions recall the alternation of metopes and triglyphs; under the lower fillet are drops. By more than one trait, one recognizes here the members that characterize the ionic order; but that order here presents a very different appearance from that to which we are accustomed by edifices of stone. This is because the pavilion represented by the painter is not made of the same materials as the temples. Here the entablature and the supports are of wood. Wood alone suits these slender shafts, that are much thinner than even the most slender Ionic columns. Same caprice in the frieze. The drops there are ^{not} placed under the triglyphs, as preferred by constant usage, but beneath the metopes. This light architecture takes at its ease the traditional rules, when it concerns the proportions of the order or the arrangement of the members composing it.

note 1.p.42. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 439-440.

At both ends of the pavilion, beside the antes the water spouts from a lion's head, and between the two middle columns another similar head fulfils the same purpose. But what distinguishes this scene from so many others treating of the same themes, that here between two of the pairs of columns are figures of horsemen above water spouts. Are these riders Dioscures, patrons of travelers, guarantors of the duties of hospitality? It matters little. What is curious

here is the mode which the architect has taken to vary the decoration of his fountain by inserting these figures. Also note the bases are placed beneath the jets. By raising the hydrias thus, all loss of water is prevented and the effort is made less for the women required for placing the filled jar on the shoulder or head. Then all has been calculated in the edifice both to please the eye and for convenience in use.

In the view in question the upper portion of the entablature is wanting. The painter gave his figures too large dimensions to be able to place the entire building in his panel. Like most of the edifices of this kind that are represented on the vases, this must be surmounted by a pediment with inclined sides. This pediment crowns an edifice with columns and a Doric frieze, whose purpose is indicated in one of the scenes of the Francois vase by the word inscribed on the facade: - Krone, fountain.¹ This pediment we find again more carefully drawn, with its acroterias strongly projecting in the form of volutes on a vase with red figures, which must date from the first years of the 5th century (Fig. 32). The little building here has only two columns, between which rises a thick cross wall from the top of which the water escapes by two spouts turned in opposite directions. One of these has the form of a lion's head and the other that of the mask of a satyr. We call attention to a detail that accents the case for truth, that the painter carries into these representations of familiar life. In neither one of these figures did he wish to forget to indicate the little round cushion, that the woman inserts between her hair and the vase, when she takes up her burden. One of the women has already placed this cushion on her head, and the other prepares to place it there with the right hand. The first already has the full jar on her knee. There only remains but one movement to make to raise it into place. The other is less advanced, but leaning forward, she watches the hydria being filled, and hastening to depart suggests the movement that must precede the last effort.

note 1. p. 43. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. Fig. 221.

This fountain with pediment is already sensibly less important than one on which appear the fronts of norsemen; out-

there were others on the country roads or in the poor quarters, which were more simple. They were only composed of a pier, to the upper part of which was fitted the water spout (Fig. 33). But even then, this always assumed the form of a head of a lion or panther. One finds heads of other animals used for the same purpose, although much less frequently, such as the wild boar, horse and mule. The substitution of a human mask for an animal's head is rarer; we have furnished one example of this (Fig. 31).

It is thought to be derived the reason for the method taken by the Greek architect from the first hour, to give the form of a head to all the spouts for water in his fountains. The language employs the word *cepnale*, as still done in Greece, to designate the source from which flows a river.² The Latins gave the same meaning to the word *caput*. In the constructed fountain, the spout through which the liquid element flows corresponds to the opening through which in nature gushes the spring. There is a very natural association of ideas and even a sort of pun. One also understands why the lion's head is more suitable than any other to fulfill this purpose. In Greece all rivers are torrents, some from their source to their mouth and the others for at least the greater part of their course. They have both a long sleep during the hot season, and after the spring and autumn rains, the sudden wakings of the great wild beasts are with their rapid and irresistible bounds. There is a secret analogy perceived by the popular imagination, and which suggests to the decorator the preference, that he never ceases to accord to this type. Nine times out of ten in these views of fountains so greatly multiplied by ceramic painters, the water spouts are lions' heads, which explains the epithet "*careno-phylax*," "guardian of fountains," applied to the lion and expressions such as "the fountains with lion's head."

On the other hand, there is but one of these paintings in which the architect has introduced entire figures in his decoration, like the two horsemen on one of the hydrias described above (Fig. 31). These riders are placed above the spouts; but they nowhere have a flow of water, and one asks what these high reliefs are doing, which play no useful part on the monument. We find nothing similar in any other views

of fountains presented to us by the vases. For a stronger reason there is no example in the entire archaic and classical ages, of an arrangement that would be fortunate among the Romans and in modern architecture. We do not see among the Greeks, at least until the Alexandrine epoch, that they ever thought of making a statue serve for the projection of the liquid element, by the intermediary of any accessory whatever.

By the study of the aqueducts of Samos, Athens and Megara, we have been able to appreciate the importance of the labors that the chiefs of cities undertook to supply water to the cities over which they reigned; but the paintings on vases have even given us an idea of the edifices in which were distributed this beneficent water. From these representations it results that these fountains everywhere presented a very elegant and ornate appearance; the Arab and Turkish architects have had the same care in the modern cities of the Orient. We can scarcely count here on the excavations to complete and determine this data. The supports and the carvetry of these frail structures could not last indefinitely. Repairs were necessary, and when men proceeded to these, they replaced the buildings in the taste of the day. This is what has been proved for perhaps the most celebrated of all Greek fountains, for that of Pirene at Corinth.¹ The American excavations there have recovered the remains of three successive decorations that have been applied, with the ever increasing luxury of marbles and ornaments, on the surface of the rock from which the spring issues; now the most ancient of the three does not appear to date before the Hellenistic age. The primitive fountain of Perikander, that sung by Pindar, Simonides and Euripides, was placed lower; it is believed that there has been discovered the trace in a tunnel of dimensions exceeding those of other galleries of the same kind, that we have found elsewhere. It measures up to 3.04 ft. high by 0.37 ft. wide. The soil of the city being raised later, it was necessary for convenience of access to raise the basins to a higher level.

NOTE 1. p. 48. Rufus S. Richardson. Pirene (Am. Jour. Archaeol. 2nd series. vol. IV. p. 204-232. Illustrations in text). The same. vol. VI, p. 331-336).

Perhaps also under the Cypselides was arranged another fountain at Corinth, the Glauke fountain, that Pausanias mentioned, and that the same excavations have uncovered;² But no fragments of the architecture have been recovered, which would permit dating the monument. All this water of Pirene and of Glauke, as believed in antiquity and still assumed today, came from a fine spring that gushes quite near the summit of the Acrocorinth.¹ The spring spouts from above into a basin now covered by a bad Turkish vault, whose walls are built of polygonal masonry, that might be contemporaneous with Bacchides. Men must very early have occupied themselves in collecting and keeping cool that marvellous water that leaves the ground to near the peak, and whose perpetuity was of such great advantage to the defenders of the citadel. To display the feelings of gratitude inspired in them by this gift of the gods, the Corinthians erected there in the middle of the basin a column with its foot bathed by the water, and whose top with the two antes terminating the walls concurred in supporting a triangular pediment. This was like the facade of a temple. Perhaps by examining the capitals of the column and antes, one might determine at about what time was erected this facade; but it is so far known only by a sketch made from memory, and which thus only gives a general view (Fig. 34).²

note 1.p.47. pausanias. II. 5-1; Strabo. VIII-21.

note 2.p.47. Götting. Die Quelle Pirene auf Akrokorinth. (Arch. Zeit. 1844. p. 328-330).

If we have insisted on the architecture and decoration of these edifices, this is because they played an important part in the Greek city. The existence of a public fountain was one of the signs by which a city worthy of the name was distinguished from a simple village. This is evidenced by Pausanias: - "There is," he states, "at 20 stadia from Cnemonia at Panopea, which is a city of the Phocians, id however one can give the name of city to a place at which is found neither an edifice intended for the meetings of the magistrates, gymnasium, theatre, market, nor a fountain where the water comes from afar."³

note 3.p.47. pausanias. X. 4-1.

In the number of edifices that confer upon a human gathering

the dignity of a city, Pausanias counts in addition to the fountain and the gymnasium the assembly hall of the magistrates and the theatre. In the 5th century there certainly existed at Athens and in the principal cities of Greece, buildings erected by the State in which sat the magistrates and the judges; but we know neither their appearance nor their internal arrangement.¹ According to the ruins of edifices, all of the Hellenistic and Roman epochs, that can be designated by the generic term *sarcheion* employed by the Greek writer, one has been able to restore the arrangements characterizing these edifices, for example the tribunal (*dicasterion*), and the hall for the sittings of the council. (*Bouleuterion*, *Gerousia*). As for the theatre, Athens had one before the Median wars. With Choerilos, Pratinas and Phrynichos, it had already created the drama. The taking of Miletus, the most celebrated work of Phrynichos, would not have so strongly affected the Athenians, if when it was represented their minds had not been under the impression of the tales brought to them of the recent disasters in Ionia. When Eschylus fought so valiantly at Marathon and Salamis, he had already caused his first pieces to be played. The tragic and satiric choruses then had south of the Acropolis a place reserved for them in the enclosure of Dionysos Eleuthereus, quite against the temple of the god; but there seems to have been built permanently of stone only the circular area on which the chorists and actors performed their parts, the multitude crowding around on the wooden steps, that were removed after the festival. All that the excavations have recovered from this first Attic theatre, excavations where the least vestige of the past has been collected with singular accuracy, is a piece of a retaining wall that extended around the circumference of the paved area (Fig. 35); by completing the curve described by this fragment, it has been calculated that the area limited by it was about 7367 ft. in diameter.² What fixes the age of this wall is both the nature of the materials and the character of the masonry. The stone of which it is made is nothing but the rock constituting the mass of the Acropolis; now from the end of the 5th century men ceased to use this, even for foundations. The masonry is polygonal. We have cited only

as a memorial these faint traces of what was only the scarcely indicated sketch of the future theatre, and an edifice whose importance and social role will not cease to increase in the Athens of Cimon and Pericles, but which will only take its definite and monumental form only later, in the 4th century by the care of the orator Lycurgus.

Note 1.p.48. Hiller von Görtzingen, (*Der Insel Thera etc.* Chap. VI, would be inclined to see a construction of the archaic age in the basilike stoa, an edifice whose plan is nearly the same as that of the temple of Paestum known under the name of the basilica; that is a rectangle with a row of columns at the middle; but his collaborator Dörpfeld visibly inclines to believe that this edifice was built by one of the Ptolemies in the time when the harbor of Thera was the ordinary shelter of the Egyptian squadrons; from that it has that name of royal portico, gives it by the inscriptions (p. 233-234). Also see Michaelis. *Hallenförmige Basiliken*. (*Mélanges Perrot*, p. 233-243).

Note 2.p.48. Dörpfeld & Reisch. *Das Griechisch Theater*. Athens. 1896-1897. p. 26-28. Pl. I, III. On the Greek theatre and its successive transformations, see the analysis and criticism, that we have presented on the book of Dörpfeld & Reisch. (*Jour. des Savants*. 1898. p. 134-145, 197-216, 402-425, 509-522, 581-600).

The sole permanent structure in the Athens of the tyrants, which was intended for the pleasures of the people, was the building called the Odeion, literally music hall, and where were given recitations of Homeric rhapsodies and musical concerts.¹ When one remembers the interest that Pisistratus and his sons took in that sort of spectacle, one can scarcely doubt that they had endowed Athens with a concert hall. The Skias at Sparta must have been built by Theodorus of Samos to serve for the same purpose; this is what was recalled by that lyre of Terpander that was shown suspended on the wall, even when this was only utilized for certain assemblies of the people.

Note 1.p.49. *Reagchios*. 3. v.

Another organ essential to urban life, as defined by Pausanias, is the gymnasium, where is given that systematic training of the body, that contributed so much to the impor-

improvement of the physical type of the race, and that had such a happy influence on the development of sculpture; but like those of the bouleuterion and of the theatre, the architectural type of the gymnasium is known to us only by the remains of edifices of the Macedonian age. The most beautiful example that has been preserved is that of the gymnasium of Olympia, which was erected at the cost of Ptolemy P Philadelphus. The German excavations have permitted us to recover and restore the entire plan.¹ Gymnastic exercises were never more in honor and cultivated more passionately, than in the 7th and 6th centuries; but on the arrangement of the places where they occurred then, we have only very brief indications, scattered in the writers.

note 1.p.50. see Article gymnasium (Fougeres) in Dictionnaire des Antiquites of Daremberg and Saglio.

The primitive gymnasiums, those of the Lacedaemonians and Cretans, were composed only of simple tracks or dromoi for the foot races, casting the discus, the javelin and football, as well as areas of sand for wrestling, boxing and the pancration. One divines from some indications that the transformation began to operate at Athens and doubtless in other cities about the time of the Pisistratides. The gymnasiums appear to have then become gardens surrounded by walls, with lawns, avenues for races, and a covered hall for wrestling, the palaestra, properly so called. The three most ancient gymnasiums of Athens were the Academy, Lyceum and Cynosarges, all three situated outside the city. Now Hipparchus caused that of the Academy to be enclosed by a wall, whose installation was completed by Cimon half a century later.² The location of the Lyceum, the ancient sacred wood of Apollo Lykios, situated at the East of Athens near the junction of the Ilissos and the Ilissos, according to theopompus, was arranged as a gymnasium for the first time by Pisistratus, and according to Philochorus by Pericles;³ but this would only be about the end of the 4th century that one would see, with the buildings erected by the orator Lycourides at the Lyceum, Athens endowed with a stone gymnasium, whose tracks were sheltered by long porticos near the palaestra.

note 2.p.50. saglio. s. v.

note 3.p.50. Harpocraton of Suidas. 3. v.

A painted vase presents to us a view taken in the interior of one of the gymnasia of Athens of the Pisistratides. (Fig. 36). At the middle is the hall for showers, whose entablature is decorated by elegant acroterias and supported by three Doric columns. Two eoneoes hold their backs under two panther's heads. Here the artist has omitted to represent the water; but the poses of the persons are so clearly indicated, that one divines the trickling without seeing the jet. At the right and left of this little structure are four other young men, also nude. One of them pours into his hand the oil with which he is going to anoint his body; another prepares to scrape his left arm with the strigil, that he holds in his right hand. The clothing is suspended from the branches of small trees, in the shade of which are formed the groups.

Among the edifices indispensable to the city, Pausanias does not mention the public baths, as he would not have failed to do in the second century of our era, or a citizen of Rome or of some other city of the western provinces of the empire, or as would be done today by an inhabitant of Constantinople, Damascus or Cairo. This is not because the Greeks were ignorant of the bath. The heat of summer invited them to plunge into the sea and their rivers, at least in those like the Eurotas, that had water in all seasons. As for the hot baths, from the Homeric age, or better from the Mycenaean age, the Greeks had the custom of seeking in them a remedy for fatigue after the march or battles; but they took them in a bathos.¹ If later in historical Greece, when there was developed a taste for comfort, one sees public baths created with stove and basin, those buildings do not seem to have ever had a great importance. For a long time, it was forbidden to open them in the interiors of cities.² Even when they were tolerated, the frequency of hot baths was still regarded for men as a mark of effeminacy.¹ There was never anything in the cities of independent Greece, which resembled the baths of imperial Rome or of the great cities of Italy, Gaul and Africa. In Greek writers,³ there is sometimes an allusion to establishments, to which for a small payment men went to taste the pleasures of the

oath; but no author has left us a description of them. The painters of vases alone give an idea of the arrangements that they present. Here is a portico, whose architecture is similar to that of the fountains described above; but under the water escaping in streams from the mouths of the wild boar, lion and panther, instead of clothed women filling their jars, are four nude women, that present their heads and bodies to the stream (Fig. 37). According to custom, they take a cold shower after the warm bath. The arrangement of the place seems to have been very simple. No clothes room for depositing the tunics; they are placed above the heads of the bathers on a long rod extending from one end to the other of the hall. There on a vase signed by Andokides is represented a basin in which one woman is swimming, while another prepares to plunge in; two bath women stand on the margin (Fig. 38). Fines inform us that this is a bath in running water. Yet the scene does not occur on the bank of a river or of a pond; this is proved by a Doric column that stands at the right, as well as addresses hung on the wall. At Athens or elsewhere -- we do not know where Andokides found his model -- men would be able to place between two porticos a basin fed by running water. Thus we should have the equivalent of our swimming schools.

Note 1.p.52. See the texts referred to in the article *Baigneur* in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*.

Only a single edifice has so far been mentioned, that one has a right to recognize as a truly Greek bath. This is at Assos in a great gallery, which measures 16.4 ft. wide by 223.1 ft. long.¹ One sees there still in place the supports of the stone basins placed at regular intervals. The inferences derived from the examination of the place accord with the information furnished by the painting. Persons came there only to wash themselves, to sprinkle themselves with water and for showers.

Note 1.p.53. Koldewey in *Athen. Mitt.* vol. IX. p. 46-48.

When one questions the ruins of Grecian cities, if one is often much embarrassed to assign even an approximate date to edifices and to installations, there are evidences of the effort made everywhere in times of prosperity to ameliorate the conditions of urban life, one does not experience

the same uncertainty in regard to Athens. One there finds everywhere the trace of the intervention of the Pisistratides. We have stated what they did to conduct water in abundance into the quarter of Melite; but it was necessary to remove this water after it had been made foul by domestic use. Excavations have brought to light under the long curved street, that ascends from the Agora to the Acropolis, a sewer whose bottom had a terra cotta channel. The waste water from the houses was led to it by a number of lateral ducts.¹ No historian mentions these works; but why not believe them to have been comprised in the general plan, that we have believed should be attributed to Pisistratus? The aqueduct requires and assumes the sewer.

note 1.p.54. Athen. Mitt. vol. XVII, p. 91.

Pisistratus and his successors seem to have been greatly interested in these questions of streets and sewers. If they did their best to improve the conditions of habitation and of the street, they left much to their successors. About the year 250 B.C., a traveler, the pseudo Dicaearchus, exhibits in his story the surprise that he felt on visiting Athens. He says, "that the city is badly pierced because of its antiquity. Most of the houses are poor; very few are convenient."² If the city had still retained that appearance after Cimon, Pericles and Lycurgus had endeavored to embellish it, what must it have been three centuries earlier, when it increased rapidly without any care for elegance or any municipal regulation had controlled the distribution of the houses composing it? One could form an idea of what those houses were by the traces that they have left on the bare rock of the western hills, where extend arid surfaces as in these gullies in the ground, that gave this quarter the name of Koile, "the hollow."

note 2.p.54. Dicaearchus. I. sect. I. (Geographi graeci minores of Müller). vol. I.

Here is how matters appear in that region now deserted, among tall tufts of asonodel and odorous mints, where the ground has best retained the impression of the sojourn that men made there during long years. "Assume a room built on the slope of a hill. To establish it, one cuts away the rock on a certain space intended to form a horizontal area. When the

royalties. It was a collective work, that when the city thought itself free, it desired to mark its power, and this work was the temple. The city has no sovereign other than the god that protected it, and this sovereign must be honored by lodging it royally. Men could have expected to see the tyrants, when they resumed under another form the role of ancient war chiefs, like them seek to enhance themselves in the eyes of their subjects by placing their lives within the enclosure of an important edifice; but they seem not to have had this ambition. While determining the reality of power, they were more or less forced to save appearances and reckon with the feeling of equality; the civic soul was born. It would have been insolence to install themselves in a habitation, that by its grandeur and magnificence would have seemed to rival that of the gods. It seems then that by laboring for the city and for its glory, they sought to increase their prestige. What they built at great expense were aqueducts, fountains, gymnasiums, and especially temples. Thus they established themselves on the acropolises, because they found greater safety there; but nothing gives us reason to think, that anyone of them would have undertaken to arrange a habitation there, whose unusual size and brilliant decoration would have excited the admiration and envy of contemporaries.

The house of all these tyrants then must not sensibly differ from that of the richest of their subjects, unless in being more spacious.² Much space was necessary for a Clisthenes of Sicyon to receive and house during an entire year the 12 suitors of his daughter Agariste. That archaic house, that of men of high birth and great fortune, one believes that the type is recognized in an edifice represented on an Attic vase of the first half of the 6th century, the celebrated cratera of Citias of Ergotimos, better known under the name of the Francois vase (Fig. 42).¹ This edifice is certainly the habitation of Peleus, toward which proceed the goddesses and gods invited to the wedding to take part in the festival. It presents the arrangement of a temple in antis. Behind them is perceived the facade of the house in which the feast is to be celebrated. At the back of the pro-nao, an open doorway allows Thetis to be seen, who is seated

in the first room of the apartment and there awaits her guests. To make her more visible, the painter has slightly displaced the columns. They must really be farther from the antes.

Note 1.p.58. We have already represented this facade in vol. VII of the *Histoire de l'Art*, p. 441, Fig. 222; but we think it useful to give it again here from a new reproduction of the Francois vase, that renders the details better. We believe that we were in error in calling this edifice a temple. The study of the entirety and the presence of Thetis in the interior of the building rather indicates a house of beautiful appearance.

A fracture has removed a part of the image of the building; but that being symmetrical, it is easy to restore the whole, and from the elevation presented by the ceramic painter, and without having to add or even to interpret anything, one is able to offer a restoration of this facade and draw its plan. (Figs. 24, 31, 32). The Doric assumes proportions and adopts motives, of which no contemporaneous temple furnishes an example. Further, the material here is not the same as in edifices intended for worship; on those the stone column is nowhere as slender; it does not diminish from the bottom to top in such a marked manner. What suffices to decide the question is the presence of a base beneath the shaft. Where that is of wood, one always sees interposed between it and the ground a material that dampness cannot penetrate; the base here was of limestone or marble. This was a necessary precaution, never omitted by Mycenaean constructors.³ The rear wall also appears to have been of carpentry. The rectangular bands crossing it represent timbers painted a different color from that enclosed by them and concealed by a monochrome plastering. As for the decoration of the capital and entablature, one can assume it to be made of a facing of slabs of terra cotta.

Note 2.p.58. This restoration with the accompanying commentary is inserted in the 4th text of the great collection of plates published by Furtwängler & Reichold under the title of *Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*. It is the work of Reichold. The view is taken from the middle an part, at a distance equal to twice the width of the building.

note 3.p.58. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. vi. p. 516-518. We are glad to correct here the error made in vol. VII, when we believed that we recognized there a stone column.

Here as on the supports of the fountains, the capital with its two annulets and very high necking is much wider than in the stone capital. It seems to be enlarged to better receive the soffit of the oak beams, more exposed to flexure than beams of stone; but what particularly forms the originality of this facade is the composition of the entablature. On the cornice below the cymatium, instead of the panel bead or other ornaments found at that place on the temples, there is a moulding that recalls the Egyptian cavetto, whose hollow is filled by the same leaves that ornament it in the valley of the Nile. We have so far found this singular arrangement before only on a funerary stele.¹ The same cavetto and leaves appear to have decorated the capital of the ante. Finally, where the treatment again varies from the classical type is, when a half triglyph is placed at the end of the frieze. On the temples a complete triglyph always terminates the Doric frieze at the angles.

note 1.p.80. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 550, fig. 251.

What does not fail to surprise one in that image of the royal dwelling is the rounded roof, with the ellipsoidal curve crowning it. One asks whether it is necessary to see there the indication of a dome on a square plan that covered the megaron; but Greek architecture appears to have never known that arrangement. We believe the explanation is very simple. What one has there is an abbreviation of the triangular pediment. In the band on which extends the procession of this illustrious wedding, the painter could not give the pediment its true form without encroaching on the rich border serving as an enclosure, which would have been ungraceful, or without much reducing the height of the personages, that he did not wish to do. After all, the building was only an accessory. This is because the artist had already signified it by drawing it at a much smaller scale than the actors in the scene; he used the same liberty in contenting himself with indicating and recalling by an entirely conventional sketch the existence of the pediment. For identical reasons, he has again had recourse to this expedient, when

ne had to represent a fountain in another scene on the cratera;¹ Now in other paintings in which the designer arranged to have more freedom, we learn that the pediment ordinarily crowned edifices of this sort, and all those having as a common character slenderness of the columns supporting light entablatures (Figs. 32, 36).

note 1.p.61. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. Fig. 221.

There are works of a different kind, those of harbors, which like the aqueducts, public fountains and sewers, must have been inaugurated in the age of the tyrants; but it is rare that the historians mention them, and even because of their nature, they have not left such clear traces as the channels cut in the solid rock or the masonry concealed in the midst of hills. The waves of the sea beat on the sides of the piers as on the walls of the docks sheltering the triremes. As soon as men ceased to maintain and repair these structures, it soon separated and displaced their materials. If there remain some ruins attached to the bottom, vaguely seen under the water, these are not suited for exact drawings, and one can scarcely study their masonry with sufficient precision to distinguish the later repairs from the most ancient parts of the work. Placed at the outlets of the two most important valleys of the peninsula, those of the Caysster and of the Meander, Ephesus and Miletus must have occupied themselves in regulating the courses of their rivers, which already tended to become sluggish at their mouths; they certainly had led the water into great basins surrounded by quays; handling the merchandize was better on well joined stone slabs than on a muddy bank. It is believed that the places of these basins are discerned, and their outlines in the marshes in the plain; but all these structures are buried under a thick layer of the deposits of ages. To obtain an idea of what those Ionian cities undertook with a view of improving and equipping their harbors, one then has only the evidence of Herodotus, where he praises the Samians "for having executed three of the greatest works existing in all Greece." ¹

note 1.p.62. Herodotus. III. 60.

We have already mentioned two of these works, the temple of Hera ² and the aqueduct of Eupalinos. ³ Here is what the

historian says of the third: - "This is a dike in the sea, that encloses the harbor. It has a depth of about 20 orgygies and a length of two stadia." Two stadia are 1161 ft. and there is nothing to suggest doubts; but one asks whether the other dimension is not too great. Twenty Orgygies seem to be 116.5 ft., according to the term used by Herodotus, that the structure had the height of 114.8 ft. below the water level; now at the point at which are seen the remains of the dike, marine maps give only a depth of 55.3 ft. It is difficult to assume that in a harbor into which flows not even a brook, the bottom has been raised to such an extent. One can no longer admit that the dike rose above the level of the sea so much as 55.3 ft. That would indeed have been useless labor, and that excessive height would have caused excessively complicated shipping and landing, that in harbors constantly occur beside the piers by means of stairs constructed in their sides. The Samians that did the honors of their city for the curious traveler might increase the figure representing the height of the submerged portion of the dike in order better to arouse his admiration; now could the visitor conducted around by them verify the accuracy of their statement?

note 2.p.62. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, p. 313-317.

note 3.p.62. The same.vol. VIII. p. 24-29.

note 4.p.62. E. Ardaillon. (Latin). 1898. p. 43.

If the traces of the ancient dikes have not been found at Samos, there are very important ruins of them at Mitylene (Metelin) in the north port.¹ Considering the use made of hydraulic cement in the foundations of these two dikes, one hesitates to date their execution beyond the 6th century. Yet what one must retain of the observations to which these remains have given rise, at Lesbos as in the harbors of Piraeus, the wall enclosing the city continues on the dikes. It was doubtless the same at Samos. This was the sole means of preventing the enemy from making himself master of the port by setting foot on the dyke. One will note that the dikes were cut in some places by channels from 4.9 to 6.6 ft. wide. Different explanations have been given for this arrangement, that has been found elsewhere. I should willingly believe that men had thought to reduce thus the intensity

of pressure of the waves exerted on the external face of the work by opening a passage to the waves.

Note 1.p.83. Koldewey. Die antiken Bauresten der Insel Lesbos. p. 58, Pl. II.

However concise is the statement furnished by Herodotus concerning that work, which like tunneling the mountain must date from the reign of Pericles, it suffices to prove that henceforth the Greek knew how to carry out successfully these enterprises in spite of the difficulties presented, and that will always occur in works executed under water. The most ancient examples of these works were perhaps given by Corinth. In the art of naval constructions its engineers had been masters and inventors. They had created new types as everywhere else men attempted to reproduce.¹ To house the triremes that it had been first to construct, harbors were required on the two seas plowed by its vessels, and at least one of them, the Lecnaeon, that opened on the gulf of Corinth and which looked toward the West, could never be more than artificial port, a basin excavated by the hand of man in a mass of sand, that forms on that side the slope of the shore.² A quite large lagoon appears to correspond to the site of the ancient port; perhaps excavations would uncover the remains of the entrance jetties, the walls of the basin and the docks of the galleys. At least a part of the works that is covered by the dune must date back to the 3rd or 7th centuries. From the time of the Bacchiades and especially under the Cypselides, Corinth had a commercial and war navy for which a shore could not suffice for beaching. On the contrary at Cenchrea on the other sea, men only had to utilize a harbor intended by nature, quite at the bottom of the gulf of Egina between two promontories. To shelter the vessels there from the surf sufficed two dikes, whose ruins are still visible in the transparency of the water. One also perceives the remains of levees that divided the port into several compartments, to facilitate landing from the ships and discharge of merchandize.³ It is easy to find on the ground the place occupied by the diolkos, the wide road crossing the isthmus, where it was only 3.75 miles wide. Even war ships were dropped on rollers there from one sea to the other.⁴ The merchandize which did not stop at Corinth also

took that route. Landed at Schoinos, a little port opposite Aenchrail, they were transported on wagons to the opposite shore, to which in the calms of summer boats could come to load, scarcely wetted at a little distance from the shore. The texts in which is a mention of the diolcos only date from the 5th century; but they allude to this hauling of vessels as a practice known to all and long established.⁵ Certainly to the first promoters of the soaring and enterprising genius of Corinth must be attributed the creation of this road and of this service, with the machines that it assumes and the gangs of laborers charged with it. In his desire to favor and develop the commercial movement, had Periander not conceived the project of piercing the isthmus, that project which Nero attempted to execute, and that contemporaneous industry has finally realized.¹

Note 1.p.84. Thucydides. I. 13.

Note 2.p.84. E. Curtius. Peloponnesus. Vol. II, p. 538.

Note 3.p.84. The same. p. 537, 538; pl. XX.

Note 4.p.84. Thucydides. VIII. 7.

Note 5.p.84. Aristophanes. Thesmoph. verse 550.

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In describing the works that the Greeks executed for adapting their soil to the needs of a policed society, we have so far found only one road of some importance for mention, that for crossing the isthmus. This is because roads for wagons have never had but a very secondary importance in Greece. Most of the cities could communicate with each other by sea. Yet there were some cities like those of Laconia, Arcadia and of Beotia, as well as some celebrated sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia, that were situated far from the coast. The Greeks could not dispense with arranging for the heaviest goods easy access to those populous cities: it had also been necessary to open ways by which the solemn processions could ascend in beastly prior to these temples by which they could bring without trouble those horses and chariots that were to compete for the crowns so passionately desired.

Besides innumerable trails and mule roads, Greece had roads, whose construction and maintenance required an intel

intelligent and sustained effort.² Their traces have disappeared in the plain, except where are still seen the foundations of the roads on which the swamps were crossed; in the mountains, where they were made on the solid rock, the ground has best retained their impression. In some valleys of central Greece and Peloponessus are perceived in the ground of the existing road or near it, parallel grooves that cut deeply into the solid rock. One can sometimes follow them for a long time, even to the place where a crevasse has cut the path, and a landslip has changed its direction. At the first moment men believed that they saw these grooves cut in the stone by the wheels of chariots; but more careful examination has revealed the true character of these grooves. The distance apart and the depth are too uniform for one to explain their origin by an action so irregular as that of the chariot jolting over an uneven ground. What must be recognized there are grooves cut with tools, sunken rails analogous to those of our tramways. When the wheels were in those grooves the draft animals had less difficulty in hauling their load. To profit by that advantage the wagoners could only had to employ on these roads wagons with the distance of the wheels apart fixed by the distance between the rails.

Note 2. p. 33. We merely summarize here very briefly the considerations and observations presented by Ernest Curtius in one of the most interesting essays, entitled *zur Geschichte des Wagenbaus bei den Griechen*.

The difficulty was in the meeting of two wagons, for there was usually but one track, as we would say. Hence arose frequent disputes, that might change into violent and murderous brawls. One recalls the combat that in the legend arose on this account between Oedipus and Laios. Oedipus was unwilling to leave the road to give place to the chariot of the old man. To prevent these conflicts, sidings were sometimes arranged where the nature of the ground did not permit one of the teams to occupy the border of the road. There are places where the two grooves became four, or two tracks bent to the right, while the two others turned to the left. Between the rails, where the horses or oxen must haul, the irregularities of the ground were filled by deposits of sand or pebbles; some vestiges of these fills have been found.

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1. Decadence of Funerary Architecture; its Explanation.

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What is the reason for that difference?

When the architect displays so much invention and genius in constructing and decorating the temple, why has he ^{not} employed the resources placed in his hands by the two canonical orders and the ample diversity of their treatment?

Different causes must have contributed to produce the effect that we mention. There is first the change that occurred in the ideas on the subject of the condition of the dead,¹ about the end of the Homeric epic period. From the moment when one ceased to regard them as inhabiting the tomb and continuing to live there a life similar to the terrestrial life, he was less compelled by imperious and anxious preoccupations to ensure to them a commodious and luxurious habitation. As the hypothesis of Hades extended, the common asylum of all the shades, and the rite of cremation corresponding to that hypothesis became a more general custom, the arrangement of the tomb lost its importance. If the primitive conception, with all the contradictions that it implied, did not cease to persist in the popular soul, the final conception that marks an advance in reflection could only exert a certain influence on funerary architecture. The princes of the Eupatrides alone had been able to erect

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intelligent and sustained effort.² Their traces have disappeared in the plain, except where are still seen the foundations of the roads on which the swamps were crossed; in the mountains, where they were made on the solid rock, the ground has best retained their impression. In some valleys of central Greece and Peloponessus are perceived in the ground of the existing road or near it, parallel grooves that cut deeply into the solid rock. One can sometimes follow them for a long time, even to the place where a crevasse has cut the path, and a landslide has changed its direction. At the first moment men believed that they saw these grooves cut in the stone by the wheels of chariots; but more careful examination has revealed the true character of these grooves. The distance apart and the depth are too uniform for one to explain their origin by an action so irregular as that of the chariot jolting over an uneven ground. What must be recognized there are grooves cut with tools, sunken rails analogous to those of our tramways. When the wheels were in those grooves the draft animals had less difficulty in hauling their load. To profit by that advantage the wagoners only had to employ on these roads wagons with the distance of the wheels apart fixed by the distance between the rails.

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In spite of the precautions taken, these roads followed the bottoms of the valleys and scarcely suited a great movement of travelers and merchandize; they remained very narrow and could only be traveled very slowly. Most transportation occurred on the back of an ass, mule or horse, as in Greece today, where one could not have recourse to the vessel. A much greater width was given to the sacred ways, crowded by actual multitudes on certain days. This can be judged by the ample road, that from the port where all the Ionians landed near Miletus, led to the temple of Branchides. Somewhat similar was doubtless done for other roads, that were longer and had the same character, such as those from Elis to Olympia; Cirrha to Delphi, and Athens to Eleusis. Bridges were there thrown across the torrents and the road was paved, at least in places, as it certainly was at the isthmus for the entire extent of the road of the diolcos.

If the Greeks had traced roads that connected the ports with the cities in the interior, they nowhere attempted to create them along their steep or jagged coasts. It is necessary to wait till the reign of Hadrian for one to be able to go by land from Megara to Corinth, otherwise than by Kakiskala, a detestable trail, that I passed in my youth, not without having more than once felt my mule slip on the brink of a precipice. Perhaps by not opening a more convenient route across the isthmus, the Greeks yielded to fears, that lead our engineer officers to refuse to the inhabitants of the frontier more than one useful road on the pretext of not affording passage to a foreign invasion, but it was the same in other parts of the country, where these fears could not make themselves felt. Between maritime cities located on the same coast, there was no connection except by boats. In the matter of roads, this people restricted itself to the strictly necessary, even when its civilization was most brilliant. For it, when one desired to travel rapidly, if he could not jump into a boat, he walked; at need he ran; the walker went everywhere and took the most direct routes. The national hero of the Hellenic race is Achilles "with light feet." This prowess of the runner, Greece has always had in high esteem. At the beginning at Olympia was no test other than the race, and when great variety was introduced into

the games, the exercise by which they opened was always the race, there and in other solemnities of the same kind, the race that in what was termed the dolichos dromos, compelled the contestants to pass around the stadium 12 times without stopping, a distance of more than 1.5 leagues (3.75 miles).

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monuments, whose dimensions, decoration and equipment were in accordance with the position that these chiefs of the people occupied in the city; now it was especially on the directing classes, as we should say, that was imposed the doctrine by which the poets were inspired, and that must be adopted soon afterward by the philosophers, that doctrine which had as a logical result the simplification and impoverishment of the tomb.

Note 1.p.88. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII, Book XII, Chap. II, 3.

Other tendencies and other sentiments then concurred in relegating funerary architecture to the second plane, preventing it from taking the same flight as religious architecture. The time had come in which was made in Grecian society a prodigious display of curiosity, ambition, ardent and creative activity. Everywhere, at the most remote part of the Euxine, on the coasts of Africa, in Italy and Sicily, and farther yet toward the West, colonies were founded, of whom many soon became more populous and more prosperous than their mother countries.

In the mother country as in all foreign Greece, scattered and fragmentary, these discoveries of unknown lands, these enterprises and their dangers, this abrupt growth of newborn civies overexcited the individual. The life led by the entire people was too mobile, intense and passionate, for the dead to hold a place in it, that they had in that of former generations. Where ideas were modified very rapidly and men were always in movement, it was scarcely possible for the dead still to be on the part of relatives and friends, the object of the same fearful solicitude and of such profuse liberality as in the past.¹

Note 1.p.89. Böhlaus, one of the best observers, that has studied the Greek cemeteries, notes this impoverishment of the funerary equipment in regard to the cemetery, that he explored at Samos. (Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen. p. 22).

At the same time that the Hellenes thus subdued on all sides the barbaric world, they organized themselves very strongly under the form of autonomous cities, both in their natal country as on those distant shores, where they had s

set foot. The ancient hereditary royalties have

set foot. The ancient hereditary royalties have disappeared, or if in certain cities their names remain, this has rather the appearance than the reality of power. That in the city is in the hands of those called equals at Sparta. According to the time and place, these equals are more or less in number. Here some families, who claim to descend from the gods or legendary princes, divide the magistracies and all authority; There are all the citizens, rich or poor, associated or claim to be to be so, at least by their votes in the assembly, in the conduct of public affairs; but everywhere, whether the constitution be narrowly aristocratic or inclines to democracy, the same sentiment manifests itself in each of these communities:- this is the suspicious love of equality. Whether they were some hundreds or thousands, all those on whom the law conferred the same rights are perpetually occupied in watching each other, in order to prevent anyone among them from having more than his share of influence and power. Whoever makes a display of his nobility and his fortune alarms and hurts the pride of all those members of his caste or citizens jealous of their privileges, who do not wish him to leave the rank; he is very quickly suspected of aspiring to tyranny. Now for the ambitious the essential thing is to conquer popularity; but among the means offered to him for striking the imagination of the multitude for his benefit, perhaps none is more efficient than the luxury of obsequies and the magnificence of the tomb. Under the impulse of the emotion that reigns in the city, when it has just lost one of its chiefs, souls are more sensitive than at any other time. The erection of funerary monuments similar to those of the Mycenaean age, or pomps like those represented on the vases of the Dipylon aroused all the memories of the past; in perpetuating the memory of services rendered, they would singularly elevate the reputation and prestige of a certain family for the benefit of that one of its members, who has conceived the idea of a violent or disguised usurpation. It is known what advantage the Roman aristocracy derived for centuries to maintain its prestige from the spectacle given to the people by the imposing arrangement of its funeral rites, the long train of consuls and of triumphant soldiers of former times, who accompanied

their descendant through the city to his last dwelling, under the eyes of the multitude.

Men divined this danger; under the power of these suspicions and fears, measures were taken to restrict the theatrical equipment of funerals, the dimensions of the tomb and the value of the equipment buried there. This is evidenced by certain arrangements in the laws of Solon. The legislator had forbidden, that during the exhibition and transportation of the corpse, the lamenting women should tear their chests and cheeks with their nails; he opposed that there should be heard a prepared lamentation, i.e., one of those songs in which were celebrated the glories of ancestors; he would not permit an entire ox to be sacrificed. He authorized no one to follow the procession, except very near relatives and none of over sixty years. He forbade placing in the sepulchre with the body more than three vestments. He added that one must not frequent other funerals than those of the family to which he belonged. Finally a slightly later law, whose author is not named to us, decided as Cicero asserts concerning Demetrios of Phalerus, that no one had the right to build a tomb, "that required from ten workmen more than three days of labor."¹ Not with such few men and in so little time could one construct something, that even afar resembled either the domes, or even the hypogeums that sheltered the remains of the princes of the Achaean epoch.

note 1. p. 71. Cicero, *de Legibus*. II, 23, 26; Demosthenes, Macartatos; Plutarch, Solon. 21.

We are informed in some detail only in regard to Athens; but there are indications that give reason to think that the same phenomenon was produced at other places in the Grecian world. For example, here is a law recently discovered for Nisyros, a little island near Rhodes:— it forbids under severe penalties men from erecting over any buried corpse any monument whatever.² Doubtless practice admits more than one infraction of that rule; there have been found in the island over the sepulchres cylindrical pedestals set on a square base and ornamented by garlands and bucranes; but it is no less true, that a prohibition of that kind was not made to induce the architect to continue the traditions of the Mycenaean age, or to create for a tomb connected with

the new beliefs, types that had the amplitude and beauty of those, whose use had gone out of fashion. This is confirmed by the study of Attic sepulchers, those best of all known to us for this period. If those were always of mediocre effect, it is not because the worship of the dead had then fallen into desuetude. One has a curious indication of the power that this religion still maintained over the minds, in the full age of pericles. Where the tombs of the Mycenaean type had remained visible, it seems that they continued to receive the respect of the villagers in whose domain they were found. The fact seems to be proved for the monument of Menidi;¹ it is probable that the Acarnians regarded it as enclosing the remains of some local hero, a patron of the district. The rite of funerary homage appears to have been perpetuated very long after the passing of all memory of the ancient dynasties to whom those monuments belonged. There among the remains of offerings found in the dromos or passage by which one reaches the dome have been found fragments of vases of the 5th century, mingled with the remains of Mycenaean industry and those of the time when the geometric style prevailed. It has been supposed and not without probability, that it was the occupation of Decelia by the Spartiates in 413, who by making vacant that part of the territory, forever ended the celebration of those ceremonies.

note 2.p.71. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1898. p. 190 (Greek).

note 1.p.72. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. p. 361-362, 414-4

note 2.p.72. Wolters in a memoir read at Archaeol. Gesell. of Berlin, of which a summary was given by Berl. Phil. Woch. 1899. p. 315-316.

2. The Attic Tomb.

In the cemetery of the Dipylon that has furnished us with such precious information on the interments of the period of the geometric style, there are only slight traces of originals that can date back to the 5th century. The two or three tombs that can be attributed to that epoch, according to the fabrication of the vases whose fragments were found there, have suffered too much for it to be easy to restore their primitive appearance; all that can be seen is, that they were surrounded by mounds of small height.³ By certain cemeteries of Mesogea, that have not been ravaged by later

restorations, one can best form an idea of what the Attic tomb was in the 7th and 6th centuries. These cemeteries of Velanidezza and of Vourva appear to have been family cemeteries; there during about a century were interred the Eupatrides, who had their residence and property in the fertile plain dominated by the eastern side of Hymettus.¹ There is still mention of these hereditary tombs by the orators of the 4th century, where each member of a gens had his allotted place. Demosthenes mentions one of them, that he says was "common to all descendants of Bouselos. This is that called the tomb of the Bouselides. There is an enclosure of very great extent in the ancient manner."²

Note 3.p.72. Brückner & Pernice. Ein attischer Friedhof. p. 86-90.

Note 1.p.73. *Dection archaologikon*. 1890. p.16-28, pls. A, B; p. 105-112, pl. G. (Athen. Mitt. vol. xv. p. 318-323, pls. 33, x).

Note 2.p.73. Demosthenes against Macartatos. 79. See against Anbulides. 28.

At Velanidezza this character is best emphasized by the presence of a wall, that surrounds most of the graves, thus evidencing the relationship connecting the dead, whose remains they received. It is made of blocks of tufa separated by intervals filled with bricks (Fig. 44). Here as at Vourva, the tombs were covered by one of those artificial mounds that Homer calls *tymbos*, mounds to which was nearly always given a base and especially a facing of stone to ensure the solidity and duration. If that enclosure no longer remains here except for scarcely half the perimeter, it must be that these great blocks have been used again in the construction of a neighboring church or house (Fig. 45). Although partially destroyed, this wall had preserved to the mound, until the day that the pick was applied to it, a height that at the centre reached 11.3 ft. and a contour, that at least recalled the circular outline; one distinguishes it very well in the view that we give of the area of the excavations as it appeared when the excavations had just been completed. (Fig. 46). On the contrary, at Vourva the same precaution had not been taken, and the mound was much more deformed by the effect of the rain. One perceives more than one bank of

very slight projection, where is scarcely found the appearance of the primitive tumulus (Fig. 47).

At Velanidezza were discovered 19 interments beneath the mound; in this count are not included 4 funerary urns and 6 sarcophaguses, that judging by their forms and by the level at which they were found, seem to have been placed here quite late; probably in the Roman epoch they were inserted in the superficial layer of the mound.¹ As for the tombs of that date from even the foundation of the cemetery, Stais, the author of the excavation, divides them into two categories; some of them appear earlier and some others later than the erection of the tumulus. In the first group he places first a double tomb (Fig. 45 B, Z), that has over its two graves a part constructed of large and small stones, a sort of trap, whose walls were about 3.3 ft. high (Fig. 43). These two troughs were formerly covered by stones, that eventually fell into the cavity. Which proves that the similarity of a tomb to the same sort uncovered at Vourva. There beneath the heap of earth were only 7 tombs, and one of these at once attracted attention by its singular appearance. This is a sort of coffer 5.12 ft. high divided into three unequal compartments by internal partitions, these are of crude bricks, like the external walls; this increase of solidity of the mass, whose cavities were further filled by earth and small pebbles. This filling was done after the construction of the tomb. In the walls of these coffers must have been inserted as ornaments large clay slabs burned in the oven and painted, several examples having been found elsewhere in Attica. They are of quite careless execution and represent various scenes of the obsequies, the exhibition of the dead, the funerary lamentations and the preparation of the procession (Fig. 49).¹

Note 1. p. 76. *Collection Somzee, Monuments de l'art antique*, published by Adolf Furtwängler. 1897. p. 87-89; Figs. 34, 35.

The cover forming the top of the structure was intact; it was necessary to make a hole in it to reach the large pit dug beneath two of the compartments, and whose bottom is 5.6 ft. below the ground. This cover was made of several superposed layers of clay, its edges projecting beyond the vertical walls so as to form a sort of cornice. Great stones to

the number of 16 were set on the surface bounded by that moulding. Sunk in the clay while it was still moist, they scarcely served except to load the cover and thus to give more bearing to this little structure. All around to a distance of about 3.8 ft. a bed of whitish clay was placed on the ground and tamped; it was like a rug stretched beneath the monument.

Was it to cover the whole beneath the mound, that was raised over the sepulchre this mass of masonry, which gave it a sort of sketch of architectural decoration? It is difficult to believe this. Further, see what proves that this tomb was intended to remain uncovered and visible. Southwest of the monument and very near it, the excavation uncovered a trench formed by two walls of crude bricks about 1.6 ft. high; it was divided into two by a third wall lengthwise, sensibly lower (Fig. 46, 2 2). The hollow of this double channel was cleared; besides ashes, very fine charcoal, bones of birds and fragments of painted vases were found there. There is no doubt that the vases to which these fragments belonged were purposely broken; by joining these fragments have been restored a plate of an oenochoe of archaic style. What the trench contained were the fragments of the funerary banquet; after that ended, the vases that had held the meats ^{and} the libation were broken and deposited in the cavity with what remained of the brands of the fire and the members of the victim. In that manner nothing of the offering was lost for the dead.¹

note 1. p. 78. Stais in Athen. Mitt. vol. XVI, p. 321, 325. All that have made excavations in the cemeteries of Asia Minor and of Attica have observed these facts, which prove that at least there, the custom was at the close of the obsequies to break the figurines and vases, that had played a part in the ceremony. At Myrrina the heads of the statuettes are sometimes found above the covering slab, unlike the bodies ~~being inside the pit~~. In one of those, all the heads were piled in a corner, while the bodies lay on the ground. (excavations of Pottier and Reinach). Even today in Greece, after having borne to the cemetery the dead clothed in his finest clothing, those clothes are rent before lowering the body into the grave; thus they are made useless. ~~and occur~~

under the eyes of Pottier at the burial of Petros, the old servant of the French School (1880). The feeling is the same as that which caused the breaking of the vases and figurines.

When the trench served for these uses, the tumulus beneath which it was later buried certainly did not exist; the rites were performed under the open sky at the foot of the monument. This further does not appear to have been the only one representing the first state of the cemetery. Two other tombs seem to date back to the same period (Fig. 46, B, G); they likewise have a built portion over the pit, that assumed the rectangular form in one, while it was round in the other; but this was a facing of pebbles that enclosed the nucleus of earth, here protected by a flat roof, there by a hemispherical dome. Lying around it were found the stones, that formerly entered into the composition of these covers.

What is true of Vourva is no less so of Velanidezza. There also a mass of stone and earth surmounted one of the graves, whose place corresponds to the centre of the tumulus. (Fig. 45, E, Z). Why did they take the trouble to erect this mass, if it must immediately disappear under the embankment of the mound? ¹ One is also inclined to regard two other tombs (Figs. 45, 47, H, 7) as preceding the building of the mound. There is no external and visible construction; but the pits are exceptionally excavated. They terminate 9.3 ft. below the natural soil in a pit just the size of the wooden coffin, whose remains were found there (Fig. 43). If before reaching the level of the plain, one first had to pass through the entire height of the tumulus, would he have descended so low? With the position occupied by these interments, the work could be undertaken only when the workmen executed it in entire freedom on the uncovered earth. The dead being once buried, there must have been placed over the pit where he reposed a cippus or stele; if these monuments were not found, this is perhaps by reason of a restoration made in antiquity itself. They would have been displaced when the mound was built, and they would have been left on the surface of the ground to continue to recall to future generations the memory of the dead to whom they had been consecrated; later, they would have suffered the fate to which were exposed all cut marble; they would have been cast into the

lime kiln. It is further possible that one of them has been preserved to us by some happy chance. The only information that we have concerning the subject of the celebrated relief, commonly called the warrior of Marathon, is that it came from Velanidezza.¹ Who knows if this stele was not formerly erected over one of the tombs of the cemetery excavated by Stais?

note 1.p.79. Gabbadias. Glypta ton ethalon Moyscioy. No. 23. The painted stele of Lyseas also appears to have come from the same site (The same, No. 30).

Each cemetery in question then commenced with two or three isolated tombs, whose place was marked by a sign, by some monument. These tombs attracted others; men desired to be buried near a father or ancestor, a citizen that by his acts and by the offices he had held, had cast some lustre on the family or on the phratry to which he had belonged, and the idea did not fail to occur to honor him by a common monument of all the dead, whose remains were thus grouped in a small area. The most simple means for obtaining this result was to adopt the type of the tumulus, this type that epic poetry had made familiar to all imaginations; was not this sort of sepulchre assigned to its heroes, to Achilles, Ajax and yet others, to whom many noble families claimed to refer their origin in those centuries in which the aristocracy dominated? By the arrangement of the tombs, particularly in the cemetery of Velanidezza, one divines how matters passed. When it was decided to build the mound, to it was given as a centre the primitive graves, thus that had been the first nucleus of the cemetery.

At that point the cone of earth attained its greatest height; thus the new tombs were not placed there. Examine the plan (Fig. 45); they are all at the exterior, as if arranged in a circle around the group of the most ancient graves. To excavate these it was necessary to pierce the mound; thus they were only made of a moderate depth; the pits do not reach or barely exceed 6.6 ft. Small walls are seen near several graves and seem to have been built for the purpose of retaining the earth while the spade of the grave-digger completed his work.¹ No cippus of masonry on any one of these graves near the perimeter; for what purpose could that

that superstructure have served, since as soon as the grave was closed, it must disappear beneath the heaped earth?

note 1.p.80. Delton. Pl. B, Fig. 1.

At Vourva are much fewer graves, and their arrangement is less regular, less significant at first sight (Fig. 47); yet one easily distinguishes the graves preceding the construction of the tumulus (A, B, G, D) from those that may be termed recent (E, Z, H). The latter were found quite near the edge of the mound and their depth is quite small (From 1.3 to 3.3 ft.). There the virgin soil is not even disturbed; one is contented to give in haste some blows of the pick in the soft earth of the mound; If in certain respects the cemetery of Vourva may seem less interesting than that of Velandezza, on the other hand it presents a curious peculiarity. We have mentioned the trench arranged near the principal tomb, and whose purpose we have determined (Fig. 47, O O). It was covered by the tumulus; but the rite that it served to accomplish could not be interrupted, because the condition of the place had been changed; it was the expression of beliefs so profoundly imprinted in the Grecian soul. They were freed from making the trench again by transferring it elsewhere; we find it there at the perimeter in the form of a straight line, formerly tangent to the circle once described by the base of the tumulus (Fig. 46 H). This channel is much longer than that which it succeeded; this is because it was used more on account of the number of the dead, that reposed beneath the common mound. Thus has collected the remains of much pottery in and around the trench. When the trench was filled, it was emptied; the fragments resulting from the more recent anniversaries there took the places of those heaped by the ceremonies of earlier years. It was possible to restore several vases broken in those funerary feasts, plates, cups, amphoras and crateras.²

note 2.p.80. Athen. Mitt. vol. xv. p. 328, pls. x, xi, xii

Examination of the fragments of vases supply information, that casts some light on these cemeteries. Thus for what comes from Vourva, the style of the two plates is the same as that of another that came from the great one; then there did not pass a long time from the digging of the first graves and the erection of the tumulus. Taking the entirety of

the finds, one distinguishes vases of several sorts, not contemporaneous with each other. Some of them belong to the group called protoattic, that nearly follows those of the Dipylon. Others betray the imitation of procedures employed by the potters of Corinth; finally, with the cratera representing a festal scene, one reaches the series of Attic vases with black figures. Each of these types corresponds to one of the successive phases of the development of ceramics, and the passage from that to another represents the efforts of at least a generation of workmen. That all these vases of different ages may find themselves collected thus in one deposit, it was necessary for more than one century for men to continue to bury in this cemetery, or in any case to celebrate there the propitiatory rites. The historians of art are nearly in accord in admitting that the geometrical style passed out of fashion at latest about the beginning of the 7th century, and that about the middle of the 6th, the potters of the Ceramicos had nearly reached that mastery of form, which made the fortune of the Workshops of Athens. It would then be between 650 and 550 that the cemetery of Vourva was opened, and that it changed its appearance by the construction of the tumulus, and when the members of the family to whom it belonged brought to it annually the tribute of their offerings.

At Velanidezza, this sort of information is almost entirely wanting; no pottery has been found, so to speak. Besides vases without decoration, there have been found on one or more tombs some lecythes with black figures; these appeared to belong to the end of the 6th century.

Indications of another kind suggest the same approximate date. In the two cemeteries have been found incomplete inscriptions, remains of monuments placed and replaced on the mound. At Velanidezza are the fragments of two steles. On one was a list of names, on the other being the epitaph of a dead man, perhaps the occupant of the principal tomb. At Vourva is the pedestal of a statue. It was made of four stones, that rose like steps. There were three blocks of limestone tufa and a block of marble from Mt. Hymettus. The latter was at the top and bore on one face an inscription, the beginning of which has disappeared; yet it permi

One to understand that the monument was dedicated to a woman, and it gives the name of the artist, Phaedimos. This monument was a statue, whose feet were found and replaced in the hollows in which they were formerly fixed, when the whole was placed in the museum of Athens (Fig. 50).¹ All in these three texts, orthography and shape of the letters, bears the mark of the last years of the 6th century.

Note 1.p.82. Cavadias. Glyta tou ethniken Mouseion. No. 81.

The two cemeteries also have this character in common, that the dead buried there have all been cremated. The burning was done in the pit itself, that having served as the place for the funeral pile. In several of these pits were found large pieces of half burned wood, with charcoal in nearly all. The hollows were cut in a very hard clay that has retained the form well, and for the most part presents an arrangement that even without these remains from the fire, would have sufficed to inform us that the fire was kindled in the cavity of the tomb itself. The surfaces of the two ends and even the bottom of the pit are hollowed by a deep groove, that extends the entire length of the pit. (See the plans, Fig. 45, B, Q; Fig. 47, A, D, Z, 3; and the section, Fig. 43, Z, 3). The purpose of this groove was to arrange a passage for the air, that circulated freely along the ends and under the bottom of the funeral pile, increased the heat of the flame. The result desired seems to have been obtained; the bones found in the ashes were reduced to little fragments.

If the rite of cremation was then employed by preference in Attica by men of noble race when they interred the dead, the type that they had adopted for the external and visible part of the tomb was the tumulus, not the tumulus of the Mycenaean age, where the heaped earth is merely the envelope of the ample internal dome, but the solid tumulus built over the narrow subterranean pit, which the epic poetry describes as the monument due to its heroes from the piety of their companions in arms. We have studied this type at Velanidezza and at Vourva. One has been mentioned at another point of the same district, at Petreza; the mound there surmounts a single grave in which was placed a vase with black figures, on which is read an inscription apparently conten-

contemporaneous with the Pisistratides.¹ Finally, as one can convince himself by glancing at the great map at 1 : 25000 drawn by German officers under the direction of E. Curtius, he finds traces of a great number of mounds of the same kind on the soil of Attica.² The height of many has been almost destroyed by the repeated passage of the plow, or by the violence of seekers for antiquities, who have excavated and overthrown them. Some seem intact and promise interesting discoveries. To represent the appearance that these funerary mounds had when new, it is necessary to make an effort of the imagination, that is facilitated by many finds mentioned above. On the apex of the tumulus and on its slopes, which then retained all their regularity, rose statues of men or women and steles placed on two or three steps, facing the road passing the base of the tumulus. As one can see on the restoration made of one of these monuments discovered at Lamprae in this same district (Fig. 51),³ statues and steles whose inscriptions and epitaphs are in a brief and severe simplicity. Over other graves, instead of a marble is one of those great vases of painted clay more than 3.3 ft. high and richly decorated, of which the central museum at Athens possesses some beautiful examples. We have stated by what means have been recognized the vases that fulfilled that purpose, among the products of the pottery called of the Dipylon.⁴ Now it seems demonstrated that the custom of calling on the ceramists to furnish the sign, that must surmount the tomb, at least persisted until the end of the 7th century. Several protoattic vases appear to have had that purpose.⁵

Note 1. p. 23. Deltion. 1890. p. 28, 49, 110.

Note 2. p. 23. Karten von Attika mit erläuterndem Text, published by E. Curtius and J. Kaupert. 1833-1895. Text by H. Schöfer.

Note 3. p. 23. Fr. Winter. Grabmal von Lamprae. (Athen. Mitt. vol. XII. p. 108, pl. II).

Note 4. p. 23. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 55-62.

Note 5. p. 23. Couze. Amphoreus rythmon protoattikon. (Jour. of Hell. studies. 1902. p. 80). (Eon. Arch. 1897. p. 63).

When one perceived this group of monuments afar, elevated on its pedestal of tufa and dominating the plain, the eleva-

profiles of these colossal amphoras, and the variety of scenes there represented, these figures and slabs carved by the already very skilful chisels of the sculptors, and that the brush had covered with vivid colors, all the past is represented to the mind. The history of the family is read and revived in the marble images and in the concise texts, that recall to new generations the name and relationship of the ancestors.

The artificial tumulus known to all travelers that have visited the plain of Marathon appears to be the mound that the Athenians raised in honor of the citizens who died fighting against the Persians and Mardonius. By its form and the idea that it expresses, it strongly resembles these mounds of Velanidezza, Vourva and Petreza, with which it is almost contemporaneous; but it is distinguished from them by some traits peculiar to it.¹

Note 1. p. 84. Deltion. 1890. p. 123-132, pl. IV; 1891, p. 37, 37. -- A Hauvette. Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Grèce. (Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques. 1892. p. 328-335, pl. Its IV). Athen. Mitt. vol. XV. p. 233, 234. (Note of Walters).

What is first very exceptional here is the dimensions. Erected by the city to contain the remains of 192 citizens that fell in the battle, this tumulus has an amplitude very different from the family cemeteries. It was about 607 ft. around at the base before the excavations that have pierced it in all directions, and its apex rose still to about 40 ft. from the level of the plain. Another difference; beneath the mound are here neither a constructed mass nor separate pits. For the reduction of the bodies and for the interment of all remaining after cremation, arrangements were made that were not wholly those that we have described in the other cemeteries. At a depth of 9.8 ft. below the level of the plain, excavations have found a layer of charcoal and ashes, with which are mingled human bones and fragments of vases; some lecythnes were even nearly entire.³ This layer was quite thin and covered an artificial soil made of sea sand and a paste that owed its greenish color to small pieces of schist. The workmen charged with the labor commenced by digging a large basin that served as a common grave, and

to protect it from the infiltration of water that abounds in that low and marshy ground, they furnished it with a tight bottom. In this country and on that bottom they built an enormous funeral pile on which were laid the corpses. The flames once extinguished, the residues of the combustion rested on the bed of sand and schist. On the smoking embers and the whitened bones were scattered either entire or broken in pieces, the vases that served for sprinkling the fire and for the last libation. There was also a sacrifice. At Marathon as at Vourva a trench had been arranged in which were poured the milk and the wine, and where had been collected the remains of the offering. This channel here passes through the middle of the base of the mound, is built of large bricks, and is 29.5 ft. long and 1.25 ft. wide inside. It was found filled with ashes, bones of animals and fragments of painted vases.¹

Note 1.p.85. On this channel, which was only recognized in the second campaign of the excavations, see Deltion. 1891. p. 87, 97.

After the end of the ceremony, over the trench, the burnt wood and all the human dust were thrown, and excavated soil was piled around the great pit in which had been kindled the fire. The soil of that alluvial plain supplied what was lacking to complete the erection of the tumulus. That tumulus dominated the plain by at least 36 ft. before the rain had flattened its top and washed its slopes. Further not alone by its mass and its height did it perpetuate the memory of the valiant men, who died for their country. If statues, reliefs and epitaphs decorated mounds, that like those of Mesogea were only private cemeteries, for stronger reasons a public monument like this called for a complement of that kind. Nowhere in the authors is mentioned a work of sculpture that occupied this place; at Delphi alone was consecrated the votive group composed of a dozen figures cast in bronze, executed by Phidias and that symbolized the illustrious victory;¹ but on the other hand, at Marathon itself were read, inscribed on marble and arranged by tribes, the names of all that had paid with their lives for the triumph of the arms of Athens.²

Note 1.p.86. Pausanias. X- 10-1.

note 2.p.86. Pausanias. I. 29-4; 32-36

The samest fragment of these steles has not been found in the fill, that Pausanias saw still in place; it is then impossible to affirm with entire certainty, that the tumulus recently excavated was that tomb of the Athenians, alluded to by Thucydides,³ that Pausanias mentions twice as "situated on the plain." It is further difficult to doubt it. Pausanias relates that he had sought in vain on that plain "a mound or other sign" that marked the place of burial, which the Athenians are said to have accorded to the corpses of the Medes.⁴ Do not these expressions imply that he regarded as the tomb of the Athenians the tumulus that we have described? Otherwise it would be asked, what was this tumulus that he could see, and if this mound did not cover the remains of the barbarians.

note 3.p.86. Thucydides. II-34.

note 4.p.86. Pausanias. I. 32-4.

Other considerations further end in giving a very high degree of probability to this hypothesis. The tumulus of Marathon is distinguished by its volume from all the mounds that mark the locations of private cemeteries, and it is also distinguished from them by its arrangement that seems to be especially adapted to what the Greeks call a *polyandron* or collective sepulchre; now if any circumstance justifies the erection of a monument of this nature, is it not the celebrated battle and the homage that the city rendered to those of its sons, who sacrificed themselves for it! Instead of this conjecture, has any other been proposed which renders a satisfactory account of the effort made by the constructors of the mound? What we have adopted after the authors of the excavations, finds a precious confirmation in the study of the vases that have been collected at the base of the mound among the ashes and the bones. What predominates in the ceramics are the lecythnes with yellow or reddish ground and black figures (Fig. 52); now the like are found by hundreds in the rubbish on the Acropolis of Athens that represents the remains of structures and of offerings preceding the second Median war. If certain vases in very small number, like a sort of urn with two ears or like a great Corinthian amphora, appear to date before the

5th century, there is nothing that cannot be easily explained; the relatives of some of the dead sacrificed on that occasion earlier vases, which had been preserved in their families for a certain time. The urn in question was discovered at nearly the centre of the mound; it contained the bones of a dead man, who had been burned separately (Fig. 53). One has asked, and the conjecture cannot fail to be very plausible, whether it did not contain the remains of one of the generals, Callimachos or Sterilaos, who were slain in the combat.

3. The Grecian Tomb in Countries other than Attica.

The Attic tomb for this period is that best known to us. Besides, one scarcely proposes to rob the cemeteries of the objects of all sorts deposited there; they have not been studied with the same care as those of the suburbs of Athens. There are many parts of the Hellenic world for which this information is almost entirely wanting, or at least remains very vague; all that we could propose to ourselves, would be to show by examples taken from the different countries, how in spite of the persistence of a basis of common ideas and feelings, usages were then different among the tribes of the Grecian race, that concerned the rites of obsequies and the mode of arrangement of the tomb.

The distant island of Cyprus, with Attica, is the country in which the cemeteries have been most accurately described. For all the time that passed between the establishment of the first Greek colonists on Cyprus and the Median wars, one finds in that country neither traces of cremation nor funerary mounds. For persons of humble condition, the tomb is a pit dug in the earth or a cavity made in the side of a hill (Fig. 54). For more important persons, the excavation is enlarged. Sometimes the rock itself formed the walls and ceilings. Elsewhere to prevent slides there was built in the interior of the space cut in the rock a chamber more or less spacious (Fig. 55). The walls were of great cut blocks with dry joints; it was covered by a roof with two slopes formed by slabs corbelled out on each other. Sometimes the chamber was constructed in the interior of a wide and deep excavation, to which one descended by several steps. (Fig. 56). They spared nothing to ensure the stability of

the monument; this is evidenced by the precaution taken to consolidate this entirety by means of great slabs laid flat on the ground all around the cavity. These two last tombs date from the 6th century; it is what the explorer Ohnefalsch believes himself able to affirm, and who in his 12 years of excavations opened on Cyprus enough tombs, and has drawn up lists of funerary equipment, so that one can refer to his judgment.¹ There is reason to attribute to the same epoch an entire series of tombs, that Cesnola studied in the cemetery of Amathontes, and which we have already had occasion to represent.² These tombs are now sunk deeply to 33 or 50 ft. underground, are built of fine cut stones; some are with flat roofs and others have roofs with two slopes most contain only a single room; but there are some in which one counts two and perhaps even four rooms, one of which serves as a vestibule.

Note 1. p. 90. M. Ohnefalsch Ritter. *Kypros. The Bible of Homer.* 2 vols. 1893. Text, p. 473.

Note 2. p. 10. Cesnola. *Cyprus.* p. 254-281; *Histoire de l'Art.* vol. III. p. 216-222, Figs. 153-158.

What characterizes all these Cypriote tombs is, that the bodies contained have not all been reduced to ashes. Whether laid in a trench, in a cavity in the form of an oven, on a bench left against the wall of a chamber, or in a sarcophagus of limestone, as the rule at Amathontes, or exceptionally one of marble, they were always entrusted to the secular care as death left them.³ It occurs that the skeleton is found intact, when the tomb has not been violated, sometimes with one arm across the chest and the other extended with the hand placed in a clay dish (Fig. 57). On the contrary, in the most ancient tombs of Thera, in those that appear to belong to the 7th or 6th centuries by the character of their inscriptions, there is no interment. All the bodies have been cremated.⁴

Note 3. p. 90. Cesnola. *Cyprus.* p. 223, 230, 270, 297, etc.

Note 4. p. 90. Notice on the excavations of Draggendorf in Berl. *Woch. Phil.* 1887. p. 887.

The cemeteries of the old cities on the island of Rhodes have been scarcely less productive than those of Cyprus. One has not forgotten the Mycenaean vases that came from

the tombs of Ialysos; those of Camisos have furnished a number of monuments, that appear to date from the 7th and 6th centuries; but the skilful seekers of antiquities, Salzmann and Biliotti, who have exploited these cemeteries, have scarcely occupied themselves in furnishing documents to historians. If the former kept a brief journal of his excavations, all artist that he was, he scarcely made therein more than almost formless sketches. In the sole fragment of that journal that has been published, there is only the elevation of the facade of one of these tombs without plan or dimensions.

note 1. p. 91. Musée Parent. p. 31.

Yet what results from some information scattered in the little that Salzmann has written, is that the tomb, was cut in the marl, that it was a pit, a cavity with dome, or one in which the masonry facing was built against the wall of the rock. This chamber that was not located at a great depth was reached sometimes by a well, by a short ramp, or sometimes by a stairway of some steps.²

note 2. p. 91. Salzmann. Une ville homérique. (Rev. arch. 1881. vol. IV. p. 487).

The sole rather precise information that we possess on the cemetery, or rather on the cemeteries of Camiso, we owe to the geologist, M. L. de Launay. By my request, he was willing to promise to endeavor to satisfy the curiosity of archaeologists so far as permitted by the requirements of his special researches.³ In the Notice that he published on the return from his expedition, there is a topographical sketch on which are marked the locations of the different cemeteries around the city of Camiros (Fig. 53); there is also a description of one of the four great sepulchral chambers excavated in 1839 in the cemetery of Papa-Loures on the account of Biliotti and of Capt. Galson; two sections are added (Fig. 59). By a sloping passage in which are cut several steps, one reaches the chamber. This is rectangular; in plan it is 8.53 ft. long by 7.22 ft. wide. A roof in two slopes covers it and the height is 9.34 ft. The doorway reproduces the section of the chamber itself and is 7.22 ft. high by 2.62 ft. wide. The wall is built of regular courses with dry joints, which are 6.7 to 7.9 ins. high. The blocks are cut obliquely on the outside to fit against the rock,

itself cut inclined.

The resemblance of these cavities and those of Cyprus is striking. As on Cyprus, the dead were interred. Two skeletons were found in the tomb that we have just described. Salzmänn also speaks of those that he found lying on benches or placed at the right and left of the cavity. The British Museum possesses a beautiful sarcophagus of terra cotta ornamented by archaic paintings, that came from Camiros;¹ now by its forms alone, the sarcophagus assumes the use of the rite or interment.

Note 1.p.92. Terra cotta sarcophagus of the British Museum. Pl. *333.

Sarcophaguses of the same material, the cemetery of Clazomenae has not ceased to supply for some fifteen years, a city of Ionia quite near Smyrna (Fig. 60). Museums compete for these curious monuments; they endeavor to present faithful reproductions of them; they are described and commented on, and it appears that men have succeeded in fixing the date between 650 and 550 with much probability; but there is little information on the conditions in which these sarcophaguses have been discovered, and on the place that they occupied in the cemetery. According to Andre Joubin, who visited the site himself and brought two of these monuments to the Louvre, the coffers of painted clay were deposited in a cavity cut in the solid rock. Earth was then heaped around the walls of the coffer, the whole then being covered by a roof of slabs of limestone. The dead contained in these coffers appear to have been interred and not cremated. No terra cottas or vases collected in these finds are mentioned, all due to clandestine excavations.¹ At several points in the plain of Vourva, as the territory of Clazomenae is now called one also sees appearing among the crops other sarcophaguses cut in a very soft clayey tufa, that has a plain surface in places. They have no ornamentation, but the similarity in form leads one to regard them as contemporaneous with the sarcophaguses of terra cotta.¹

Note 1.p.93. A. Joubin. Des Sarcophages clazoménis. p. 3-9. 1901. A single indication can refer to funerary equipment:

In one of these coffins was found a lead jar and an alabastron of ornamented glass, of a type found very

frequently in the archaic tombs of Rhodes (Dennis, p.15).

Note 1.p.94. Dennis. Two archaic Greek sarcophaguses.p.20. (Jour. Hell. studies. 1883. p. 1-22).

By reason of their rich and curious ornamentation, the sarcophaguses of Clazomene have very particularly attracted the attention of archaeologists; but this same type of coffin appears to have been the fashion in all Ionia. We have met with it at Rhodes, where although men spoke a Dorian dialect, industry and art had an entirely Ionian color. We find it again represented by numerous examples at Samos in a cemetery recently explored.² There as at Clazomene is implied the rite of interment. There have been mentioned in this cemetery only very rare traces of cremation. Nearly all the dead were buried in sarcophaguses of limestone, some of which had a flat cover and others had rounded or gabled roofs. In only 6 tombs out of more than 150 were found coffins of terra cotta in the same form as those of Clazomene, although without painted ornamentation; but fragments of those clay coffins in great quantity are scattered over the ground. The sarcophaguses were set in trenches of small depth. The close relations that the Ionians maintained with Egypt perhaps contributed to cause them to adopt the fashion of these sarcophaguses.³ What confirms this conjecture is that certain of these coffins present in the interior an arrangement, which recalls that of the coffins in which were placed the mummies in the valley of the Nile. The same cavity made to enclose and support the head; the same enlargement for placing the trunk; the same hollow for receiving the feet (Fig. 61).

Note 2.p.94. Bœhlau. Altionische und italische Nekropolen. 1898. p. 10-34.

Note 3.p.94. Bœhlau, p. 14-15. Wegand, who likewise visited Samos (Athen. Mitt, vol. XXV, p. 209), attributes to the 6th century a marble sarcophagus in form of a conical temple, that by the figures nearly recalls the celebrated sarcophagus of the weepers found at Sidon. It does not appear to me as proved, that the Samian sarcophagus dates back to such high antiquity.

This type of sarcophagus, while enjoying great vogue, was ^{not} further ~~xx~~ the only one in use for burial. One finds in the Samian cemeteries great vases, in which were placed the corp

corpses. There were also cavities cut in the rock that contained two or three funerary benches. A stele appears to have been usually placed before the entrance of the chamber. Walls have been uncovered, that seem to have served as a base for some tumulus analogous to those that we have found in Attica, or to have served to enclose a group of tombs belonging to the same family.

Under whatever aspect the tomb shows itself, its funerary equipment was very poor. Little or no precious metals. Near the skeleton of a woman is a mirror and quite numerous painted vases; they date the cemetery; they allow most of these interments to be attributed to the 6th century.

If for the islands and for Asia Minor, we thus have some brief indications, we are still less advanced for continental Greece. Describing a series of vases and of archaic ornaments found near Thebes in Beotia, a learned man who has neglected nothing to inform himself, is compelled to confess that he cannot even know whether the founders of that cemetery employed cremation at the same time as interment; all that he could learn is, that the objects studied were taken from very deep pits, dug at both sides of the ancient road; the pottery was there protected by slabs that covered it.¹

Note 1. p. 35. Böttler. Böttische Vasen. p. 328. (Jahrbuch. 1889. p. 325-365).

For the same country, we are a little better informed on the subject of a celebrated cemetery, that of Tanagra, from which have come so many marvels.² If the charming figurines that have made its glory are of quite late date, still there are not wanting inscriptions and figurines of terra cotta, which prove that many of the tombs of the cemetery date back to the 6th and 7th centuries. Further, the forms of the tombs do not appear to have varied much since that remote age till the last days of Grecian independence. What the diggers find most frequently around ancient Tanagra are pits covered by large stones and sometimes by large tiles laid flat or arranged in pairs like a roof. A certain number of these pits contain coffins made of great slabs of tufa. Elsewhere the bodies are buried in coffins of clay, some of which are only enormous hollow tiles, while others resemble our caskets. Above the graves were placed cippuses, whose outlines pres-

present extreme diversity. Some affect the form of an altar, whose base is surrounded on three sides by a high and thick border, which does not exist on the fourth side (Fig. 62). By the space thus left ran the liquids of the libation and were dropped the ashes and the remains of the sacrifice; this peculiarity of the arrangement clearly recalls the principal rite of the worship rendered to the dead. Finally, over several tombs were steles decorated by figures as at Athens, instead of a simple cippus. One cannot doubt the funerary purpose of the curious monument on which are read the names of Dermys and of Kitylos, engraved on the very bodies of two nude young men, modeled in high relief on a sort of pier. This sculpture appears most ancient.¹

Note 2.p.95. Haussolier. (latin). 1884.

Note 1.p.98. The same. p.38-42. Collignon. Histoire de la sculpture grecque. Vol. I.p.194. Fig. 91. Beotia has yielded other funerary steles, but which do not seem earlier than the 5th century. (Körte. Die antiken Sculpturen aus Boetien, (Athen Mitt. Vol. III. p. 301-422; IV, p. 268-276; III, pl. XV; IV, pls. XIV-XVII).

At Tanagra most of the corpses have been interred. Yet some have also passed through the fire of the funeral pile. That was sometimes built and lighted, as in Attica, in even the pit of the tomb intended to receive the bones that it calcined.

Of other cemeteries in central Greece and of Peloponessus, even the richest, we know nothing, so to speak, and yet how much one would have liked to learn by a circumstantial relation what was done with its dead by the industrious and opulent Corinth of the Cypselides, whose tombs though already explored and pillaged by the colonists of Cesar and Augustus, have still retained for contemporaneous searchers so many fortunate windfalls. When one follows the roads that extend between the foot of Acrocorinth, the beginning of the isthmus, and the shores in which opened the ancient ports, he perceives everywhere in the sides of the hills, traces of recent excavations; but no one has taken the trouble to note the location of the principal groups of tombs and to describe the cavities in which are buried in such great number the vases of metal or of clay, in fabricating which

excelled the artisans, famed for their skill throughout all Greece.

We have no more information for this epoch on the cemeteries of Argos and the mighty cities. As for Sparta, its cemeteries have not been studied, ~~those~~ dating from the time when that city was the most powerful of all Grecian cities. All that one knows is that the Spartans then liked to place on their tombs steles ornamented by reliefs; these represent the dead receiving the homage ~~and~~ the offerings of their relatives. Several of these monuments are preserved in the museum of Sparta. The same theme is repeated there from one stele to another with variations, which do not sensibly modify its character.¹ As for the Menelaion, the imposing cenotaph dedicated to the memory of Menelaos and Helen, with its three terraces, the highest being surmounted by a small building, it has rather a temple than a tomb.²

note 1. p. 37. Dressel & Milchsäfer. *Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung*. (Athen. Mitt. vol. II, p. 233-474, pls. XX-XXV.

note 2. p. 37. On the excavations that have uncovered that mass, allowed its plan and elevation to be restored, see the report of Kastritès. (*Praktika de la Société archéologique*. 1900. p. 73-87, Figs. 4, 5, 6).

We have shown what an independent and bold flight religious architecture took in the colonies that Corinth and other Greek cities founded beyond the Adriatic on the coasts of Sicily and of Italy. It constructed edifices there, which by their colossal dimensions and by the particular character of certain arrangements and by certain traits are distinguished from those, that art created a little earlier in the cities of the mother country and in the sacred enclosures in which were celebrated its great games. It does not appear to have been the same for the funerary architecture in western Greece; the tomb does not have the originality of the temple. To be convinced, it suffices to take into account the results produced by one of the excavations best conducted and the most interesting made in recent years, that in which M. Paolo Oesi in two campaigns explored the most ancient cemetery of Syracuse. That necropolis is found in the district now called Del Fusco, on a rock terrace dom-

dominating by several yards the plain watered by the Anapus. Syracuse was founded in 735; nearly all the tombs^{are} of the 7th and 6th centuries. In the course of the 5th century men ceased to bury ~~in those~~ found in the enclosure constructed by Denys about the year 400.

Note 1.p.98. B. Orsi. Gli scavoletti. 1893 (Notizie della scavi, 1895). See the same, 1893, p. 445-486.

Orsi opened 380 tombs; none of them presents a type that we have previously found in the islands or in Greece proper. There are neither a tumulus, large caves, nor chambers built of masonry. What dominates are pits, large and small, cut in the tufa. In 366 tombs are 111 of those pits. Many were closed by slabs; others had no covering. The surface of the rock had sometimes received plastering; most frequently it remained rough. There are examples of two superposed pits, the deepest being narrower than the upper one (Fig. 63). Also very frequently the corpse lay in a stone tub, that further received neither ornament nor inscription. Some of these rustic sarcophaguses were deposited in pits forming an extra protection; others were simply inserted with bottom in a cavity made in the surface of the rock; the earth was then thrown against their walls and on their covers (Fig. 64). Intact or broken, 100 of those sarcophaguses were uncovered. There were also found examples of interments in caves made of large tiles; but the clay was particularly employed in a different form. Bodies of children were placed in enormous vases called titnei; many skeletons of very young children were also found in amphoras with broken necks, in hydrias, pots and other receptacles of the same kind.²

Note 2.p.98. It was a custom throughout the entire Greek world to entrust thus to a ducty vase the remains of all small infants; the verb egchytizein was used to designate that operation. (Orsi, La necropoli. p.5, Note 2).

The rite of interment was employed in this cemetery much more than that of cremation. Taking the entirety of the tombs, there in only 7 per cent were found calcined bones; that proportion even falls to 3 per cent if one only considers the most ancient tombs. On the contrary, this increases as one comes down in time. It is already about 25 per cent in a cemetery of Megara Hyblea, another Sicilian city.

where nearly all the tombs seem to be of the 6th century.¹

note 1.p.33. P. Orsi & S. Cavallari. *Megara Hyblea*.

This cemetery presents nearly the same arrangement as that of Syracuse;³ but one finds there a type of which no example has been found at Fusco; it is that of the rectangular tomb built of cut stones. In one of these structures the chamber is 10.2 ft. long by 5.5 ft. wide and 3.3 ft. deep. (Fig. 65). The thickness of the walls is from 1.31 to 1.51 ft. A peculiarity that distinguishes this tomb is, that at the southwest angle rises a stele of pyramidal form, terminating in a great ball. The chamber and the slabs covering it were concealed in the soil; this sort of mark rose above the level of the ground. The globe monument surmounting it bears the trace of snooks felt during 24 centuries, while the plow has not ceased to pass over the field where it projects. The chamber contained the bones of two corpses, whose skulls were well preserved; there were near them several vases, lecythæ and a great Attic amphora. Great bronze nails lay on the ground; they served to connect the lid of planks that doubled the ceiling to better protect the interior of the tomb. In 344 tombs are found only 14 of this kind; the stonecutting is very careful everywhere. Only the principal citizens gave themselves this luxury. Men of average condition were contented with a monolithic sarcophagus; that was easily cut from the very soft tufa; such interments here formed the greatest number. Pits were for the poor; still one finds them with a covering formed by tiles arranged with much care in the form of a gable roof (Fig. 66). Amphoras served either as coffins for skeletons of infants or urns for cremated corpses. Two vases were thus filled and sometimes superposed. (Vignette at end of the Chapter).

Analogous results were yielded by the excavations that S. Cavallari made in two cemeteries of Selinonte, those that he calls Galero-Bagliazzo and Manicalunya.¹ The vases contained in the tombs of both are earlier than the end of the 6th century. At Selinonte have been found arrangements analogous to those already stated in Sicily. Thus in one of those cemeteries was uncovered a chamber constructed of cut stones; but it contained two sarcophagi of terra cotta, and it has a gable roof (Fig. 67). Further, at a depth of

9.35 ft. at the bottom of a rectangular well closed by large slabs of stone was a sarcophagus of terra cotta (Fig. 63). What is most common is, at nearly the level of the ground a sarcophagus made of slabs of tufa, some of which are set flat and others on edge.

note 1.p.100. S. Cavallari in Bull. della Comm. etc. (No 4, 1871; p. 9, pl. II; no. 5, 1872, p. 10-22, pls. III, v).

In the most ancient of these two cemeteries was found no trace of cremation, and in the other, in which several interments were perhaps of the 5th century, were found only very rare vestiges; even there, nearly all bodies were interred.¹ It appears that in the cemetery of Manicalunga, the more recent of the two, the place of most of the interments was indicated by steles, whose fragments strew the ground. Men boast to us of the elegance of the forms of these cippi and of the mouldings decorating them; we are told that these recall in all respects the mouldings of the neighboring temples. One of these appears to have had the form of a fluted Ionic column; fragments of the shaft and capital have been found. It is vexatious that we have not been shown some specimens at least of the style of these monuments and of the character of their profiles. On the other hand, the report of these excavations supplies certain details with interest concerning the arrangement of the funerary equipment. At the interment, a patera was placed in one of the hands of one of the corpses and a cup in the other; quite near the mouth was laid a lecythe, as if the dead only had to bend the head to drink. In another tomb, which perhaps was that of a woman was found seven eggs. This was also the old belief that persists, the care manifested to ensure the sustenance of the dead.

note 1.p.101. S. Cavallari. Le due necropoli etc. p. 16.

The cemetery of Gela presents a curious peculiarity. Great sarcophagi of terra cotta have been found there by hundreds, though very rare in the rest of Sicily. This is because stone was scarce and costly at Gela; it must be sought at 5 miles from the city. Ordinarily the clay of these coffins received no ornamentation. Yet here is a fragment of a sarcophagus, the top of the side of which was decorated by a row of eggs surmounted by a band of palms alternating with

lotus flowers (Fig. 69). The execution is very careful. The rich gave themselves the luxury of these beautiful coffins in a single piece, surmounted by a cover with two slopes and a double pediment. The poor were satisfied with a coffin made of clay slabs set on edge and covered by wide tiles.¹

note 1. p. 102. *Orsi. Notizie degli scavi. 1900. p. 282-284.*

It is seen by the few indications that we have given concerning the Grecian cemeteries of the island, the Greeks of the colonies founded in Sicily nowhere adopted the funerary custom of the Sicule tribes, that they drove out before them, and with which they everywhere found themselves in contact. What characterizes the Sicule tomb is a cavity more or less spacious, that serves for the sepulchre of a family, a cavity reached by a passage and a little well.² Even in the suburbs of several of their cities, the Greeks had under their eyes vast cemeteries, where the type was represented by thousands of tombs. Now these are not appropriated. It is very rare to find in their cemeteries an interment with another. The tomb remains with them superficial and individual. If the Greeks did not hesitate to render homage to the old civilization of the Orient by borrowing from it several times, they esteemed themselves too much, when then compared themselves to the half savages, that they met on their way along the coasts of the North and West, to think of being inspired by their examples. By not allowing themselves to mingle with them and resisting all compromise, they ended by conquering for Hellenism almost everywhere.

note 2. p. 102. G. Perrot. *Un peuple oublié. Les Sikules. Revue des Deux Mondes. 1897. vol. CXLII. p. 395-332.*

One knows almost nothing of the cemeteries of the cities of Magna Grecia. The site of Sybaris has finally been fixed by excavations made in 1879 by Fr. Sav. Cavallari.¹ It would be interesting to know the funerary architecture of that opulent city, that was founded in 720 and was destroyed in 510 by the Crotonians; but in the numerous mounds that rise in the plain of the Crathis, and that are called timponi, there have been found only fragments of vases of the 5th century, beneath the beds of ashes from the flames of the funerary piles. These tumulus then appear to enclose not the remains of the inhabitants of Sybaris, but those of the

colonists, who were established by Athens at Thurium in the vicinity of the site of Sybaris.

note 1.p.103. Cavallari in *Notizie degli scavi*. 1879. p. 49, 77, 122, 156, 245-253.

As for Tarente, the researches of Viola have confirmed an indication of Polybius; against the custom, the cemetery was included within the wall itself of the city.² One can state that it was the same in several other Messapic cities. All the tombs discovered were interments. Those appearing most ancient are only pits cut in the solid rock; men later cut there pits with funerary beds, which were reached by a stairs with several steps.

note 2.p.103. Polybius. Fragments of Book VIII, 30; Viola in *Notizie degli scavi*. 1881. p. 414.

Was there among the Greeks of the historical age a rule generally adopted for the orientation of the corpses in the sepulchre; By Plutarch, it is known already that the Megarians and Athenians did not have the same customs in that respect;³ observations made in the ground still better evidence that diversity of local usages. At Tanagra most of the dead have their heads toward the West; yet there are a number of interments in which they are at the North or South.⁴ At Syracuse all the tombs extend in the direction from West to East, and the skull is placed at the eastern end of the grave. The slight deviations found are easily explained by the lack of space in certain very crowded parts of the sanctuary.¹ On the contrary at Megara Hyblea, are chambers and pits in all directions.² It is the same at Selinonte; more than one tomb is orientated from West to East; but there is another, one of the most careful, that is from North to South, and of the two skeletons that it contains, one has its head at the South and the other at the North.³ Practice in this matter then varied from one city to another; it even appears that at many points of the Grecian world, men attached no importance to the position that the corpse occupied in the tomb. Even where as at Syracuse a general rule was followed for a certain time, did a religious idea decide the method pursued? It is permissible to doubt that. If in the entirety of the beliefs concerning the condition of the dead, and from which came the funereal rites, a certain or-

orientation of the body was held more advantageous than any other for the inhabitant of the tomb, the effect of that conception would be felt everywhere, as were felt everywhere the logical consequences of the naive hypothesis, which assimilated the posthumous life to that led by man beneath the sun during the brief duration of the days of strength and health accorded to him by nature.

Note 1.p.104. Orsi. Gli scavi del Fusco. p. 7.

Note 2.p.104. Orsi & Cavallari. Megara. p. 773.

Note 3.p.104. Cavallari. Due Necropoli. p. 11.

Note 4.p.104. At Myrina in Boeotia, where more than 1000 tombs have been opened, it has been shown that there was no preferred orientation. (Pottier & Reinach. La Necropole de Myrina. vol. I, p. 71). The same observation was made at Aegae in the same district. (Bull. corr. hell. 1891. p. 215). At Samos it is the same. (Böhlau. Altionische Nekropolen. p. 80).

4. Comparison of the Attic Tomb with Tombs outside Attica.

However summary the investigation that we have instituted, one conclusion results; this that Athens, which soon takes the lead in the movement of civilization, distinguishes itself from the other Greek cities in the 6th century by the funerary rite, to which it accords the preference as well as by the appearance that it gives to the tomb. This is further everywhere most frequently concealed underground. If some external sign indicates its site, this is merely a cipus without ornament, or at least without inscription and an effigy; usually nothing recalls there the name or represents the power of the dead. Interment is almost always alone in use, and consequently the arranger of the tomb has but one care, to ensure as much as possible the preservation of the body. To obtain this result, he devotes all his care to the excavation of the pit and the construction of the chamber, whether cut in the rock or built in regular courses; but he scarcely seems to have thought of completing the interment by the addition of a work of art, or of erecting over it a monument, which should speak to the eyes and the imagination.

Quite otherwise is the case at Athens. There if the inferior class nowise changed its customs, the nobility adopted

the habit of cremation. Now to shelter a few handfuls of ashes and bones left from the funeral pyre, there was no need of a cavity conceived and arranged as the chamber of the dead, as his eternal habitation; an urn of clay or metal sufficed, deposited at the bottom of a small hole excavated in the tufa of the hill or in the movable earth of the plain. In these conditions, the piety of the survivors must seek other means of manifesting itself. If found this means in the erection of a mound over the tomb, a tumulus on which it placed steles, whose inscriptions and reliefs perpetuated the memories of useful and honored citizens, where it grouped statues thought to reproduce the traits of all those personages. Thus the tomb was indicated afar to the eyes of the passer; it became a sort of museum common to the family, a museum that reminded new generations of titles and services. What accounts for this difference in the rite, this originality of the Attic tomb? What best explains this phenomenon is the influence that the brilliant civilization of Ionia appears to have exerted on Athens, about the time when it prepared itself for the part that it was to play during the following century after Salamis and Platea. We shall find the very vivid trace of this influence in a number of statues and reliefs, when we study the history of sculpture, and on the other hand, one knows what support the Ionian epic poetry found in Athens, what Solon and Pisistratus did to fix the texts and to give them the form in which they passed to posterity in the two great poems, to which were attached the name of Homer. As the revisers charged with the work had determined them, these were recited in public in the great panathenaic national festival; these hearings and the pomp surrounding them added much to the prestige and popularity of this ancient poetry. Now what characterizes the funerary rite described by the Iliad and Odyssey, that concerning the burial of the hero, is the cremation and the construction of the tumulus. If the Eupatrids of Athens adopted this type, it could only be by a system derived from archaism. There is a manifest intention of imitating the customs of the heroic age. So far as one can judge of this by the cemetery of Clazomene, Ionia had then commenced this custom; Attica revived it, with the thought of elevating

and ennobling themselves by inspiring themselves with an ideal, which had for the imagination in those surroundings a most vivid and entirely peculiar attraction.

It was in vain to undertake to reproduce the creation of a distant past; the tomb of the chief of an Athenian family about 550 or 500 could not be the exact copy of that, which three or four centuries earlier had received the ashes of some Eolian or Ionian prince, that had fallen in battle in opening to his compatriots access to the fertile valleys of the Scamander and the Cayster, of the Hermes and the Meander. Writing had come into current use; sculpture had made sufficient progress for it to appear natural to require its aid in view of the decoration of the monument. Thus the Attic tomb, while retaining the principle of the general arrangement of its model, is somewhat more substantial, richer and more expensive.

This tomb also bears other traits, the mark of its time. Bodies were cremated there; but in the cemeteries of Mesog^{not}ea, they were burned on a pyre flaming in the midst of the plain, as beneath the walls of Troy. Cremation was there performed above sarcophagi entirely similar to those, that in Attica and neighboring countries, ordinarily enclosed corpses untouched by the fire. In these sarcophagi and not in an urn of clay or metal, were deposited the calcined bones mixed with charcoal from the fire. Painted vases were placed in these coffins, and other vases after serving for the sacrifice were thrown into the trench, whose existence we have shown in two places. In the character of the tombs of Velanidezza and of Vourva is there something mixed and hybrid. These are burials with cremation; but they have been arranged by men that have the habit and practice of interment.

Of all these monuments, that most distant from the Homeric prototype is the tumulus of Marathon. The funeral pyre of the men of Marathon must have been, like that of Patroclus or that of Hector, an enormous pile of wood built on a platform. In the mound of the tumulus have been found no sarcophagi; but on the other hand, there were found bones contained in a vase, that although of clay recalls by the use made of it the golden box in which Achilles encloses the

ashes of his dear companion in arms. Perhaps when the regulated the order of these public funerary rites, they desired that the tomb of the hero of the city should resemble as much as possible that of the hero of the national epic poem. Like Ajax, Patroclus and Achilles, in ~~representing~~ the barbarians had fallen the generals and soldiers, whose remains were entrusted to this tumulus; like them again, they were the champions of Europe against Asia, like those sons of the gods which fought before Troy.

Chapter VIII. Archaic Grecian Sculpture, its Principle and general Characteristics.

1. The principal Themes of Sculpture and the Condition of its Development.

About the middle of the 8th century have we fixed the limit of what we have termed the period of Homeric Greece, a term adopted for want of finding one more significant and more precise. This period opens with the invasions of the tribes of the North, and what characterizes it in the domain of sculpture is the accession of a new style, the rectilinear geometrical style, that differs very strongly from the Mycenaean style. The sense of the living form appears to be lost; the workman multiplies linear combinations, whose actual poverty is poorly dissimulated under an appearance of variety laboriously sought. During two or three centuries, there is a recoil in the arts of design, or at least a stop.

Meanwhile, because of collisions and crowding, the tribes that created the Mycenaean civilization, and those who came to dispute the possession of the land with them ended in forming a people, who remained distributed in hundreds of independent cities, no less were conscious of a moral unity. In this Greece in which no longer vary the respective positions of those various ethnic groups, in this Greece of history, nature resumes its rights and the imagination is aroused. We shall follow the movement and progress of this sort of renaissance of sculpture and the industrial arts, as we have already done for architecture.

If we have adopted the date of 750 as a dividing point between the two periods, that we distinguish, that cannot claim an absolute rigor. It is a necessity for the historian to place landmarks on the long route that he must travel; he is required to establish in the indefinite procession of phenomena those divisions, that permit him to orientate himself and to place before the reader general views; but these procedures always have something arbitrary, however indispensable it may be to resort to them. Yet it sometimes occurs that the division corresponds to some memorable event, or to the appearance of some great work of the genius of man. In the little that we know of the life of the Grecian people

during the 3th century, there is nothing that emphasizes a certain year, that particularly designates it to serve to close an age as completed, and to separate it from that commencing.

Yet we have our reasons for placing there rather than elsewhere that junction of the two epochs. About that time is indicated by the foundation of cities promised a brilliant future, this movement of colonial expansion, which will place the Greeks in connection with Egypt and Asia on the one hand, and on the other with the more or less savage peoples of northern Africa, of the shores of the Euxine sea, Thrace, Epirus and Illyria, Italy and Sicily, Gaul and Spain. In Egypt and in Asia, the Greeks will find ideas and symbols, relief types and trade recipes, of which they will make use. In the North and West they will make themselves the purveyors of these barbarians among whom they will be established, and they will have for them a powerful incentive of effort and progress.

All those about that time, who expressed by words or forms the idea of the thoughts and feelings of the Greek soul have profited by this stimulant created by that extension of the horizon; but it is important to insist here on one of the effects that cannot fail to have this fine display of energy. All or nearly all the sons of the Grecian family were thus mobilized; each new enterprise multiplied for them the occasions of meeting and exchanging their ideas. It was thus that the epic poems that bore the name of Homer were disseminated in continental Greece and in the most distant colonies. They became the common patrimony of all men that claimed the name of Hellenes; whatever dialect they spoke in daily life, they henceforth entered into possession of a common language, the epic tongue, and of a poetry in which were fixed the most ancient memories of its adolescence retained by the race. This poetry at the same time expresses by happy and brilliant images the highest conceptions to which this race had yet risen, the solution that it had itself given to the problem of human destiny, as well as of the mystery of the laws controlling it. In the course of the 3th century this poetry, carried from city to city by singers who embarked with the colonists and merchants in new adven-

adventures, chanted by them in the midst of a circle of attentive auditors, completed the conquest of minds, and imposed itself on them as the education of youth and mistress of intelligence.

From the day when Homeric poetry, with the complements added to it by the so called cyclic poems, has thus completed the tour of Greece, all the Greeks have a common ideal, that after having found in the language of epic rhythm its primary expression, it must tend to realize itself also by the means at the command of sculpture. The moment has come when to satisfy that need, after the arts of design have been long delayed in the deadlock in which they were held, will move as if impatient to regain the time lost and will develop in their turn, employing various modes of representation suited to the materials, that they used. The signal will be given for resuming that advance, by the tribes of Asian Greece among whom that poetry, perhaps born on other shores, arrived at its full flowering; but as will extend beyond the seas the radiation from this centre, each of the groups by which its action will be felt, will gradually experience its fertile and suggestive warmth. These gods and heroes in familiar intercourse with which men had learned to live, they will desire to give a body and a face marked by features sufficiently characteristic, so that all these children of the imagination of poets may thus find themselves better defined and more clearly distinguished from each other, than they could be by the most circumstantial tales or the most precise epithets. The prowess of ancient warriors who did not fear to contend against the gods themselves, and the foreign journeys to unknown coasts and among fabulous peoples, all those adventures on land and sea, that one is never weary in hearing related, men will take pleasure in representing; the chisel and the brush will there emulate each other. In Homer and in all the lost epic poems whose titles have come to us, where the artists found the themes on which they are to exercise themselves, the sketch and a little model of their statues, the personages and even the entire arrangement of their compositions. These descriptions and scenes, they will always present to the mind when their hands have patiently labored to free themselves from the

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stiffness and dryness of geometrical design to apply themselves to rendering all these types of masculine and feminine beauty, of agile and supple strength, of the maternal dignity and of the voluptuous grace, to which the poet has known how to impart a truly individual appearance by a happy choice of words. We have stated elsewhere how and why poetry has preceded art.¹ The latter will henceforth endeavor with persistent ardor to regain that advance; but about three centuries will be necessary to triumph over the resistance of the material and the difficulties of the calling, to produce works in which nobility and freedom of form will express the idea as clearly as formerly had done at the dawn of historic times, the sensuous hexameter and the limpid idiom of the epic poets of Smyrna and of Chios.

note 1. p. 111. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 105-108.

In this effort that the artist attempted to render visible and tangible the images of those beings larger than nature, that had long existed only in the mind, by which they were conceived, sculpture plays the chief part, has the principal labor for centuries and the final success. The architect then creates the peripteral temple, that one of all his works which owes least to the examples and influence of foreign models, which in the history of antique are best defies all comparison. Now the temple requires and assumes the statue

In very distant times the ^{places} ~~places~~ consecrated to worship, it appears were only spaces arranged on the top of some low hill, then sacred forests in the midst of which a little building contained the venerated fetish. It was entirely otherwise when the labor of the Grecian mind had created its gods. Each of these gods personified one mode of moral and physical life, such as revealed to the conscience of man, when he commenced to observe and analyze. Each of them being thus the reflection, the enlarged image of one of the aspects or faces of human nature, it was under the form of man, the appearance of one or the other of the two sexes into which the species is divided, that they represented to themselves the spirit that gave them birth. At the same time, this mind sought to explain how the universe commenced to exist and how it endured. Of these gods and goddesses, whom it endowed with immortality, it made the intelligent forces

that established order over the world and maintained it. Each of these divinities had its own domain, presided over a special group of phenomena under the high oversight of Zeus, the supreme master, always ready to restore harmony, when some stress of passion and some infringement had risked troubling it.

It was believed, that these gods and goddesses had their common residence above the fogs and clouds on the shining peak of Thessalian Olympus; from thence they cast their eyes over lands and seas, over countries and cities without number, where men lived and prospered only through the tutelary and restorative power that they exercised; but they could acquit themselves of that task only by unceasingly passing over their empire, by transporting themselves to places where disorder occurred, and by intervening to restore affairs to proper condition. Then men admitted, as the Iliad and Odyssey witness on every page, that they were often abroad, and thus came to believe, that they lived all together in their celestial palace and on earth, mingled with men who called on them for aid by their prayers and sacrifices. Those cities which they visited and in which they sojourned felt themselves bound to offer them habitations corresponding to their sovereign majesty; from this originated the temple, with the arrangements characterizing it and the richness of its decoration. The temple was the development of the megaron of the princes of Mycenae and of Tiryns. Republican Greece desired that its gods should be better lodged than the most powerful monarchs of former times; to render homage to them was placed around the edifice that beautiful girdle of columns, which is the honor and crown of the temple.

Unlike the Christian church, the Grecian temple is not a building in which the faithful assemble to adore in common; it is the house itself of the god. The walls of the cella and its portico are the enclosure of the chamber that the god himself is believed to inhabit, the divine guest that the city occupies itself in inviting and retaining in this habitation, from which his protection can make itself felt more closely to the people placed under his care. Now if there are any means of securing, perpetuating the actual p

presence of the god, this presence that was regarded as an assured promise of prosperity, was this to leave the sanctuary empty, but rather to place there an image that might be the portrait of the deity, which combined the attributes and reproduced the features assigned it by tradition? The better that this image fulfils these conditions, the more the popular mind will be disposed to confuse it with the ideal model, of which it is the imperfect copy. When the work shall have attained a certain degree of nobility and beauty, cultivated minds will themselves have some difficulty to protect themselves from that illusion. Were there many Greeks with their eyes fixed on the Olympian Zeus, of Phidias, or on his Athena Parthenos, who did not believe that they saw the master of the world himself, or the daughter of his brain, the august patroness of the Athenian people?

To model an effigy placed in the interior of the temple, and there represent the divinity of whom this temple is the habitation, such would then be the ambition conceived by the sculptor, as soon as his hand had acquired sufficient technical skill to be able to attempt that enterprise with some chance of success. It will be in the same ^{spirit} that he will execute the figures in high, middle or low relief, that are enclosed in the tympanum of the pediment and decorate the entablature. Wherever placed, all these figures are only the complement of the statue; they place the god in the scene in the various acts by which are manifested the power and virtue of which he is the incarnation; they trace the principal events of what may be called his history; thus they draw closer the bond connecting him to that building, in which he is enthroned in person, in the sacred shadow of the naos, and whose principal surfaces on the exterior reflect his image, and offer it to the pious admiration of the people.¹

note 1. p. 113. G. Perrot. La sculpture dans le temple grec, etc. 1888. (Mélanges Weil, p. 353-383).

From the same feeling originated another series of figures those of the votive statues, which will take their places around the temple rather than in the temple itself; we name thus those representing the priests and priestesses of the divinity of the place, or even simple laymen, as we should

say, who are bound to proclaim aloud their particular devotion to this divinity, perhaps to evidence their gratitude by reason of some vow miraculously granted.² Placed in the sanctuary, the statue of the god while existing made it present in person. In the same manner, the effigies of the servants of the god were grouped outside, and were thought to guarantee to those who had consecrated them all the advantages of a presence and of a homage indefinitely prolonged. This perpetual adoration, that among Catholics certain communities of women realize by having nuns by day and by night, who take turns in this pious act, antiquity sought to obtain by a different method; the image of the adorer was entrusted to the care of the guardians of the temple, and would last far longer than the brief life of the mortal who dedicated it; it would perpetuate for the benefit of the giver and his posterity the effects of the gifts and sacrifices, by which he had honored his divine protector.

Note 2.p.113. W. H. Denham Rouse. Greek votive offerings, etc. 1902. Cambridge. The figures are few and almost merely outlines; but the monuments are well classed and explained.

This fiction and this belief, we already had occasion to investigate its meaning, when at Cyprus we described those enclosures of Amathonte and of Idalia formerly filled by an entire people of statues cut in the soft limestone of the island, statues that are not images of the local deity, as demonstrated by the diversity and sex; age and costume. We have recognized the faithful who came successively to acquit themselves of their duties to the gods and to take rank among their servants; this is what is indicated by the cue or the dove, that most of these personages hold in the hand.¹ This is the expression of the same idea and of the same desire that we shall find again in Greece and a number of virile and female statues, that have been uncovered around the great national sanctuaries. It will suffice to recall for Asia Minor the figures that decorated the sacred way of Apollo Didymaeus, and for the islands those, whose fragments have been collected at Delos among the ruins of the edifices erected in honor of Latona, Artemis and Apollo; but what there is most curious and significant in that way is the series of statues of women, that were raised from the raptist

in more or less mutilated form. Men are now agreed to see in them priestesses or girls of family, who had erected their images around the old temple of Athena. The votive reliefs, that in all parts of the Grecian world accumulated around religious localities, will have in reduced proportions and a different mode of representation the same value and same sense as these statues; they represent the desired continuation of an act of faith, the eternization of it.

note 1. p. 114. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. p. 254.

These images of adoring men and women then form the external complement of the decoration of the temple. If we have mentioned them here, this is because we hold to explaining what a variety of themes must be furnished to sculpture by the conception from which comes the temple; we would show to what results led in time the efforts made in concert by all the arts, to render that edifice more and more conformed to its purpose. Greece was further still far at the middle of the 3rd century from being able to realize this programme. The means of execution did not correspond to the idea of the desire. The sculptor and the painter of the Mycenaean age had exhibited or at least announced qualities of the first order. They had sometimes rendered the form of an animal with breadth and singular fidelity. If in the interpenetration of the human form they had not obtained such complete success, they had allowed to be seen now they were sensitive to the beauty of movement. In spite of the inaccuracy of their drawing, they had even succeeded in transferring something of that impression to the works of their hands. Rectilinear geometrical decoration with its hard angularity and its cold virtuosity, causes the artist to lose the idea of the curves, that in nature outline living bodies and distinguish them from the inorganic types. Where this style reigned as an absolute master, sculpture can only decline and fall very low, and which aspires to seize and reproduce the subtle inflexions of those contours. By its forms and its decoration, the ceramics of this period offers an incontestable richness and even a certain variety; but our embarrassment has been great, when it has been necessary for us to discover and reunite some monuments of the sculpture, that could be attributed with probability to that epoch, like the

contemporaries of the pottery of the Dipylon. After many researches, what have we found? Some statuettes of ivory and some figurines of terra cotta, so barbarous in appearance that without the motives traced on them with the brush, one could not actually know with what to connect them nor to what age to assign them. As for images in relief that decorate certain jewels, to those stamped on gold bands, and to those that the graver has dotted on the plates of brooches, they are too summary, for one to place them to the account of sculpture. All that is merely industrial art; it is the art of the goldsmith, which has not suffered to the same degree as others from the tyranny of the dominant style and has maintained itself at a superior level.¹ Further, if in these works of the goldsmith the living form sometimes appears treated with a certain freedom, there is a merit that the workman owes less to a curious glance at nature, than to the influence of oriental models. About the time of the first olympiads, this influence began to make itself felt in the workshops around the Egean sea and in those of continental Greece.

Note 1. p. 113. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 248, 283.

These movements of the arts of metal continue during the entire end of the 3rd century and the course of the 7th. Intent on creating forms and decorating them, the Grecian workmen persist in inspiring themselves by types found in the work of the old civilizations of Africa and of Asia; but the effect that these examples exert on their minds and hands become more direct, constant and fertile, than it had previously been. This is because they were no longer content to await at home the visit of the articles brought by foreign merchants. Having become a mariner and a colonist, he goes to people that appear to have something to teach him; he establishes himself near them or even with them; he sees them at work; he places himself at their school, but as an intelligent disciple endowed with a critical mind. He catches the secret of their procedures; he makes a judicious choice among the motives presented to his eyes in the products of these exotic industries.

In such conditions, progress could not fail to be very rapid. This is proved by many series of bronze objects, that

came from different parts of the Grecian world. There are those collected in the cavern of the Itean Zeus in Crete;² there are the finds at Dodona in Epirus;³ and especially the series composed of the pieces gathered in the oldest layers of the earth of the Altis at Olympia; a series that is rendered more particularly interesting by the care with which the excavations were executed as well as by the learned accuracy of the descriptions given of those monuments.⁴ Those are mostly only in the condition of fragments, and have a votive character. They are the remains of cups, candelabras, perfume burners, arms, shields, chariots, and furniture of all kinds, offered by the faithful to the god of the sanctuary. To follow the course of the advance of sculpture during the end of the 3rd and the entire length of the 7th centuries, one could scarcely consult only the little that remains of these works in metal. Doubtless, from this time and even earlier, one is already tempted to embody those deities that poetry has distinguished and defined; but it was in the forest, from trunks of cypress, olive or oak, that were cut the images placed in the most ancient temples.

Note 2. p. 118. Halbherr & Orsi. Scavi et monumenti, etc. Musei Vaticani, etc. vol. II. 1888. p. 629-901.

Note 3. p. 118. Carapanos. Dodone et ses ruines. 1878.

Note 4. p. 118. Olympia. vol. IV. Die Bronzen. By A. Furtwängler. 1890.

None of these images has come down to us; the climate and the soil of Greece do not lend themselves to the indefinite preservation of wood like those of Egypt. This phase of the development of sculpture therefore we do not reach directly. We perceive in a way only the reflection of the first sculptors who wrought in stone, and continued for long years to give such forms that recall those that their ancestors gave to wood. Thus an entire series of efforts and labors is concealed from our curiosity. The sculptor was then but an obscure workman that did not sign his work; it had not enough beauty to cause a sensation; the artist who created it was soon forgotten. It seems that this almost exclusive reign of wood lasted till about the end of the 7th century. From the first years of the 6th the sculptor began to draw on

stone the images which he had so far required from wood; but from that moment, progress was no longer interrupted. With a patient ardor not repelled by the difficulties of apprenticeship, the artist henceforth undertook to seize and to adhere more to the form, to find therein the clearer expression of the idea. By the continuity of their labor, four or five generations of sculptors will succeed in leading art from that almost savage awkwardness, that astonishes us in the oldest figures of tufa, even to the rare qualities of strength and grace, that distinguish the works contemporaneous with the Median wars, those which exhale the subtle and penetrating perfume of increasing perfection.

What in the 7th century contributes singularly to favor the progress of sculpture was the increasing place that about that time gymnastic games tended to occupy in Grecian society, the emulation produced by them, the honors given to those who won the victory in them. Never will those crowns, a garland of smallage, a branch of olive or laurel be sought with a more strongly declared ambition, than they were during the 7th and 6th centuries by the citizens of all Grecian cities, who came from very far to wrestle or run in the arena, and by the kings and tyrants represented at great expense by their drivers and teams.

That of which these games are the public and solemn expression is a passionate love of physical exercises; it is the idea that by them man can and must arrive at obtaining from his nerves and muscles, what may be termed a maximum yield. No other people in the ancient world, neither the peoples of the Orient nor the Romans later, had in the same degree a love of these exercises and faith in their virtue; no people has subjected the body with so much insistence and consecutively to a special training, that taking it in hand from adolescence regulated it and ordained its movements in such a way, that having come at the end of youth to full manhood, it was capable of making the best possible use of the equipment with which it was endowed by nature. All youths of free condition received this training in the gymnasium under the name of ephebes; the city imposed on them a common discipline in view of the duties that they had to fulfill later. When this time came, most citizens continued to frequent the palaestra with more or less leisure; but some

of them continued till middle life, and sometimes to an advanced age, to submit to long and systematic training, with the intention to distinguish themselves from their contemporaries by the endurance and energy, that they displayed in various forms. Their aim was to carry off the prize under the eyes of assembled Greece, in the competitions opened every five years at Delphi, Olympia, Nemea, on the isthmus of Corinth, or in the panathenaic stadium. Those were the ~~athletes~~ properly so called, who by the mastery of their vigor and agility, aroused enthusiastic applause, wherever they appeared.

However sincere the evidence of this admiration, the Greeks with their exact sense of order and prudence, did not delay to perceive that among these professionals, the intelligence did not develop in the same proportion as the body. They persisted always in carrying in triumph the athletic victor, and causing him to enter through a breach into the city, that prided itself on his birth there; but as the minds were cultivated and refined, men were more and more sensitive to what was lacking to be the complete man, that ideal man in whom was produced the harmonious equilibrium of all the faculties, which had not bent his limbs in all the modes of action, only to render them more capable of being in all circumstances the docile and efficient servants of a well directed wise judgment. After the 5th century, moralists and philosophers will then sometimes speak of the athlete with a certain contempt;¹ but his popularity will not be disturbed. This is because it performed in its way a sort of social function. By his sustained efforts and his noisy successes, the athlete prevented the tradition from being interrupted and the level of the methods from being lowered. Stimulated by this example, the elite of the nation felt the impulse given; while proceeding to less vivid attractions, it did not lose sight of those who marked out and indicated the path, those virtuosos of the contest of the race, that as the poet says, which the infatuation of the multitude raised to the rank of the gods, of the divine masters of the world.²

NOTE 1.p.119. Euripides. Fr. 282.

NOTE 2.p.119. Horace. Odes. I, 1.

In the time when were most strongly exerted its imagination and thought, Greece then never allowed the rights of the body to be proscribed, and never sacrificed them to the labor of the brain. It further safeguarded these rights without risking the falling into the opposite excess, of improving the flesh at the expense of the mind. This is then evidenced later by the philosophers, that formed the theory of the current practice and gave the reasons for it. For example, here is the doctrine of Plato on that subject, and what part he desires to give to that training of the body in the education that he establishes for the citizens of his ideal republic:- "The best gymnastics," says he, "is a sister of this simple music, of which we spoke a moment since. I mean a simple and moderate gymnastics. In music simplicity makes the soul wise, in gymnastics it renders the body healthy."³ The person upon whom is incumbent the task of presiding over that development of the entire organism is the master of the gymnasium, the *pedotribes*, literally "he that breaks and hardens the child." The action that he exerts is admirably defined by these words of another writer- "It is by rhythm that the *pedotribes* fashions the person of the child."⁴

note 3.p.119. Plato. Republic. III, p. 404. Also see the theory of gymnastics in Book VII of the Laws.

note 4.p.119. *Onetrocrites*. III. 17.

One seizes the principle of this liberal education that the city believes should be given to all its sons; the result that it proposes to attain is to create thus an entirety in which all the powers of life, without ever opposing each other, act in concert with elegant and sovereign ease. To that perfection of the entirety particularly adheres Grecian taste, and this feeling manifests itself even in the manner in which it appreciates and judges the forms of the athletes. It was not without having noted that among them, the specialty of the work developed certain parts of the body at the expense of others; "Among runners," says Xenophon, "the legs are enlarged and the shoulders are reduced; on the contrary with pugilists, it is the shoulders that are enlarged and the legs are reduced."¹ A delicate taste was shocked by that disproportion. It was in the same spirit

that he refused to admire in the pancreatist a brutal vigor, emphasized by the exaggeration of the muscles, such as presented by a work of the late epoch, the Hercules Glykon, called the Farnese Hercules. The only athletes whose type gives full satisfaction to connoisseurs, were those that competed for the complex test including all others, what was called the pentathlon or "quintuple contest:—" it comprised the foot race, horse race, throwing the discus, wrestling, and that with hands armed with the cestus, gauntlets fitted with lead. He that aspired to merit that crown could not make himself a man of a single feat. All his limbs and all his muscles were obliged to be in play, each in its turn, and it was necessary for all, that this play should be equally facile and brilliant. On account of this necessity, the body was preserved from deformations, that could not fail to be produced in time by constant application to a single exercise. Thus moulded by uninterrupted effort, whose nature and direction varied hourly, this body had every chance to present the same happy proportions as that of the ephebe, who is a faithful attendant at the palestra, and there had the benefit of that moderate gymnastics mentioned by Plato. All the difference was, that among athletes the bony framework was stronger and that contours were more firmly accented. "The most beautiful men," according to Aristotle, "are the pentathletes, for they have both suppleness and strength."²

note 1.p.120. Xenophon. Banquet. II. 17.

note 2.p.120. Aristotle. Rhetoric. I. 5.

This rhythm of physical training is one of the most original characteristics of Grecian civilization. Already in the Iliad, one sees the Achaian chiefs contend for the prizes that Achilles offers to those of his companions in arms, that show themselves most robust or most agile; but the multitude of warriors are then merely simple spectators; the heroes alone, sons of gods, are capable of performing the deeds of prowess that the poet describes. When the republican government was established nearly everywhere in Greece, gymnastics commenced to play its part, truly a capital role, in the programme of the noviciate by which the young man in each community prepared himself to perform his part as citizen.

and soldier. The great national panegyrics, by the fame that they gave to the exploits of the body, and by the glory ensured to those that accomplished them, were the consecration of this system and the best guarantee of its duration; they concurred thus in maintaining gymnastics in honor in the Grecian world, even when was relaxed greatly the sentiment of respect for civic duties.

The first result of this training prolonged through several centuries, was to strengthen and beautify the race; Exercise was skilfully graduated by the pedotribes, corrected the defects of birth and faults of the constitution; it regulated growth among well formed adolescents; it aided the work of nature in directing it. Men that had received the benefit of this discipline generated healthy and vigorous children. By this progressive improvement, the number of weakly and malformed individuals always continued to diminish, while there increased from generation to generation those with bodies, which by the beauty of their proportions recommended themselves to sculptors as choice models.

It was again the gymnastics that rendered to the artist the service of presenting these models to him in the conditions most favorable for observation and study. To jump and to run, to strain with enlaced arms and shoulder to shoulder, it was necessary to remove the restraints of clothing. That was done already by Mycenaean hunters, when they pursued the wild bull, and the heroes of Homer, when in the funeral rites of Patroclus they entered the arena; but also they tied around their waists drawers or girdles, that concealed the virile parts; that we know by the vases of Vaphio and by the Iliad.¹ When from morn to eve all the young men of the city, the limbs rubbed with oil and sand, filled the courts of the palestras, one would not delay to free himself from that last restraint. This was at first in the enclosed and roofed gymnasium, that the men placed themselves at their ease; then one day about the end of the 8th century, the runners were seen in the stadium of Olympia without the traditional girdle; the example that they had given was followed by the wrestlers and pancratiasts. Men alone were present at these festivals; the innovation shocked no one, and later at Olympia as in all other panegyrics,

the athletes showed themselves to the multitude in a state of entire nudity.¹

note 1.p.121. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. p.784-793, Figs. 369, 370. Iliad. XXIII. 683-685, 710.

note 1.p.122. Tradition had preserved the name of the runner that in the 15 th Olympiad was the first one relieved of the diazoma in order to reach the goal with more certainty. (Eustathios ad Iliadem. XXIII, 688; Denis of Halicarnassus. Archaeologia. VII. 72); this was Orsippos of Megara. It appears that the other athletes still retained for a century or two the use of the girdle or drawers, that restricted them less than the runners. Thucydides (I, 6) says that it was not very long that all had been renounced. All the texts relating to this subject have been collected and discussed by Böckh. C.I. G. vol. I. p. 553-555, with regard to a metrical inscription (no. 1050) found at Megara, that recalls the memory of the initiative taken by Orsippos.

Himself also accustomed to the palestra and greatly interested by the great national games, the artist thus had under his eyes in every hour of the day the nude bodies of the ephebes and athletes. These bodies were entirely visible to his eyes; no drapery intercepted and broke their lines when in the preparation or the spring of the action, they gathered themselves together or displayed themselves with ample freedom in the most varied attitudes. We shall later have to seek in what measure the artists of the 5 th and 4 th centuries have caused the living model to pose before them in the mode of modern artists;² but nothing gives any reason to think, that in the period of the first attempts, in that when Grecian statuary sought and found its way, the sculptor ever employed this method. What then inspired him was the human figure seen in its entirety. Doubtless the details risked escaping that rapid glance, that wished to comprise the entire form; but the impression must be very vivid and strong, to give at the very first the very clear perception of the principal lines of the body, as well as of the character and beauty of the movement. That was such as one only obtains with difficulty in the studio from the model paid by the hour, and can never have the freedom of the spontaneous movement; ~~impossible~~ in a required attitude, t

the body is wearied and chilled. This was to Grecian art a happy fortune to have thus been placed in the presence of nature that allowed itself to be frankly taken in the act and considered.

note 2.p.122. G. Perrot. De l'etude etc. (melanges d'archeologie, d'epigraphie et d'histoire. p. 3-8. 1875.

The institutions and customs that we have described did not have the sole effect of showing and revealing nature to the artist; they also served to furnish him with an opportunity of applying the knowledge that he had thus acquired, for using and exercising his hand. Men wished to preserve the memory of these ardently desired, otherwise than by a simple inscription; to these souls smitten with glory, it appeared that to reward so much fatigue supported in the view of a success always uncertain, it would not be sufficient to engrave a name in the lists preserved by the officials of the temple. Men early thought of another way for immortalizing the memory of the victorious athlete; they imagined the erection of his statue in the immediate vicinity of the arena where he had won his prize, among the monuments of every kind and the great trees that filled the sacred enclosure. In that way, he would always remain present there, as in that memorable day when he won the palm, and on the pedestal of that effigy, future generations would read his name and that of the city, which he had honored by his triumph. The most ancient statues of athletes shown at Olympia in the time of Pausanias, were those of Praxidamas of Egina and of Rhexibios of Opuntis; one dated from 544 to 540 and the other from 536 to 532. The first was a figure of wood and the second was one of cypress wood.¹

note 1.p.123. Pausanias. vi. 18-5.

The Olympianics, as men said, who had obtained the honor of a statue, were represented nude as they had appeared in the arena. The first attempts could not fail to be very imperfect; but the theme was one that requires and imposes progress. What it proposed to imitate was the body of the youth or man, such as in the full day of the Olympic lists, he presented himself to the eyes among those sons of the beautiful race, who by patient labor had developed every energy. The artist first applied himself to seize the general

traits of this model; then what he believed himself able to render them with accuracy and sufficient correctness, he was naturally led to desire to carry farther the fidelity of the copy. The Greeks had proved that each exercise of the palestra impressed a special character on the forms of the athlete. The sculptor must learn to make this character felt in his work, a result that he could only obtain by studying his model most closely and with redoubled attention.

What aroused the sculptor for that effort compensated him for it, and was the frequency of the demand. It is not probable that each athletic victor had his statue; to pay the cost of one of marble or of bronze ordered from a famous master, it was necessary either for the athlete to belong to a rich family, or that the city made illustrious by his triumph should charge itself with the expense. No less than by hundreds were they counted, before the Roman proconsuls and emperors pillaged those open air museums, of the images of victors that peopled the Altis of Olympia and the other enclosures, in which were celebrated the great *panegyries*.

The athletes thus glorified had not required the sculptor to reproduce the features of their faces in what was peculiar and individual to them. A taste for portraits was not aroused in Greece till much later, in the 4th century. Grecian art until the time of the successors of Alexander voluntarily neglected the accidental; it aimed to create general types, otherwise very different, each of which corresponded to one of the appearances assumed by the living form, by the combined effects of sex and age, of education and surroundings. Thus is to be understood the resemblance that the athlete or his patrons required from the artist, when he had become sufficiently skilful to satisfy them. If an athlete had won the prize for the long race, he desired that in his image the passer should recognize it at first sight as the ideal type of the runner. Likewise the breadth of the shoulders and the amplitude of the muscular masses must seem to suffice to cause to be divined in another effigy a celebrated wrestler, or a pancratiast whose fists had beaten many rivals.

Doubtless time was required before the sculptor would be able to clearly mark by the character of the modeling the

slight differences that distinguish one from another of all visible bodies, according as they had passed through a certain apprenticeship during the long years of preparation. centuries will pass away before one of these works can serve as material for the epigrams like those describing the statue that Myron dedicated to Ladas at Sparta. He had received the palm, but on the morrow of the victory, he died of fatigue."The runner," says the poet, "has risen on his toenails. The breath exhaled from his hollow flanks passes through his projecting lips. The bronze springs toward the crown of the victor; it will not remain on its base."¹ By this description we can form some idea of the pose and appearance of the Ladas of Myron, but we possess several copies of another work of the same caster, his Discobulus. What he has rendered there with the same power of expression was another mode of athletic action, a mode that implied the play of other muscles and their enlargement by the effect of the constant direction impressed by the professional effort. With that runner, that caster of the quoit, the movement is displayed in all its tension and feverishness; there are even critics who reproach the Discobulus with a sort of twisting and violence.² Another group was that of figures, which like the Doryphoros and the Diadumenos of Polykles, the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos, are recommended by the exact balance of all parts and express the idea of strength in repose, of a force that does not exclude elegance; they perhaps represent pentathletes, those not specialized athletes in whom Aristotle sees "the most beautiful of men."

note 1.p.125. Antrologia greca. IV. 185, 318.

note 2.p.125. Quintilian. Inst. orat. II. 19-8.

It is not then a state of the adult body, of the body supplied and strengthened by gymnastics, that attracted the attention of the sculptor, and that he sought to render. But it is to the golden age of Grecian art, to the period of art altogether wise and free, that belong the monuments that we have taken as examples. All that we have proposed to ourselves in citing them here is to show the benefit that the Greek sculptor derived from the custom established after the 6th century, of requiring from him statues of athletes. This was for him the best of schools; one cannot imagine another one that could have supplied so much in

imagine another that would have stimulated so much in him the faculty of observation, which would have so imperiously required him to note even the least variations from the theme, always the same and always different, on which his genius was exercised.

What this genius had aroused was the religious sentiment, the need of creating forms that should explain the ideas that the poets, those first interpreters of Grecian thought, had formed of the supreme powers by which the world was governed; he had been singularly aided in this difficult enterprise by the facilities and the institution of gymnastic games offered him for studying in entire freedom the human body, and for establishing its most accurate proportions by comparisons continually repeated. As by these favorable circumstances, he felt himself surer in his hand and more master of form, his field of action enlarged. At its origin, the temple was only like a pile of cold and mute stones, but the sculptor gave it a soul; he spread everywhere the inspiration and movement of a superior and divine life; he established at home and domiciled the god to whom this edifice was consecrated; he multiplied there the image of this god, around which he had grouped an entire multitude of worshippers, who by means of the votive statue or votive relief were forever fixed and made immovable in the religious attitude of prayer and offering. What he had done for the temple, he likewise did for the tomb.

From the most ancient times that we can reach, the prehistoric ancestors of the Greeks and later the Hellenes of history were strongly occupied with the establishment and the arrangement of the tomb. Whatever the type of burial that fashion caused to prevail, the living everywhere imposed on themselves great efforts to honor those of their dead, who by their position and exploits had appeared to merit not being forgotten on the morrow of the obsequies; but to obtain that survival of the name, that had only been able to count on oral tradition. They could not make this name eternal by an epitaph; they did not know writing or it was still not in current use among them. What these men were yet unable to relate, they attempted to represent. One remembers steles that were found in the acropolis of Mycenae.

above the tombs believed to have been those of the most ancient kings of the country. On two or three of these slabs a hand still very unskilful has attempted to represent scenes from hunting and war; it was desired to make known to posterity the favorite occupations and the prowess of the princes of its people. These reliefs, however coarse the execution, those cooperated with the funerary equipment in informing us concerning the social state and the customs of the generations, whose chiefs were buried in these tombs. But after the fall of the Achaian royalties occurred a reaction in the domain of art and the tomb felt this. It appears that no figure decorated the Eolian and Ionian tombs according to which Homer describes those that the Greeks and Trojans erected to heroes on the shore of the Hellespont. The tumulus is in itself the sign charged with reminding future races of the memory of the illustrious dead. If it be desired to assist the memory, they resort to expedients of a very naive and almost childish character. Thus an oar is planted on the cenotaph that awaits the ashes of Elpenor; this oar recalls to the passer that Elpenor was one of the most valiant companions of Ulysses, one whose arms drove most vigorously the ship through the waves and foam.¹ At Athens, from the time that the potters of the Dipylon applied this to restore the living form to honor, men began again to desire that their should be in the visible part of the tomb something, which there speaks of the dead to his descendants and his friends. But as this time and in these surroundings, ceramics is in advance of sculpture, and instead of a stele of stone, it is a great vase of clay that is placed on the tomb, a vase on whose sides the brush has represented the Eupatrid in his hereditary functions of horseman and naucrarch; the Eupatrid is sketched on his deathbed in the midst of the wailing women, and then is transported in great pomp on a car to his last habitation.²

note 1. p. 127. *Odyssey*. XII. 15.

note 2. p. 127. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 55662; Figs. 5-8, 56.

In spite of the thickness of its walls and of the precautions taken to protect it from injury, the vase of clay remained exposed to many chances of destruction; fragments of

them are alone preserved. As soon as sculpture had ceased to be behind the minor arts, it was required to intervene, as already attempted at Mycenae, to insert in the decoration of the tomb scenes in which should be reflected and perpetuated the image of the life, which this tomb was charged to commemorate. We have described the Athenian tomb of the 7th and 6th centuries, where the grave was generally surmounted by a mound of small height. However small was that of a citizen of importance, the sculptor took part in the erection of the monument. Not only elsewhere in Attica was established that custom; it was disseminated in the entire extent of the Grecian world; the monuments that attest the diffusion are also found in the colonies, in the advanced posts of Hellenism, as in continental Greece and in the islands of the Egean sea; it will be maintained until the last days of antiquity.

This funerary sculpture was born of the invincible desire that man felt to leave some trace of himself on this earth on which he merely passed. Its fundamental principle has then always remained the same; but the types that the artist created varied according to the importance of the tomb and also according to the time, with the differences of the idea to be expressed. From the 6th century one sees certain sculptures receive as a crowning the statue of the deceased, his effigy modeled in the round, his double as an Egyptian would say. The attitude that appears to have been adopted from the beginning for male figures was that of the vertical position; whether he died young or old, the man showed himself there nude in the fullness of his strength, such as the exercises of the palestra had made him. Also under that appearance does he present himself to the eye in the monuments, like the tomb of Mausolus, which date from the epoch when he is wisest and freest. On the contrary, the woman is always represented as clothed, and is most frequently seated on the seat of honor occupied by her in the house, near the hearth whose flame she maintained; what this image expressed was the memory of domestic life and of its joys shattered by the final separation.

All tombs do not comprise the statue; that was a luxury reserved for important personages, for ladies of high birth

Usually he was contented with the stele. That was a slab of limestone or of marble, of small thickness, frequently narrower at top than bottom. It had at first as crown a simple fillet or a little triangular pediment, later replaced by palmations of singular elegance. Higher than wide, it offered a field on which was inscribed by itself within borders of small projection a standing figure modeled in slight relief. This arrangement is that ~~commonly~~ presented by the stele during the archaic period. When the sculptor in the 6th century varied from it, when he desired to complicate the theme, for example as on the monument of Demys of Kotylos, success does not seem to have corresponded to his ambition. The time will come when the artist will be more at ease in this case; he will enlarge the stele to introduce several persons at a time, some standing and the others seated. The relief of the figures will be accented; some of them will finally be entirely detached from the ground.

It will sometimes occur that the programme traced for the sculptor will not be enclosed within the always restricted limits of the field of the stele. There is a certain tomb, like the tomb of Xanthos known by the name of the tomb of the Harpies, where an entire series of reliefs is developed on the four faces of the monument. The artist can then allow himself a freer career, can express more fully the beliefs born of the mystery of the tomb and the myths connected therewith. Finally, there is yet another expression of the same faiths, that one finds in certain images frequently deposited in the interior of the tomb, wailing women (Fig. 70), chthonian divinities attached to the walls of the chamber (Fig. 71).

The frequenting of the palestra and the honors rendered to athletes had induced the sculptor to study the nude form. This form had thus become familiar to him, he had employed it to give a body to the gods of his nation, and those gods that the genius of the poets had already defined and personified. For himself, he had undertaken to create types in which man recognized himself, and still by their perfect proportions and the nobility of their faces, he left them superior to this humanity in which individuals, however healthy and strong they appear, are always incomplete and im-

imperfect in some part; thus he had conceived from this moment an ideal of majestic and sovereign beauty, that he would later succeed in realizing in works like the Olympian Zeus and the Athena Parthenos of Phidias. Doubtless in that order of works will he produce those of his works, whose character will have more elevation and grandeur, while the statues of athletes, the figures of ephebes and of warriors, will serve him especially in showing that nothing escapes him in the details of the structure of the body, which is sensitive to the least chill, to the least palpitation of the animated flesh, as if impassioned by movement; but also the funerary sculpture offers him themes, that seeming at first sight to be less rich and varied, have no less happily inspired him. These themes have attracted him to another god; they have led him to seek in his art the means of expressing feelings differing from those aroused by the glorification of the deities of Olympia or the brilliant triumphs of strength and agility. What those gods represented, and also in another fashion, those athletes, soldiers and conquering heroes, was the expansion and the pride of life, its brilliant blossoming in the light of the sun. On the contrary, the fragility of that life and its brevity struck the mind of the decorator of the tomb; what he must undertake to render was regret for the dear departed; the more or less vague idea formed of the posthumous life, and that which continued, either in the night itself of the sepulchre, or in some distant and indefinable country, itself also enveloped in darkness; it was the representation of the offerings by means of which the survivors maintained and prolonged that always failing and precarious life, a pious duty that ensured to them the goodwill and protection of ancestors deified by death.

In the work of this artist, what will necessarily dominate will be the moved and softened note. As the execution becomes more free and more assured, touches more and more refined and delicate will mark there the exact shade of feeling and of the idea. We shall see what a discreet and charming melancholy exhales from Attic steles of the 5th century, with what penetrating sincerity is rendered there the sadness of the last farewell, tempered by aimable and naive

traits, retained by those fine young men fallen on the field of battle, as well as by those dead maidens and mothers with all the graces of life. Nowhere is death presented in an ironical or repugnant aspect, as it would be in other times and among other peoples. Scenes of this kind were neither connected with the primitive conception, according to which man continued to live in the tomb, sustained by the libation and by hereditary sacrifices, nor with that which reflection endeavored to substitute, with Hades and its meadows of asphodels, with the fortunate isles and the Elysian fields. One further knows how much Grecian genius was impressed by the order that reigned in the world, how sensitive it was to the harmony resulting from the concurrence of the forces ruled by the supreme reason, the order and harmony of which it endeavored to reproduce some image in the organization of the family and the city. Thus he could not fail to have an instinctive aversion to all that deeply troubled this equilibrium, and inflicted actual suffering on the mind. That alone would have sufficed that one should not be inclined to regard death in its material effects, in what these have displeasing and horrible; it glanced aside, as it were. The Christian sculptors and painters have sometimes shown the body already attacked by decomposition; they have in many ways brought the skeleton into the scene. On the contrary, the Grecian artist has refused to make himself in any way an accomplice to death. That flesh which death is going to reduce to powder, he has represented as yet intact, scarcely weakened by the approach of the eternal slumber; the eyes that are to close, he has still left open to that day, that soon they will never see again. As for even the representation of the skeleton, it was only admitted very late and exceptionally; the monuments on which it is found were not executed with a view to the tomb and to serve it as a mark.

The most ancient funerary sculptures that have come to us have neither the diversity nor the exquisite elegance of those belonging to the most beautiful times of the art; but there is already taken the same method of giving to the dead the attitude and the entire appearance of the living. Sometimes the funerary purpose of the monument is only indicated

by the form that it assumes; this alone with the name engraved on the base directs one to recognize a dead person in the personage, whose figure occupies the field of the stele. It is a man still young or of mature age, that presents himself, sometimes nude and sometimes half clothed, the chlamys thrown over the shoulder, or the mantle rolled around the waist; sometimes like Aristion on the celebrated stele of Velanidezza, he is closely clothed in his parade armor (Fig. 72). Some ingenious detail recalls the tastes and occupations of the deceased. Here it is the quoit that he is accustomed to cast, and that his hand holds behind his head; there is a horse near him that formerly carried him, or indeed the familiar dog that rubs against the legs of his master and raises his head toward his hand (Fig. 73). Elsewhere a hare and an apple allude to the amorous connections that pleased the handsome ephebe, one of the princes of Athenian youth, whose name is frequently read on vases accompanied by the epithet kalos. There is such another series, for example, of the steles of Sparta, in which the meaning of the image is more clearly indicated by the presence of secondary personages, that render homage to the deceased.

It is generally in the steles dedicated to the memory of women that the real character of the image is most easily divined. All is revealed at the first sight. Even the pose of those maidens and matrons suggests the idea of an immobility that will never end; all or nearly all are seated on a chair, from which they will never rise. Their faces are uncovered; but one feels that it is to be concealed under a veil, that one hand prepares to draw before it, like a curtain to be closed forever (Fig. 74). A box placed on the knees is thought to contain the jewels dear to the young girl. As for the mother, the good from which she does not desire to part is her child, brought to her by a servant, and that she holds in her arms with her eyes fixed on that dear head (Fig. 75). Similarly where the subject is not defined by such a precise indication, there are yet suggestions that aid in penetrating the meaning. For example, those flowers with broad petals, of the poppy and the pomegranate that are presented to each other at the tips of their slender fingers, the other hands holding here little bones and

there the sack from which they were taken (Fig. 76). These flowers, whose fruits abound with fertile seeds, are the customary symbol of the life that continues, that revives from death. One finds them with other emblems, like the egg with the same signification, in the reliefs of the so called tomb of the Harpies.

These themes that proposed to sculpture the obligation to decorate the tomb, were well calculated to inspire the sculptor, and one easily understands what use he could make of them, what tendency he could not fail to impress upon his research and his effort. The feelings that he had to express in this manner are those that move and agitate most strongly the heart of man. The same sorrow forms the ground, that causing the decline of all affections and of all joys; but the intensity of this sorrow varies with age, with sex, and with the circumstances in which occur the loss that is known to be inevitable, but whose hour remains unforeseen. While holding always the same tone, as a musician would say, the artist has to seize on shades and make them clearly perceptible. To succeed in this, he must attempt there even more than elsewhere, to place a soul in the form, not only to place it there in the features of the face, which is relatively easy, and which is sometimes exposed to pass to excess, but also in the pose, in the entire attitude and even in the arrangement and movement of the drapery. The habit of modeling statues and reliefs intended for the tomb was then an excellent school for the sculptor; perhaps to that practice in particular he owes it, that when it was necessary, he could give to the work of his hands the quality to which modern taste is most sensitive, what we term expression, in a word.

A last question arises:— did archaic sculpture also know the sort of subjects designated today by the name of genre subjects? Even the name is singular, and one has some difficulty to explain how it came into use. If the sense of the term were not fixed, one would at first be disposed to seek some allusion to the operation by which, after having compared some to another number of individuals, the mind shows that they possess in common certain distinctive traits and groups them under this head as a common title; one inclines

to believe that it concerns works in which the artist has eliminated by omission accidental and special phenomena, and proposed to combine and emphasize the general characters by which are defined what is termed a genus (genre) in natural history. Now it is an entirely different thing that the art critic means when he employs this name: he applies it to works whose author seems to have had no other ambition than to reproduce some fragment of the reality, such as on some fine day his eye has caught and noted briefly. The chosen subject will sometimes be a singular face, some strange or grotesque figure, and sometimes a scene taken from daily life, from military, urban or rustic existence. The artist can display a talent in composition in the arrangement of the scene, and in the execution a power in rendering, that will bring him justly the admiration of connoisseurs; but whatever be his merits, he will not be placed in the same rank as the masters, that have sincerely desired to make themselves the interpreters of the most elevated thoughts of a people, or of the most elementary and most profound sentiments of the human soul; he will remain classed among those who practice genre painting or sculpture.

Genre, as we have defined it, satisfies tendencies and certain needs of the mind, that sometimes finds pleasure in the literal imitation of life; it is amused by the unforeseen; it is surprised and charmed by the fidelity of the copy. There is then no art that does not sometime make a place for genre and cultivate it with more or less success. It will be represented in the matured art of the Greeks by original and charming works; but could it be already in any manner in the germinating sculpture, in archaic art? Its hour had not then sounded. Genre assumes rare skill of hand; it is necessary for the artist to appear to execute playfully this tracing from nature, whose enjoyment he offers to the spectator. The sculptor of the 6th century was not there; even in those of his works that are most interesting and most advanced, one still feels the effort, an effort with a very clear vision of the aim to be attained, out of which only ends in a success always incomplete in some part. The sculptor always retains his seriousness. His application is too laborious and too passionate for him to yield to the

temptation to unbend and to relax, to divert himself in vain amusements.

The taste for genre further corresponds rather to a later period of social life; it is especially manifested among nations grown old, that begin to be bored by simple feelings and ideas. With these peoples comes a moment, when the most cultivated minds experience a sort of weariness before the noble and serious types that a masterly art multiplies indefinitely under their eyes. Then they desire to distract them and to arouse their slumbering sensibility, that the arts and letters should offer them skilfully arranged contrasts. As if to rest themselves from the contemplation of the beautiful, they love to see their attention attracted by the most eccentric caprices of nature, even by the deformities of ugliness. Weariness attacks them in the brilliant surroundings where develops that life embellished by all research in luxury, but all whose steps are regulated by the conventions of worldly politeness. They seek to oppose that weariness by interesting themselves in the representation of customs differing from their own; nothing excites their curiosity more than the life of unimportant persons, such as they see in the mirrors in which they are presented with their annoyances and vulgarities, but also sometimes with what is concealed and produces innate and naive poetry. Particularly in ^{the} Greece of the successors of Alexander flourished genre sculpture and painting, at the same time that in the domain of letters the fashion was the idyl and the mimic, that owed their fortune to the same desire, the same unquiet mind; but one can find only very slight traces of these arrangements in young and healthy Greece, that after having scattered her colonies along all shores of the Mediterranean, prepared itself to contend victoriously against Persia, in that Greece nourished by epic poetry, which created lyric poetry and prepared itself to create the drama.

In fact in all the work of archaic sculpture, there are scarcely any monuments that one could refer to what we have termed genre. At most would there be reason to class there with certain terra cottas found in the tombs, like those figurines from Cyprus and Tanagra, which represent artisans seated at their trades, and women kneading bread or washing

linen (Pl. I and Fig. 77). In the first group a flute player stands at one end of a long table, and appears to direct and time the movements of the workers by the sound of her instrument. The material has no value and the figures are all small. It seems that there the coroplast was pleased to take from life certain trade attitudes, certain deformations of face and of the entire person, which result from age or the servitude of manual labor, and that he pleased himself in reproducing them by modeling the clay with hasty touches of the finger or the modeling tool; but figures of larger dimensions, whether in the round or in relief, present nothing to us that can be compared to these rough sketches. Doubtless on many funerary steles, there is a familiar detail that at first view seems to belong to genre (Fig. 73); but to appreciate the character, what is first to be taken into account is the intention of the artist, and in introducing this trait into his composition, he desired only to place in it a more frank and touching accent of truth. The effigy of the dead would give a better impression of the life, if the personage so represented showed himself to the survivors, not in a conventional pose, but as they had seen and loved him, in the ease of his daily society and his favorite pleasures.

NOTE 1. p. 138. Plate I. 1. The group came from Thebes in Beotia. Height 3.74 ins.; width 7.09 ins. 2. Cyprus. Height 5.12 ins; width 10.63 ins.

We have surveyed the principal themes on which was exercised at the beginning the activity of the sculptor; we have sought to show what resources each of these themes offered to him, what developments he permitted, and what influence he could exert on the course and progress of sculpture. In the beliefs and the customs of the Grecian race have we found the principle of these themes and the cause of this advance; but so that the study and the explanation should be really completed, it would have been necessary for us to present a general view of the life of the Grecian world, in which one would follow the individual from birth to death, in all the acts of his public and private existence. We cannot undertake that here; we are compelled to restrict ourselves to noting the most prominent traits in this rapid

sketch. Yet we ~~cannot~~ omit one, because the ancients themselves called our attention to it; we speak of the taste that the Greeks had for those public festivals, whose noble arrangement is known to us by that panathenaic procession, that displays its pomp on the frieze of the calla at the Parthenon. There was no person in that city, whatever the sex or age, who in time had not taken part in these religious ceremonies; one has no difficulty in divining what groups in happy arrangement they offered to the eyes, how they emphasized the virile beauty of the ephebes and the grace of the young girls, the serious vigor of the mature men, the bearing of the matrons and the grave dignity of the old men.

In invoking the evidence of Plato, Xenophon and Aristotle, as we have done, we have advanced in time; we have passed by more than a century the lower limit of the archaic period. Yet we do not believe that we have so passed beyond our subject. In all Hellenic cities and particularly in those like Athens, which represent in the highest degree the original genius of the race, customs and laws worked in concert, much before the theorists appeared, to develop in the minds of young men by all means tending to the same end, that love and sense of the beautiful, without which the citizen was not distinguished from the slave. When philosophers occupied themselves with education and the aim that should be assigned to it, they did nothing else than to reduce to maxims and systematic theory, what had long been practised among their compatriots as an instinctive and spontaneous habit. When Plato traces the plan of the education that young men should receive in his ideal republic, he occupies himself with the effect that works of art exhibited in their sight will exert on their morality. He desires to forbid the practice of their art to all artists, who would risk offering in representations of living beings, "in works of architecture or of any other kind, a vicious initiation without correction, nobility and grace, from the fear that the guardians of the State, educated in the midst of images of a degraded nature as in bad surroundings, and finding therein daily their maintenance and nourishment, should end in slowly contracting some great vice in their souls." He concludes; "Ought we not on the contrary, to seek those artist

that a happy nature places on the traces of the beautiful and graceful, so that like the inhabitants of the healthy country, the young men may everywhere feel a salutary influence, always receiving through their eyes and ears the impression of beautiful works, like the pure air that brings them health from a happy country, and insensibly disposes them from infancy to love and imitate the beautiful, and to maintain perfect accord between them and it."¹

Note 1.p.141. Plato. Republic. III, p. 401,a, b.

Whatever the force and refinement of this sentiment, how much it was refined by a culture through several centuries, and whatever part it played in the moral life of this great people, it seems that nothing can make it better understood than some simple words of a writer, who although remaining below Plato and Aristotle, was no less purely Attic, one of the most elegant interpreters of Grecian thought, about the decline of the century, that saw art produce its masterpieces, such as were expressed in their familiar conversations by the most intelligent and civilized of all Greeks. "One should," says Xenophon, "refuse homage to beauty on the pretext that it passes quickly, for if there be a beauty of the child and a beauty of the adolescent, there is also one of the mature man and of the aged man. Do you desire proof? Are not beautiful men chosen to bear the sacred boughs in the public festivals? What brings them this privilege, that their entire life has been evidence given in honor of beauty."

Note 2.p.141. Xenophon. Banquet. IV. 17.

2. The Materials and natural Polychromy.

Among the materials employed by Grecian sculptors in the course of the archaic period, there is not one whose use was then a novelty without precedent, not one of which some use had not been made previously by artisans of the Mycenaean and Homeric ages; but those had been used as if by chance, according as they were found more or less within reach of their hands. In time and by practice, the artist discovers that all materials do not have identical properties. He learns to choose among them according to the purpose of the work, that he undertakes and to the character he desires to give it. He takes into account the effects that he can obtain from each of them, what he must decline to expect and

what he has a right to demand from it. At the end of the 6th century his education is sufficiently advanced, so that he knows on all occasions how to devote each material to the theme, which will best accent its native qualities.

Much more than the designer and the painter, the sculptor is obliged to reckon with the materials employed; in that respect he is in the same condition as the architect. "The nature and quality of these materials powerfully influence the appearance of his works and have a considerable part in their expression. Wood, stone and metals, all solid materials correspond to different kinds of conceptions. Each one has its latent genius like a virtue; each has its resources and also its limits; the idea must harmonize with them in turn. The mode of composition made possible by one is forbidden by another; the forms accepted by one cannot be received by another. So to speak, the sculptor must think in marble and in bronze. Language takes into account perfectly these phenomena. For what does one wish to say in speaking of marble, bronze, a wax cast or ivory? Does that concern pieces executed indifferently by the aid of one or another of those substances? No, he desires to say much more. That signifies that marble and bronze, for example, with specific properties defining them are identified with these works, and that they are marked by a generic character, even when reproduced by casting and by drawing, such that it is impossible to mistake its nature. They all differ from each other in the first principle, in appearance, modeling, the humblest details in practice, so much that in conceiving and elaborating them, the artist must inspire himself with the characteristic qualities of metal or of limestone, and obey their temperament. The harmony of the idea with the material is one of the most important points of the theory of sculpture. Its rules are founded on observation as on reason. They result from this divisions with each having its technique. The domain of art is enriched by it; the horizons opened to the artist become more varied.

"In spite of its money value, marble enters into the construction of edifices; it is found in considerable masses; in the Greco-Latin world it is especially the monumental material. To it is compared to define their qualities, all

the stones that sculpture must employ. With its whiteness, the fineness of its grain, its transparency, it lends itself to render all the delicacy of the modeling. It gives the entire scale of *chiaroscuro*, lights and shadows, and between them the infinite variety of half tints. The softness of the flesh, flexibility of fabrics, the infinite details of life, it expresses and blends; but something tells us that it is fragile in spite of its hardness, and experience teaches us this. With its beautiful crystallization, it has not an extreme tenacity. The perforations and recesses made in its mass can increase the effect of a work and are interesting because of the difficulties overcome; but they reduce the solidity; they cause anxiety for its duration. A statue should appear as made of one block, and if the marble requires a very perfect work, it also demands that one preserves to it the character of a substance, that by its destination resists man and time. In what class would be a work in which the idea of the marble should disappear so much, that one would say that it was cast in a mould like porcelain? Marble has its dignity and its susceptibilities; it loves to show, that if it has been conquered, it has fought, and that if there be a masterpiece, it has contributed its own part."

"Repose, permanent sentiments, whether smiling, sad or concentrated, the actions that only scarcely imply the change of the subject, there is what marble comprises, and what must be taken into account, when one desires to make it speak, at the same time that to establish a composition in it, one must fix it in stable lines, that give an idea of stability, like those of the pyramid."

"The independence of the subject on the contrary, is one of the essential characteristics of statuary in bronze. It is true that by its dark color, bronze is not suited to render the modeling. It lights up not by graded shades but by snocks, so to speak. It reflects light like a mirror, and while on its extreme projections it reflects almost to blinding, it presents in the shadowed or sunken parts blacks, in which the form disappears, but on the other hand with what authority does it not emphasize the unity of a composition, and accent the character of the forms and express

the flexibility by calling attention to the refinement and purity of the contours! The great recesses that in marble shock the eyes of the spectator, and are a cause of meagreness or at least of dryness, are well placed here; they give to the work a perfect clarity."¹

Note 1.p.143. Eugène Guillaume. Salon of 1881. (*Revue des Deux Mondes* of June 1). On this relation of the material employed to the work made of it, also see Lechat. *Au musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes* etc. p. 5-11. 1903. The author has rendered a real service to our studies by revising at the place, during a sojourn of several months that he made at Athens, the articles that he formerly published on this subject in different collections. Printed at the cost of the University of Lyons, the volume of 468 pages comprises 3 plates printed separately and 47 figures in the text, all executed with the greatest care.

It is not only by the entirety of the pose that bronze lends itself to the boldness to which marble adapts itself with more difficulty. This liberty of charm bronze even carries into that chiseling, that comes to give it the final finish, once that the piece has left the mould. When it is applied to bronze, the chisel has freer attacks, than when it cuts the marble, that always risks fracture under too hard a stroke of the tool. It can sometimes at will go to extreme fineness of line, and sometimes fearlessly digging into the metal, make interesting details project between clearly marked hollows. For example, this is the case for the hair. The artist in bronze is more at his ease than the one in marble in separating the locks composing it, and thus to follow all the curves of these soft and flexible masses. Thus on a certain marble head, one frequently recognizes the copy of a figure not born in marble. The copyist has retained something of the character presented by the work of the modeling. He has lessened this character by the change in material, but consciously he has held to not efface it entirely. Behind the marble, by certain incisive and nervous accents that it never suggested, one perceives the original in bronze.

To come only to other materials in the second line after marble and bronze, such as wood and terra cotta, which no

less give occasion for observations of the same kind. In wood were carved the most ancient images of the deities of Greece, such as were called Xoana.¹ Some of these were consecrated by popular veneration and were preserved almost to the last days of paganism in certain temples, where to prolong their existence no pains were spared; they were painted, gilded,² clothed in precious fabrics, and sometimes to prevent the wormeaten wood from falling into dust, they were enclosed within a covering of bronze.³

Note 1.p.144. See the texts collected by Overbeck. *Schriftliche Quellen*. Nos. 143, 144, 234, 236, 239, 371.

Note 2.p.144. Xoana epicnrysa at Corinth. II. 26.

Note 3.p.144. At Thebes xoanon covered with bronze by the sculptor Polydoros. Pausanias. II, 26.

The term that serves to designate this sort of images would have sufficed to indicate to us its character. It is a derivative from the verb *zeo*, to *scrape*, which implies a work executed especially with tools like the saw and gouge, the rasp and file.⁴ Further, to assume even that these old idols had all disappeared and no memory of them was preserved among the Greeks of the classical age, that primitive period of sculpture on wood would be revealed to the historian by the intermediary of later monuments; by them we should have known in what material the Greek sculptor made his apprenticeship. The monuments that have allowed us to restore this lost chapter of a distant past are sculptures in limestone, the poros of the Greeks, in which are betrayed in the entire character of the execution customs and methods, that are not those advised and required by this material.¹ What gives this impression is not only the entirety of the form, visibly borrowed from the wood that appears in the form in which the axe of the carpenter cut it; this is also a detail in that form, and these are the methods that the sculptor employed to indicate beneath the skin the bony framework and the muscles attached to it.

Note 4.p.144. E. Gardner, (*Jour. Hell. Studies*. XI.p.133), notes three passages from Xenophon, Euripides and Strabo, in which the word xoanon is applied to statues of stone or of metal; but these exceptions do not have the importance attributed to them. These authors do not aim at precision

in terms. If they employ the word *xoanon* in the passages in question, all that they mean is, that the image of which they speak has the appearance of the old statues of wood, in which one recognizes the earliest images of the deity, that the Greek sculptor executed.

Note 1.p.145. There has been frequently employed the word *tufa* to designate the material from which these statues are made, and perhaps we may sometimes fail to use it; but in fact there is in it a slight impropriety. In the language of geologists, this term is reserved for certain varieties of calcareous rocks formed by evaporation in the open air, of water charged with bicarbonate of lime or of silica. Such is not the nature of the limestones employed by Grecian sculptors; all are rocks of sedimentary origin.

In these first sketches of what later became the statue, the body is always more or less deformed. These deformations are such as one could explain solely by the inexperience of the sculptor. One feels that he had his reasons for varying thus from the reality; one finds them in the influence of an earlier type in which the form was so altered and simplified; in that way he goes back to the first images, that were placed in places of worship in Greece, when poetry had accustomed the mind to lend to the gods the human form, and sculpture attempted to follow that path; it then conceived the ambition, if not to exactly imitate that form, at least to recall it to the adorers of the god by a certain approximation. The Dioscures at Sparta were represented by two timbers;² the most ancient image of Hera at Samos was a plank, scarcely smoothed.¹ On this timber or plank a few cuts of the chisel might indicate the face or the attributes of sex and the beginning of the arms, indications that the brush was always ready to complete by a motley of colors analogous to what we have found on many terra cottas of very early date.² A high headdress, polos or helmet, fabrics wrapped around the timber, a spear and shield standing near it, and other accessories of the same kind concurred in arousing in the mind of the believer the idea of a certain divine personage, whose image had been sketched by the poet. On these vague features the imagination worked, vivid and strong as it was, it had no difficulty in completing the

rude sketch.

note 2.p.145. Clement of Alexandria. Stromata. I.p.418.

note 1.p.148. Gallimachos, quoted by Eusebius. Praep. Evang. III. 8.

note 2.p.148. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. Figs. 335, 337, 338, 341-344; vol. VII, Figs. 28-31.

Before carving these rude images on a timber or plank, men must have made them of the trunk of a tree, such as supplied by the axe of the woodcutter. By its roundness the trunk of a beech or pine is less removed from the human form than the timber with four sides, or the flat and thin plank. What permits one to affirm that this type was largely represented in the primitive statuary is, that one divines an almost literal imitation of it in a certain imitation of it in a certain stone statue, whose appearance approaches that of a column (Fig. 79), or in a certain figurine of terra cotta that resembles a truncheon (Fig. 80). If one compares with nature these replicas of vanished models, he finds there neither the angle formed by the shoulders at the junction of the neck, the ample development of the chest, the firm angles of the hips, nor the separation of the legs; the body is reduced, and is rounded in all directions.

Besides, it is rather the squared beam recalled by certain statues of the same group. The shoulders are in place there and the chest has the desired width, but the flanks are not rounded. Nowhere is this mode of treatment so freely emphasized as on a fragment of a statue of limestone, that came from the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Beotia (Fig. 31). One cannot say whether this represented a man or a woman; it was clothed in a long tunic, whose fall is indicated on the three wrought faces by rigid planes, that intersect at a right angle. Nothing arouses the idea of the living flesh, except the ends of the feet projecting beyond the bottom of the drapery.

The same flats are also noted on other statues of the same epoch, but with a difference: they lack thickness and are as if flattened; they are derived from the plank. This connection is apparent in a statue found at Delos before the temple of Apollo (Fig. 32). "The marble from the plinth to the shoulders has the form of a sort of pilaster; the sides

are rounded at right and left; the faces are two parallel planes. The middle divides the body into two unequal parts; the lower portion is highest and continues to become thinner from the feet, to the hips; the upper portion is enlarged in the inverse sense. The breadth of the shoulders equals that of the base. At right and left are placed two verticals, stiff and attached to the body; these are the arms. The head resembles a truncated pyramid with all its edges rounded and almost effaced. The hair is plastered on the temples and extends over the shoulders, and contributes to give it that appearance. Above the plinth the marble is divided and sawn obliquely. In the triangular cavity are arranged two projections that represent the extremities of the feet; they are attached together."¹ The sex is further not determined, the chest is flat and the trunk much more resembles a geometrical figure than the human form. We should be condemned to ignorance of what the artist wished to represent, were it not for an inscription engraved on the lower part of the marble at the right. The statue is votive, dedicated to the Delian Artemis by Nicandra, a woman of Naxos; it is then the effigy of the goddess herself, according to all probability."

note 1. p. 148. *Homolle. Bull. Corr. Hell.* III, p. 151.

It is believed that if the statue of Nicandra dates at the end of the 7th century, it would belong to the time when the sculptor commenced to work in marble; but even then, one yet finds in his work in some places, a sort of persistent souvenirs of the ancient technics. There is such a statue already free in fabrication, where the trunk with its roundings is modeled beneath the fabrication of the tunic, and yet the lower part of the body remains impersonal in a flat pilaster, whose stiffness reminds us of the plank (Fig. 83). Even at the Louvre we have another example of this survival of one of the persistent types of the xoanon, in that statue of the Samian Hera, that our national museum owes to the initiative of Paul Girard (Fig. 79). This is not the work of an art that may still be in the experiments of the beginning. To judge by the letters of the dedication engraved on it, it cannot be earlier than the second half of the 6th century, and yet it presents an entirely convent-

conventional character, whose sole reason is given by the hypothesis of the desired imitation of a very ancient image. The head is wanting; but in the upper part of the body the contours of a woman's chest are divined beneath the drapery, whose arrangement of symmetrical folds have almost a refined elegance. On the other hand, all the lower part of the body from the girdle assumes a cylindrical form without any trace of modeling; the folds that spread above the plinth seem to represent the projection of the roots from which rises the smooth and straight trunk.¹ Thus from the trunk of a tree, chosen for its robustness and its proper growth, was formerly fashioned the old idol of which a copy in marble has been preserved, a copy that in spite of its quite recent date thus allows one to reach the most remote origins of the art and its very first attempts.

note 1. p. 149. Collignon. Histoire de la sculpture grecque. I. p. 163.

In this curious example of what has sometimes been termed the columnar statue, if the sculptor has faithfully retained the general form of his model, his hand has obeyed in the execution the customs that prevailed in his time in the workshops; in the rendering of the fabric, it has a suppleness, that shows it already accustomed to the principal differences of work in stone. But it is not the same everywhere. In most statues that we have mentioned in regard to these lost prototypes, whose existence they assume, as well as in many others that at first sight would seem to have only a very distant analogy to these xoana, one recognizes as applied to stone the methods of attack and the procedures of carving on wood imposed on the sculptor. The tool always tends to follow the direction of the woody fibres, when it does not cut these with the saw; it removes and detaches the material in chips. Can thus be faithfully rendered the appearance of the living form, that presents in the animal and in man only planes passing into each other by insensible transitions, only flats, that viewed in profile are resolved into curvilinear outlines? Doubtless in the happy centuries when all arts will be in full flower at the same time, the sculptor by means of skill can sometimes succeed in conquering in a certain degree the dryness of wood; but

this is because he will then be in the school of artists, who work in bronze and marble. He would not have that resource when he conceived the ambition to give forms to the gods of Greece; he would then find around him materials whose instructions would aid him in conquering difficulties, in reacting against the domination of the material with which he contended. He could then only submit to the tyranny, and what it gave him under the action of the saw, knife and gouge, were regular planes separated by stiff and sharp edges.¹

Note 1.p.150. Lechat has shown this by a minute and refined analysis, whose conclusions we can alone summarize here. (*Les sculptures en pierre tendre; Au musée. p.1439.*)

This rigidity of the planes and this hard firmness of the edges that mark their intersections is a trait, that is found most frankly accented in the most ancient attempts in stone sculpture. For example, see a head of an incredible rudeness, found in the rubbish on the Acropolis of Athens. (Fig. 54). The instrument that served to execute it "was only a flat piece of metal sharpened at one end, a single pointed knife. One recognizes the passage of the blade over the five planes whose combination is thought to present the image of a nose, and it is the blade again that has made the oval recess of the mouth; but the point has cut the outlines of the eyes and that of the moustache. That tool is visibly better fitted for wood than tufa, and because of that, one can assume in fact, that the unskilfulness of the hand being equal, yet the execution in wood would have been slightly less rude. It is then natural that the workmen desired to diminish as much as possible the difference between wood and stone, and that he employed a very soft tufa within the reach of his feeble means and instruments. On the other hand, it is certain that he wrought this tufa just as he would have wrought a piece of wood. The essential procedure of the technics of wood consists in cutting; it must be said of the image-makers of the first period, that they carved their statues rather than chiseled them; but the material did not here aid the tool in producing the plane surfaces presented everywhere by that figure, and the tool itself does not cut as readily as it would have done in wood. One

may then state only that the technics employed here depended on the material, was originated for it and connected with it by direct and natural relations. At bottom, it was only the technics of wood adapted to soft stone."

note 1. p. 151. Lechat. Au musée. p. 15-16.

As the workman became accustomed to stone, his execution became less barbarous. On a statue of a woman in soft limestone of the same source, he has employed the most varied instruments, of which he has made a better use (Fig. 85). The saw cut the plane of the right arm, one of those little saws with a handle at one end and used with one hand;¹ out the instrument that he has especially employed is the gouge, the chisel with a slightly concave edge. One does not strike the gouge with a mallet like the chisel of the marble-worker; it has a wooden handle and the hand alone pushes it so as to cut by pressure. The work of this tool is easily recognized in the great folds of the himation, hollowed from top to bottom, in the goffering of the hair, in the hollows around the mouth and eyes. Finally, with a very sharp and finely pointed blade, the artist must have cut the curve of the mouth, given the eyelids those thin and dry edges, that extend around the eyeball, and cut the cross lines of the falling tresses of the hair. This third instrument further had the effect of cutting the stone. Only the mode of cutting differs.

One will find the model taken from an ancient relief in H. Hugo Blumner. *Technologie der Kunst*. vol. II, p. 220. Fig. 42).

The demonstration is made; we shall not delay in following step by step the progress of the workman, as marked in a series of works that represent the successive times of his efforts. Some of these works are isolated figures and others of greater importance are the remains of figures in low and high relief, that decorated the pediments of the oldest temples of the Acropolis. To become more a master of stone, the artist found means to give his tools a better temper, to make them of a more resistant metal; he has gradually come to be more at ease, to better enter into the spirit of the material employed.

In the decoration of pediments, which we shall have to study later, one sees the sculptor at first employ a very

friable limestone, that he could work almost as easily as a wooden panel; then for another group, which is certainly later, he uses a harder stone with closer grain. He then knows better how to use his better tools. He is then emboldened to give to the figures more projection and even to detach them from the background. The planes are slightly rounded. There is the announcement of a preparation for the modeling; but the instruments that he uses lead and almost compel him to neglect the details. It results from this that all these images have a singular air of vigor and power, an appearance that comes to them "because they are cut with broad planes, exaggerated reliefs, and without any refinement in the work."² This method of simplification is required of the sculptor by the nature of the material that he uses, and by the work of the tools that he handles. "The skilful handling of the hair and Athenian beards of the 6th century could be imitated only by delicate and minute cutting, by the aid of slow and careful tools."¹

note 2.152. Lechat. Au musée. p. 83.

note 1.p.153. The same. p. 100.

Yet the effort was made. The proof of this is a man's head of natural size on which the hair and beard are very different from what one sees on the other statues of limestone; but the roughness of the stone has not allowed this work to be carried to the neatness of finish that would have given it all its value; the whole remains very awkward (Fig.96).²

note 2.p.153. Athen. Mitt. XIV. p. 77-78, pl. III.

There was then a certain order of qualities, to the acquisition of which the statuary art could not pretend during the tufa period, as it had a certain order of defects, from which it could not free itself. For these conditions to change, it was necessary that the material, the tools and the mode of using them should first be changed. Finally came the marble. It came just like tufa after wood, and as after very soft tufas came the harder tufas. "It imposed on the sculptor entirely new technics. Until then the processes of working had changed little; men had ~~continued to cut~~ images in tufa with nearly the same tools, that had previously served for carving the xoana of wood; but the marble could not be wrought with like facility. If the chief instrument of

the closing period was the gouge, that of the commencing period was the chisel. The gouge is merely a concave chisel, and still there is little more than the name common between the chisel of the joiner, furnished with a handle and used directly with the hand and cutting by pressure, and the chisel of the marble-worker, struck by a mallet, and which breaks off the material, but does not cut it. The use of the two tools is then very different, and their effects are no less so. The technique of tufa, which at first had been that of wood, had the inconvenience of leading the workman to rapid and superficial work, to a fabrication neither compact nor exact. On the contrary, the handling of the chisel would compel him to proceed slowly and with precaution, to go over the points of those forms of which he scarcely knew more than the principal divisions previously; he would then feel the need of keeping closer to his model; in studying it better, he would appreciate the value of certain details previously sacrificed or nearly so, and thus progressively he would find his way to that accuracy in imitation and that truth in expression, fundamental qualities in statuary, that are too frequently absent from earlier productions. On the other hand, he would recognize by experience the beauty of this new material used by him, fertile in resources and worthy of the efforts imposed by it. Certain of being repaid for his care, he would not spare this, as he would have done before with tufa, whose rough surface was incapable of polish and discouraged good intentions."¹

note 1. p. 154. Lechat. Au musée. p. 103-104.

These qualities in rendering, these beauties in execution could not abruptly show themselves with the first stroke of the chisel, that the sculptor gave to a block of Paros. They were enclosed within that block in a virtual state; they would only leave it and appear later, when the artist by prolonged exercise had learned to handle with ease his new tools. This apprenticeship and this initiation could not fail to require a certain time.

Further, to continue in that Attica where we have sought our examples, men did not cease from one day to another to work the tufa. When already a certain artist, young and cold, devoted himself to marble, other image-makers continued to

to chisel the stone on which they were trained in the paternal workshop. During one or two generations, the activity of the sculptor must be divided between tufa and marble. Among the marble figures attributed to the second half of the 6th century are found some, that by their appearance and fabrication recall almost to be confused with them, the old tufa images. For example, this is the case for the statue in blue marble from Hymettus, known under the name of the Moschophore. By the hair arranged in strings of great beads on the brow and around the cheeks, by the dry chin representing the beard, one divines the obstinate survival of the ancient technics of wood, that the technics of tufa merely continued.

In the series of figures that represent the archaic art of Athens, there is further only a small number of those transition monuments: the triumph of marble must have been very rapid; marble did not delay to create its own technics.¹ The statues assigned to the second part of the 6th century have an appearance entirely different from that of their predecessors, the sculptures in tufa. The artist was induced by the material itself to give to the work all the finish possible, while the other materials previously employed, wood and soft stone, were rather suited to rapid execution by masses. Finally, these pretty embellishments in which the archaic masters delighted so much, marble authorized and induced by its fine grain, while tufa could only accept them with difficulty.

note 1.p.155. Lechat finds to be cited here only another monument of this kind. (Au musée. p. 109-110. Fig. 6).

This special technics of marble was gradually established in the Cyclades, where marble abounds; but even there was time required. The feeling that stone, a sedimentary or crystalline limestone, had at first inspired in the sculptor was an extreme timidity. The stone did not have that tenacity given to wood by its fibrous texture; a too abrupt or too hard blow of the chisel sufficed to split it. This was then perceived very quickly by the first workman that took it in hand. In these statuettes of such primitive character furnished by the oldest cemeteries of the Cyclades, the arms are fixed to the body and the separation of the legs is only

indicated by a simple line;¹ if the legs are not separated, this is only because one was afraid of breaking the piece of marble.

Note 1. p. 156. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VI. Plâs. 331, 332, 333.

Yet there came a moment, when the sculptor desired to give his figures an air of life, felt the need of bending the arms and of separating the legs. The latter were placed vertically below the trunk, and could easily be cut in the same block of stone with it; but it was ~~not~~ the same with the arms as soon as they were bent to extend forward. To find them in the block from which was taken the rest of the figure required a very thick block of marble and consequently very heavy, very difficult to handle; but in these same conditions, one would not believe it possible to disengage them without exposing them to accidents. To not run the risk the statues were composed of several pieces skilfully fitted together. The trunk of a man in tufa in the museum of the Acropolis shows how they proceeded. The head and neck were attached; a great bar of iron that held them is still fixed at the middle of the trunk; but further between the collar bone and the left breast, a piece 7.37 ins. long and 1.97 ins. wide, now vanished, was slipped in a groove, and this detail makes one think of a work in joinery.² What has further survived in that work in tufa are figures executed in mean and high relief, which entered into the decoration of edifices, where they were placed against a background. On the other hand, the excavations of 1836 furnished an entire rich series of archaic figures of feminine type; they date from even the time in Attica, when the marble of the islands came to substitute itself for the indigenous tufa in the current practice of sculpture; they are made of that marble. At the time of the discovery, all of them had been broken into several pieces; before any attempt at restoration, these fragments were carefully examined by competent observers;¹ what resulted from these investigations was, that in the entire archaic collection of the Acropolis was not a single statue, from the largest to the smallest, that was cut entirely in a single block of marble. All have parts more or less considerable, that were executed separately and then attached. This is the case for the arms, that are

fastened at the elbows in a deep mortise cut therein. The forearm fitted in that mortise, prolonged by a solid tenon; then a hole was bored about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter through the entire thickness of the marble at the middle of the tenon, and lead was cast in that hole; naturally care was taken to conceal the ends of that dowel. Further, more than once the lead dowel was not thought necessary, they were satisfied by cementing the tenon into the mortise by means of a white material, which is now reduced to a fine powder like plaster; it seems to be lime; with or without a dowel, the fastening was skilfully made and scarcely visible; it was much less so because the arm is always loaded and is enveloped around the elbow by the folds of the clothing. "The forearms are not the only pieces attached. Sometimes the head and neck are made separately and by means of a strong rectangular tenon, enter into a mortise sunk between the shoulders; a marble dowel is sunk from each side and passes through this tenon, already cemented with lime. Cavvadias believes that he has proved that on certain figures the lower parts of the legs and the feet were also attached. With some care, one also discovers on these statues other parts, that have been wrought separately and then attached to the principal block."²

note 1. p. 157. Cavvadias. *Ephemeris*. 1886. p. 75-76.

note 2. p. 157. Lechat. *Au musée*. p. 229-230.

It was the same for the parts of the mantle and particularly the floating ends that terminate in a point and are detached from the legs, likewise the tresses of the hair, that fall in front of the chest. The ends of these tresses not adhering to the neck were also added; they were fixed by the same means as the arms and the pendants of the mantle. The hole for the dowel was concealed by a marble ^{plug} cemented with lime with a joint so thin and so skilfully cut, that all trace of the operation became invisible.

This system of minute adjustments must take much time of the workmen, and require from them a singular dexterity. Why were these practices established? It has been supposed that the marbles of Naxos were only quarried in small blocks for export, which reduced the cost and difficulties of transportation.¹ There may be some truth in that hypothesis, es-

especially concerning the arms, but the explanation poorly applies to additions like those of the pendant points of the himation or of the tresses falling on the chest. To find the material for these thin pieces in the thickness itself of the block from which the statue must be cut, it would not have been necessary to increase its thickness much. Finally, there are some statuettes that hardly measure 1.64 to 1.97 ft. in height; it would certainly be easy to cut them entirely in one block; now even there the arms are attached.²

note 1.p.158. Cabodias. Ephemeris. 1886. p.75.

note 2.p.158. Lechat. Au musée. p.228.

Thus one cannot see in this method of work anything but the effect of habits previously contracted. Without comprising as bold isolations as those possible in bronze, marble could easily afford free points of the vestments, and those tresses only detached from the body for a small part of their length; but these overhangs and these even light separations could have been obtained with difficulty in a very friable stone, and especially in the shelly limestone employed at the beginning by the Attic sculptors. This material being cut very rapidly, it was more convenient and expeditious to execute separately all the parts of the whole, to fit them then to the body itself of the figure, inserting each in its place. By assiduous practice, the workman learned to make these joints with rapidity and certainty; he was too expert and too much accustomed to it to renounce these methods at once, when he abandoned tufa for marble.

It ^{not} was only this special technics of compound works and of skilful additions, that the first artists who sculptured marble gathered from the inheritance from their predecessors; they also found other practices there, which they appropriated in the same fashion. With its dull paleness, and in certain qualities of the stone, with its gray or reddish veins, tufa had something dull and a little sad, which seemed badly qualified to represent the human body with the warm color of flesh and the gayety of the fabrics, with which it loved to surround itself. This original defect of the material was too apparent for men not to believe it urgent to correct

it. This was provided for by the application of colors, that were themselves most frequently laid on a very fine stucco; this received them better than stone, and further it served to fill cavities and holes. This polychrome decoration was born from tufa; the use of tufa made it necessary. Marble could more easily have dispensed with it; but the habit was formed, and at first marble was painted just as tufa had been.

In all Greece as at Athens, soft stone had succeeded to wood, without our being able to fix the date of that substitution. Each Grecian city had utilized the sedimentary rock found in its vicinity, rocks that the Greeks designated by the name of *porinos lithos* or *poros*. Thus the Boeotian sculptors made frequent use of a porous and yellowish limestone, that crops out at several points of their territory. Elis had a white and very close-grained limestone, in which were cut the figures in high relief that decorated the pediment of the treasury of the Megarans at Olympia. That employed at Selinonte for the execution of the earliest metopes of the temples of the city, Temple C, was coarser; at a little distance from the ruins and near the village of Menfici has been found the quarry, from which it was taken. These various sorts of limestone all further have the more or less marked defects that we have mentioned. Hence men did not delay to abandon them as soon as they had discovered the virtues of marble.

Of all the lands inhabited by the Greeks, there was out one, Cyprus, where tufa had not been dethroned by marble at about the middle of the 6th century. Relegated to the eastern end of the Mediterranean, very far from the centres where shone most vividly the flame of Grecian genius, placed in the island itself in contact with a people of Semitic origin and language, the Cypriote Greeks being near neighbors to the coasts of Egypt and Syria, they were liest Grecian of all Greeks. Their art, that of the architect as well as that of the sculptor, that of the potter and of the ceramic painter, had fixed its formulas quite early and only modified them very slowly; they only followed with a hesitating pace and at a very great distance the progress of Hellenic art. On the other hand, what explains this obstinately retained fidelity to a material, whose employment had else-

elsewhere fallen into disuse, is the quality of Cypriote limestone. It is very docile under the chisel, and still once relieved of its quarry water, it has much consistency. Examine at the Louvre those Cypriote figures, large and small; the finest details of the hair and beard, of the ornaments and folds of the fabric, are retained with marvellous distinctness. Finally, even the yellowish gray color of that stone does not lack charm, even while being impressed with a certain coldness. One no less feels some surprise in finding that the Greeks of Cyprus did not think of demanding marble from the mariners of the Cyclades, when these imported it into Phoenicia. Among the anthropoid sarcophaguses that came from the cemeteries of Syria are some, that by the execution of the heads chiseled on their lids, appear to date back to the first years of the 5th century.

By reason of the brittle hardness and their dark color, rocks of volcanic origin are unsuited for statuary; then one can scarcely cite more than a single example of an attempt to utilize them for that purpose. We wish to speak of the reliefs that ornament the architrave and frieze of the temple of Assos;¹ they were cut in the stone which served to build the temple, the walls and all the monuments of the city, in a trachyte of the most earthy and most gloomy color. Were they covered by a stucco that permitted the application of color? No trace of that coating has been preserved. In any case the grain of this stone lends itself badly to the work of the chisel, to distinctness of contours and refinement in detail. One is astonished that a city like Assos should be satisfied with such materials, when this concerns the ornamentation of its principal edifice; but this apparent anomaly is explained by the history of that region of the Grecian world. Although peopled and prosperous, all these cities of Eolia, Assos, Cebrene, Larissa, Gargara, Adramitium, Antandres and Pergamon, appear to have led a quite separate and isolated life until the 4th century. Situated in a mountainous and wooded country, against the great mass of Ida, they did not find themselves on the great routes followed by commerce and ideas; they scarcely entered the full current of Grecian civilization until under the successors of Alexander. One then has no trouble to

understand, that about the middle of the 6th century the inhabitants of this retired district of the Greek World may still have been ignorant of the use of the marble of the islands, while in the Peloponessus and in Itāica, this marble everywhere flew in chips beneath the sculptor's chisel.

Note 1.p.160. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. Pls. XXIV, XXV.

Marble is found in too great abundance in the islands of the Archipelago, for men not to commence to work it very early. We have described the ruder idols of marble that date in the Mycenaean age and perhaps before.¹ But it is not without surprise, that in the booty of the recent excavations at Cnossos in Crete was found a marble head of a lioness, modeled with much vigor and truth (Fig. 87). It was perhaps the spout of a fountain.² This fragment is the most ancient work in marble that can be placed to the account of Grecian statuary.

Note 1.p.161. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. Figs. 325-336.

Note 2.p.161. Evans in Annual of Brit. School in Athens. vol. VI. p.31. We thank Mr. Evans and his publisher for the courtesy of allowing us to publish first this curious monument.

The same rocks, distributed in the same manner, form the surface of the two islands of Paros and of Naxos, that are very near each other and occupy nearly the centre of the group of the Cyclades. These are gneiss, whose mass is intersected by beds of marble, some of which are very thin, while others attain very great thickness; all this mass has suffered folds whose direction forms an angle with the horizon, and is larger or smaller according to the locality. there is not one district of Paros or of Naxos, so to speak, where one does not have a chance of reaching these layers of marble at a greater or lesser depth; but if this marble is everywhere in the two islands, it is far from presenting the same quality everywhere. In that which seemed to construct the treasury of the Cnidians and of the Athenians at Delphi, certain blocks were not taken from the best beds, have not resisted weather and have scaled. When this concerns statuary marble, one examines it more closely; but even that marble does not present everywhere the same texture and properties, that make it so dear to the sculptor. On Paros alone is found marble of the first quality, to which

that island gives its name of Parian, always spoken by artists and poets, when they wish to designate the superior marble, the most beautiful material that art has ever had at command for imitating the human form and for making its beauty eternal. Again there has scarcely been found there this choice marble, except at one point of the island at a place called Marpessa by the ancients near Agios Minas, a little ruined monastery. There is a ravine in which appears at about 6562 ft. above the level of the sea a bed of statuary marble from 6.6 to 13.1 ft. thick. Enclosed between two beds of a coarser marble, this bed extends into the side of the mountain at an inclination of about 30 degrees. The ancients followed ^{it} by means of broad galleries with ceilings supported by piers left in the mass; work appears to have been continued until the last days of the Roman empire. The quantity of marble taken from this single quarry has been estimated at 1,059,510 cu. ft.¹

Note 1. p. 162. G. R. Lepsius. *Griechische Marmorstudien*. p. 44. 1890. From this study we borrow the information that we give relating to the different varieties of statuary marble. To collect the materials, M. Lepsius made three journeys in Greece and visited the principal quarries; he examined under the microscope all the marbles that he mentions, and has subjected them to chemical analysis. See H. S. Washington. *Identification of marbles used in Greek sculptures*. (Am. Jour. of Archaeology. new series. vol. II, 1898. p. 1-9.)

Everywhere else in the same islands and in Attica the beds of marble have been worked in the open air. Due to the exceptional mode of quarrying adopted on Paros for statuary marble is the name by which it was known to the Greeks and Romans; it was called *lychnites* or *lichnite stone*, a term derived from *lychnos*, a lamp.² One still sees in the walls of the quarry the small notches in which the miners placed the clay lamps that lighted them. It was not without difficulty, that the miners raised on the quite steep slope of the galleries the materials prepared for export; thus it appeared that on Paros the materials were quarried in smaller blocks than in Attica; this is suggested by some blocks that the pick had commenced to detach from the mass, but had not entirely isolated. These blocks do not exceed 6.6 ft. in l

length; only a statue of the natural size could be cut from them. If in spite of these difficulties one is induced to undertake subterranean work, this is because the quality of the marble continually improves as one penetrates more deeply into the rock; at a small depth it is always more or less altered by rain, that soaks into the upper layers of the ground.

note 2.p.162. Pliny. N. H. XXXVI. 4-4. (Latin).

The marble produced by this quarry is that of all known marbles, where the calcareous mass has suffered the most complete transformation in its intimate structure, by the effect of the violent pressures by which are explained phenomena of this kind. In other marbles and even the most famous, for example Pentelican, the translucent crystals of calcite are embedded in a sort of cement, that forms opaque and very thin grains of carbonate of lime (Fig. 88). Here is nothing of that kind, only crystals of unequal sizes, that are forced against each other and form a sort of irregular mosaic; none of these elements has over 0.012 in. length (Fig. 89). The appearance presented by this marble at a fracture has been compared to that of coarse sugar; on the contrary, the Attic marble rather resembles beet sugar. Both are otherwise snow white, that on Parian shades into a very light tint of grayish blue, while on Attic it rather tends to yellowish; but the principal difference is, that by its perfect state of crystallization Parian is more transparent than any other marble. Light penetrates it to a depth of 1.38 ins., while this does not exceed 0.93 in. in Carrara, and it stops at 0.59 in. for the best Pentelican; thus the Parian is of all white marbles the one that presents the warmest tone to the eye, a tone that without pretending to reproduce the color of living flesh, arouses in the mind the memory and almost the feeling of it. To convince one's self, it is only necessary to see in the museum of Olympia the Hermes of Praxiteles; all surfaces of the body gleam there with a kind of vivid and luxurious freshness, that almost conveys the illusion of life.

Parian owes another advantage to the purity of its homogeneous and entirely crystalline mass; it presents no trace of what geologists term schistosity, i.e., of an arrangement

of layers that is more or less marked in all other marbles. The miner in the quarry and the sculptor in the studio could fearlessly attack it in any direction; neither one had to take into account the direction of the bed, what we practitioners term the grain and the countergrain. Barrias, one of the first sculptors of our time, said to me; "Parian and perhaps also Pentelican, although in lesser degree, are superior as materials to the marbles of S. Beat and of Carrara, alone employed today. Parian with its great crystals works easier, although harder than Carrara; it is less lean and less liable to break, more docile under the tool."

The white marbles of the other districts of the island and those that abound at Naxos present on the whole the same characteristics as the lychnites; what causes their inferiority is, that the crystals are larger and contain very small particles of foreign matter. These particles of a more or less dark color give the stone a grayish tint by their number; they also make it less permeable to light. If this marble does not have all the qualities of that supplied by the quarry of Marpesse, it is no less an excellent statuary marble; architects and sculptors made constant use of it in the 6th century in the Cyclades, in Attica and in the rest of Greece. Without seeking for a certain statue whether it came from Paros or Naxos, one can designate by the generic name of island marble, in that nomenclature of materials that sculpture has adopted.

Marbles of the same nature are also found on several other islands of the Archipelago, such as Tinos, Andros, Anaphe, Syra and Thasos; but they appear to have been scarcely used except at home with a view to local needs. Naxos and Paros from the beginning had the privilege of supplying the sculptor, wherever his studio was located. Their products enjoyed such vogue, that in many Grecian countries, men were in no haste to utilize similar materials that they had at hand. Attica is rich in marbles; it has them in Larium^u, Hymettos and Pentelicos. Pentelicos in particular, that rises at the rear of the plain of Athens to a height of 3625 ft., is from base to summit a real mountain of white marble, certain varieties of which can almost rival that of Paros; now it appears that about the middle of the 6th century, although

knowing this marble, the Attic sculptor only used it exceptionally, when the marble from the islands was lacking.¹ The quarries of Pentelicos were largely opened and actively worked only after the time, when Cimon and especially Pericles gave the signal for great undertakings in construction and decoration, defrayed by the tribute of the allies. To rapidly complete works of that importance, it was necessary to have at command materials found almost at the foot of the buildings. It was only then, that without dethroning Parian, the marble from Pentelicos began to compete seriously with it, not only in Attica, but also in the rest of Greece. Hymettus also has a white marble that strongly resembles Pentelican; but its crystallization is more imperfect. As for another marble of very dark grayish blue furnished by the same hill, men attempted to use it for sculpture at Athens, when they began to dislike tufa; this supplied the material of one of those first statues in marble executed at Athens, that called the Moschophoros; but it recognized that the dark color of that marble and the veins that intersect it make it badly suited for statuary.¹ It was devoted to another purpose. In this marble were cut nearly all the pedestals of statues, that have been taken from the rubbish on the Acropolis.

Note 1.p.185. Lepsius found for mention in the museums of Athens but a small number of archaic monuments, fragments of figures in the round and reliefs, whose material is the white marble of Pentelicos, while for the 5th and succeeding centuries, these monuments are counted by hundreds, one can almost say by thousands. On the other hand from the first half of the 6th century, on slabs of pentelic marble were engraved the inscriptions of any importance. (Corp. Ins. Att.)

Note 1.p.186. Winter enumerates a certain number of Attic sculptures of the 6th century, that were executed in a bluish marble furnished both by Hymettus and also by one quarry of Pentelicos, which seems to have been worked before men utilized the white marble of the last hill. (Athen. Mitt. vol. XIII. p. 116-117.).

Near Carystos in Euboea are formations analogous to those of the mountains of Attica; but the veined marble found there has only been employed by architects as an element of

decoration, especially in the Roman epoch. Beotia has no true marbles. The material of the Apollo of Orchomenos and of several other monuments from the same source is a gray and hard limestone, and only suffered the beginning of crystallization; the steles of Dermys and of Kitylos as well as many other figures were cut in an oolitic limestone with very fine grains of yellowish white, supplied in abundance by the mountains of the district. When one desired to have marble statues in Beotia, then at first had recourse to the quarries of Paros and of Naxos; then later they resorted to those of Pentelicos; Attic marbles only had to make a short voyage to enter Beotia by Oropos and the valley of the Asopos. Thessaly also possessed very beautiful white marbles, that only found use locally at Larissa and Pharsalia; sculptures are mentioned, collected on the coast of Thrace, that were made of this Thessalian marble. The Peloponessus is much poorer in marble than central Greece; marble is scarcely found there except in the eastern part of the peninsula, in the chain of Parnon that separates Laconia and Arcady from Argolis. Near Doliana in Tegeatide have been recognized the quarries from which were taken the materials of the celebrated temple of Athena Alea, the glory of Tegea. The marble that they supplied is not without analogy to that of Pentelicos; but it is less white and less brilliant; it tends to blue. Two quarries are situated farther south in the same mountain, and supplied the workshops of the Laconian sculptors. Sometimes yellow and more frequently bluish, this marble always lacks transparency.

Between the distribution of marble in the subsoil of Grecian lands and the part taken by the various groups of cities in the work of statuary is a relation to which we cannot fail to call attention. The Cyclades were the cradle of statuary; a century later, at Athens were produced its most beautiful works. The conditions are not the same for the arts of metal; these employ materials supplied to commerce in sheets or ingots, and can be transported afar at less cost than marble; thus they have to reckon less with the nature of the lands over whose surface they pass; yet where metal leaves the earth in abundance and seems to offer itself to the workman, he can scarcely fail to respond to this

appeal. Chalcis appears to have been the sole city of continental Greece that possessed mines of copper in its territory; hence from a very early date the Chalcidians were famous for their skill in casting and working the metal that they extracted from adjacent beds.¹ But on the other hand is Corinth; one knows what reputation was enjoyed by its bronze-workers and by the bronze from its foundries; yet the soil of its suburbs furnished neither copper nor tin; ships that frequented its double harbor supplied it with the metals from which it made its famous alloy. As for the cities of Ionia, they could obtain copper both from Cyprus, from Chalcis and the distant colonies founded by Miletus on the coasts of the Black sea; some of these were near the country of Gnalybes, whose mineral workings date back to very distant times. When the Samians and Phoceans had pushed their bold explorations to the coasts of Spain, they did not fail to bring back tin. Yet if the methods introduced by Ionian artists made bronze the rival of marble, Ionia owes the advantage of this initiative less to the facilities that its commerce afforded it for procuring the primary material, than to circumstances which had brought it into connection with Egypt, a country in which had long been applied processes in the fabrication of bronze, which are nearly those employed today in the same industry.

note 1. p. 167. Eustathes ad Dionys, 784; Stephen of Byzantium. See Aldephos.

When the Grecian sculptor commenced to seek in the diversity of materials employed, the means of varying the expressions that he endeavored to give to the living form, several centuries had already elapsed since in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, bronze was substituted for pure copper in the fabrication of all sorts of offensive and defensive arms, and which had itself even earlier replaced bone and stone for those various purposes.¹ The artisan of Mycenae and of Tiryns already knew how to cast this bronze in a mould, then to hammer, flatten and draw out under the hammer the ingots thus obtained, so as to reduce the metal into thin and ductile sheets. If he desires to decorate these sheets, he knows how to attack them on the back with the same hammer and chisel, and under the repeated strokes of

the tool, make the ornament project on the face to be seen; this is the repoussee process, the *sphyleraton* as the Greeks said. The workman also knows how to complete the effect of this ornament by retouching it in places with a sharper chisel, placing there the necessary touches with a point, that traces on it fine and light lines by which ^{are} ~~xx~~ fixed the details of the form.

Note 1.p.168. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VI. p.951-955.

From this time the workman did not require from bronze alone utensils corresponding to the different exigencies of practical life; he also already used it for the same purpose as stone and clay, for fashioning those small images in which we believe must be recognized images of the divinity. Two figures in bronze, one from Mycenae and the other from Tiryns, appear to us to present a god of war, who doubtless held a lance in his hand.² The custom of casting pieces of this kind in a mould made of two pieces was not lost after the Mycenaean epoch; to assure one's self of this, it suffices to recall the statuettes collected in the deepest layers of rubbish at Olympia and an archaic Apollo found in Beotia (Fig. 90).³ The fabrication is so barbarous, that it cannot be placed later than the 7th century; without the inscription accompanying it, one would even be tempted to date it yet earlier. If some monuments of this species have come to us, for a stronger reason the ancients must have had under their eyes a certain number that were preserved in the treasuries of the temples; thus one feels a very vivid surprise when he finds in Pausanias a statement repeated three times, like the assertion of a well known fact, which could not be doubted. According to him Rhoecos and Theodoros of Samos were the first to melt and cast bronze;¹ now according to the different indications that agree, it was in the first half of the 6th century, that these two artists executed the works attributed to them by tradition.

Note 2.p.168. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VI. p.752-753, Figs. 353, 354.

Note 3.p.168. Fröhner. *Apollon etc.* (Found. E. Plot etc. vol. II. p.137-143, pl. xv).

Note 1.p.169. Pausanias. IX. 41-1. (see VIII. 14-8.

In the form in which it is presented, the statement of

Pausanias is evidently not accurate; yet it is difficult to admit that this writer, without being authorized by evidence worthy of belief, could take it on himself to attribute to those Samian masters the honor of having made a decisive advance in the technics of bronze. About that time the technics of bronze was suddenly perfected and developed after having remained stationary for several centuries. Yet a few years and the bronze-workers of Ægina, after those of Ionia, will produce works that by their dimensions and their beauty will dispute with marble statues the esteem and admiration of connoisseurs. In what could then be justly consist the innovation, which gave the signal of this progress and this rapid flight; the reply to that question is to be demanded from the monuments themselves. All those cited previously, that came from Mycenae or Tiryns, Olympia or Beotia, are cast solid. On the contrary, see the griffins' heads found at Olympia (Fig. 91) and the head of a man discovered at Sparta (Fig. 92), which to judge by their fabrication can scarcely be later than the year 550;² now these heads are cast hollow, i.e., the form consists of a simple sheet of bronze several 25 ths of an inch thick. The interior is void, all that it sometimes contains is a little sand, the remains of the core on which the piece was cast. From the middle of the 6 th and during the succeeding centuries, the sculptor will employ the process of solid casting only for statuettes of very small height. Compared with solid casting, hollow casting not only has the advantage of economizing the material and of reducing the weight of the statue; it is also the only procedure for pieces of large dimensions, that permits obtaining from the mould casts really fine and nearly perfect. The greater the mass of the casting, the more are felt the effects of the contraction produced by cooling; in such a case in solid castings would occur very sensible deformations. On the contrary, the effects of this contraction of the metal are reduced to almost nothing when produced only in a sheet of bronze not 0.4 in. thick.¹ For this reason in our days even the smallest figures are cast hollow.

note 2.p.169. On this head, as interesting by its fabrication as by its probable date, see Furtwängler. *Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst*, p.112-118, Pl. I. Sitz.Acad. Munich. etc.

note 1.p.170. With Barbedienne the thickness of the bronze surface varies according to the importance of the figure; it is from 0.16 to 0.32 inch.

Then Pausanias was not mistaken; he appreciated at its just value the importance of the change of method then produced in the bronze industry. All that he can be reproached with is having used here vague and indefinite expressions. Further, one cannot be surprised by it. Pausanias has seen and recorded thousands of monuments, but he is not what we should call an art critic; he nowhere has that exact knowledge of the different technics, that would alone suggest to the writer the exact propriety of the terms; one will find in him many other examples of these insufficiencies and those nearly accurate. In his time bronze-workers practised for the fabrication of statues only a single procedure, that of casting hollow; he thought of this process when he recalled the service, that the two Samian masters rendered to the metal industries.

There is still another word in the texts that we have cited, which lends itself to reserves; this is invention, applied to the method introduced by the two Samian artists. Were they inventors in the full sense of the word? Doubtless the Greek genius in the course of this century in which it showed itself so active and so fruitful, would have been very capable by itself, of arriving at the discovery of this process, and then creating the apparatus required; but was there need of making that effort? Is it not proper to see here rather a new example of that ingenious and supple quickness of mind with which the Greeks appropriated, in the results obtained by the labor for so many centuries of the old civilizations of the Orient, what could best serve them in the expression of their own ideas? The process of casting in sand, and of hollow casting had long been practised in Egypt. We have found it employed in figures believed to date even in the ancient empire;¹ in any case it was in current use, even for figurines of very small dimensions, under the Saite princes, in that Egypt of Psamtik and of Amasis, who had received with open gates the Greek mercenaries, merchants and artisans. We already know by many ancient witnesses and even better by the excavations of Naucratis, how the

Greeks, nowise abdicating their originality, applied themselves to profiting by the relations thus established and by contact with the Egyptian artisans. Thus at Naucratis they became apprenticed to an industry, that of glazed clay, which they had never before attempted.² Is it not natural to think that it was the same for bronze? There is preserved the memory of a sojourn that Theodoros and Rheecos made in Egypt;¹ it would be in frequenting some workshop of Memphis or of Sais, that the two artists were initiated into the techniques of hollow casting. Their merit would be that of having vividly understood, then to be able to repeat all the series of delicate operations, that ensures the success of a cast from which must result a statue. After thus making themselves master of both the theory of the process and of its manual skill, they returned into Ionia, where they applied to figures entirely Grecian in theme and style the procedure, whose secret they had stolen from the Egyptian founder; works were shown at Ephesus and at Samos, which were attributed to them.²

note 1.p.171. Histoire de l'Art. vol. I. p.650-655; figs 434, 435. Egypt like Greece commenced with solid castings. The figures recently found at Gizeh, that are believed to be of the time of Pepi, are not bronze cast in a mould; they are made of pieces of hammered copper connected by mechanical fastenings.

note 2.p.171. Flinders Petrie & E. Gardner. Naucratis. vol. I. p.14, 38; vol. II. p. 36.

note 1.p.172. Diodorus. I. 98.

note 2.p.172. Pausanias. X. 38-5; Diodorus. I. 98.

"All that we other Greeks," says Plato, "borrow from the barbarians, we transform to make something of it more beautiful."³ If the Egyptians carried very far the perfection of casting in sand, for various reasons they had not made of it all possible use. As far as one can judge, they never cast figures that exceeded or even attained the natural size; the largest Egyptian bronze known is not 3.3 ft. in height.⁴ On the contrary, the Greeks very soon adopted the habit of giving to their bronzes the same dimensions as to their marbles; they even came thus to cast colossal figures. Also likewise the Egyptians had not had the idea of using the

freedom that bronze suggests and authorizes. Due to the lightness of a metal, that is at the same time very tenacious, the sculptor that employs bronze can give to his statues attitudes, which he would fear to risk in marble, where he is forced to count on the chances of fracture on account of the weight of the material. The Egyptian artist does not appear to have perceived this. He objects to violent movements, at least in statuary; the poses of his bronzes then remained sensibly the same as in his figures of limestone or of granite; from the times of the Theban dynasties, these had been adopted for each diversity or for each series of personages. On the contrary, the Grecian artist was bound by no routine; life interested him in the display of all its forces that it exhibited. He did not delay to take into account the special properties of bronze and to take advantage of them to place himself more at ease. He soon felt that all this allowed him to venture. Before the century had passed, he produced from it such figures as the Marsyas and the Discobolas of Myron. These figures were designed in bronze, that alone made them possible. What proves this are the expedients to which the ancient copyists were obliged to resort, who multiplied replicas of them in marble. To adapt that material to the ideas of the original, they were compelled to commit a sort of interpolation that made the image heavier; they added to it artificial supports such as those trunks of trees, against which leaned the body thrown out of plumb, and strongly bent forward or backward.

note 3.p.172. *Epinomis*. 987. D.

note 4.p.172. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. I. Fig. 44.

To be within the measure of the exact truth, it then suffices to interpret the assertion of Pausanias. Rheecos and Theodoros did not invent, as he says, the process of casting hollow; but by first practising it in Greece they were the true creators of art in bronze.¹ Until then, if men knew how to cast solid figures of small dimensions, they still had recourse for large pieces to those procedures of mechanical assemblage to which Homer frequently alludes. The most ancient statues of metal were made of bronze plates wrought with the hammer and riveted together. With the forge hammer the workman reduced the bronze plate to the desired thickness.

he fashioned it and fixed by the aid of nails on the core of wood, which represented well or badly the forms of the statue; in truth his work consisted in covering with bronze a xoanon and clothing it in actual armor."² Some works executed according to the methods of this rudimentary technique were preserved in the temples. Pausanias mentions as the most ancient of bronze statues which existed in his time that of Zeus Hypatos, which he could see at Sparta in the temple of Athena Chalkioecos. He says, "it is not made of a single piece; but each part is hammered separately; the pieces are then fitted together, and nails prevent their separation." This statue was attributed to Clearchos of Rhegion; now he had been a pupil of the Cretan sculptors Dipoenos and Skyllis, who seem to have visited different cities of Peloponessus, and to have worked there the first half of the 6th century. Then it does not appear that the new technique of hollow casting drove out of use on the morrow the ancient procedure of metal plates wrought and fitted on an internal core; but this was too imperfect to long sustain the competition. Bronze-workers did not delay to abandon it; but one will see it survive separately in the full classical age, in the methods of the chryselephantine statuary.

Note 1.p.173. One will find a brief but very clear description of this process in Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture*. vol. I. p.157-158. See Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Kunst*. vol. IV. Sections 14 and 17 of the Book devoted to the arts of metal. Also the *History of Bronze-working in Antiquity* by Walters, in the introduction that he placed at the head of the *Catalogue of Bronzes of the British Museum*. 1899.

Note 2.p.173. Collignon. *Histoire de la sculpture*. I.p.152.

Note 1.p.174. Pausanias. III. 18-6.

The procedure introduced by Rhoecos and Theodoros did not delay being disseminated from the workshops of Ionia throughout the rest of Greece. Soon afterward at Corinth, Argos, Sparta and Egina, was cultivated that beautiful art in bronze and from the end of the century the work of casting and chasing was carried to a degree of perfection rarely excelled by the most skilful modern artists, in spite of all the advance in the industry. However little one has studied, this

is recognized on some archaic bronzes of very careful execution, from the point of view of what is termed the trade.² When one takes it in hand, he marvels at the ease with which the workman has avoided or surmounted all the difficulties of his task. The first of all was to make the mould; then if this appeared to be too difficult to manage, that workman did not hesitate to adopt the method of casting his figure, whether great or small, in several separate parts, and he fitted those pieces together so skilfully that the joints escape the eye, even when not concealed under the drapery; to discover them it is often necessary to resort to the lens. The junction is effected by means of some small rivets, that occupy the centre of a sunken square. When these had been driven and the heads had been filed so as to make no external projection, the little square was filled by a bit of bronze fastened by fine soldering. Precautions were taken as minute to correct the effect of accidents occurring in the course of casting, if a bubble of air expanded the mould at the moment of casting and produced a float, or a grain of sand adhered in the liquid metal and became detached on cooling, leaving behind a little hole. To remedy the defect the cavity was enlarged or made regular, so as to give it the form of an elongated hole with sharp edges; then from a thin sheet of bronze were cut very small triangles with very sharp vertices. These triangles were inserted with points forced into the little crevices so prepared; they were pushed in with pincers until they refused to enter farther, and the crevice was exactly filled. Then the surplus on the outside was removed and filed, so that the base of the little triangle was confused with the adjacent surface. On a single statuette have been noted a score of these repairs.

Note 2.p.172. For example, this is what Lechat could do at leisure for a beautiful figure of the collection Carapanos at Athens. Here we merely summarize the observations that this attentive examination gave opportunity to present (Aphrodite statuette en bronze de la collection Carapanos. B. C. Hell. 1891. p.481-481).

The figurine that it was necessary to retouch thus was however in its entirety the product of a casting that suc-

succeeded; but frequently the founder in separating his statue from the ruins of the mould had more serious disappointments; he found the surfaces of his figure damaged to a certain extent in places. He then fitted in the bronze sheets of metal that healed the wound. Even on the statuette on which the observations were made, on the front of the tunic below the left breast, he added a little rectangular piece 0.28 in. long and 0.20 in. wide. There was some defect at that place; the surface of the bronze was slightly sunk, and in this hollow was soldered a very thin piece with such precision, that the joint remains almost invisible. On the great bronzes are sometimes applied pieces of quite large dimensions; but these always have been very skilfully fitted; they occur as well in the nude parts as in the drapery. There are few figures on which one cannot discover them, when the epidermis of the statue is not concealed beneath the thickness of a more or less opaque patina.

If these retouches are now concealed beneath the superficial oxide deposited on the bronze by the dampness of the air and of the soil, could one not have the idea of demanding the same service from an artificial patina after fabrication? However fine were all these scars, why had not the surface of the metal lost some of its polish? There is no workshop today where it is not known how to produce a patina on bronze, why did not artists like those whose care and skill have been mentioned, employ the same means to cover the entire figure with a uniform tint, that would make indiscoverable all trace of patches? This is the question that Plutarch already asked before certain bronzes at Delphi, the statues of the generals that conquered the Arginause islands; he admired there the "flower of the bronze, that resembled neither dirt nor rust, but a tint of shining and brilliant azure." He sought the reasons for that phenomenon; he proposed different explanations, and one of those presented to his mind is, that the ancient workmen, to give color to their works might have used some mixture and some skilful preparation."¹ The same idea has come to modern observers, at the sight of certain blue or green patinas of uniform and brilliant tone, for example, that cover many bronzes of Dodona and the admirable statue recently discovered at Delphi

they believed that on the same bronze they could distinguish what was ancient and desired, from the coat of oxide, that had interposed on certain places and mixed with it a tint less fresh and grayer.² This crust always remains more or less friable; it varies in thickness and color on the same figure; not ^{to} this could be given those rich colorings that present the appearance of a sort of enamel. These were produced by the application on the casting taken from the mould, of the colored coating of a sort of varnish or metallic lacquer; thus were obtained those marvellously fine and light tints, that cause one to sometimes think of turquoise and sometimes of emerald. To what they had of delicacy and brilliancy, we could form an idea by the expressions that Plutarch employs in speaking of those effigies of Grecian admirals dedicated at Delphi, whose dark blue color recalled that of the sea and of its abysses; but we also possess more than one ancient bronze whose actual condition proves that our author exaggerated nothing, when he sought to render the impression, that he experienced in contemplating on the sacred way where he loved to sit, the statues ornamented by such beautiful azure robes.

note 1.p.176. Plutarch. Why the Pythia no longer gives oracles in verse. Section 2.

note 2.p.178. On this question see Reuzey in Carapanos, *Dodona et ses ruines*. p. 217; especially Lechat in the study already cited, p.473-481. Then in an article entitled; *La patina des bronzes grecs* (Revue arch. 1896², p.331-341), and in the note of Bull. archaeol. and Revue des études grecques (1897, p.369). D. villenoisy has desired to prove that all patinas are the result of oxidation produced by atmospheric agents (*La patina du bronze antique*, in Revue arch. 1896¹, p.67-71, 194-212); but his arguments do not appear to have succeeded in diminishing the probability of the hypothesis advanced by Lechat.

Plutarch appears to state that the works of the old masters were alone in presenting the appearance that surprised him; there was a sort of fabrication which was perhaps lost in time, when the production being more common, the sculptor had abandoned to the trade the care of casting his figures. One further finds in the ancient authors some allusions to

practices by which the workmen knew how to vary the effects obtained from the metal employed. In enumerating the numerous art industries that flourished at Athens at the time of the great works undertaken under the administration of Pericles, Plutarch cites the dyers of gold.¹ This term certainly did not mean in the mind of the writer, a procedure by which the goldsmith varied the tones of his gold by varying the composition and name of its alloys. The verb *bapto* never had in Greek more than one sense, to dye, i.e., to modify the superficial color of any material by immersion in a bath or by the application of a coating with a brush. If in Lydia according to Homer the women excelled in reddening with purple the whiteness of ivory,² and if in Athens of the 5th century the goldsmith spread over his gold some unknown tints, that reduced or increased its gleam, why should there not have also been dyers of bronze? Bronze differs from gold and cannot show it when it leaves the mould; a cleaning and preparation is always required. One mode of preparation is indicated by Pliny; he says that "the ancients employed bitumen to give a tint to their bronze statues."³ Elsewhere returning to that assertion, he employs a different verb, which gives a more precise idea of the operation:—"We have stated that men had the custom of tinting bronze with bitumen and of coating statues with it."⁴ Pliny speaks of this practice as if in his time it had fallen into disuse; there must have been several processes, each of which had its time of vogue. One then has every reason to believe that the sculptors of the archaic age and those of the classical age coated their bronzes with a patina, just as they colored their statues of stone and marble.

note 1.p.177. Plutarch. Pericles. XII. 4.

note 2.p.177. Homer. Iliad. IV, 141.

note 3.p.177. Pliny. H. N. XXXIV. 15. (Latin).

note 4.p.177. Pliny. XXXV. 182. (Latin).

Not alone on the warm tints of the patina did these diligent and subtle artists count to animate their bronzes, to place touches on them which had the accent of life. They also employed for this purpose other metals, discreetly applied on the bronze, and sometimes even other materials than metal. Thus on more than one statue the lips and eyebrows

are indicated by scales of red copper inlaid in the bronze; the projections of the nipples of the bosom are marked by little points of the same commer.¹ The representation of the eye is then conceived in the same manner, but the work is more complex. The entire eyeball is formed by an inserted piece, which is itself compound. In the bronze orbit is inlaid either a plate of silver or a white glass paste, at the centre of which the pupil is represented either by a round enamel or the end of a thin rod of bronze, making a black spot.² By Egyptian models must the Grecian sculptor have been inspired, when he sought to imitate nature in that fashion. This arrangement of an entirely realistic character was already found in many Memphite statues dating from the ancient empire.³

Note 1.p.178. For example, it is thus on the Apollo of P. Piombino at the Louvre, and on another head found on the Acropolis of Athens. (Collignon. vol. I, p. 314-323).

Note 2.p.178. This is the case for the head of the Acropolis. (Collignon. Fig. 163). On the Apollo of Piombino, the orbit is now empty, which indicates that the eye was inserted.

Note 3.p.178. Histoire de l'Art. vol. I. p. 647, 648, 649. N. 1.

To enliven his bronzes this same sculptor also utilized the resources of gilding and silvering. Gilding seems to have been employed in the 6th century only with great discretion, either to call attention to a part of the body, or to accent some characteristic detail of the costume. Sometimes this would be a necklace pendant on the chest, a crown of leaves or a band placed on the hair; on a bronze plate preserved in the museum of the Acropolis it is the egis, by which is recognized Athena.⁴ There the face of the goddess was also gilded. By giving it this brilliant and clear tone, the artist merely imitated his contemporaries, the ceramists. Thus in the black paintings that they laid on a red ground, they colored white all the nude parts, when the image was that of a woman. Sometimes later use was made of gilding that one can find less judicious. Men did not hesitate to cover entire figures with gold leaf, figures of natural size. It was thus with two statues seen at Delphi, that erected to himself by Gorgias the celebrated sophist, and that in which lived again the beautiful Phryne, such as Praxiteles

had loved and immortalized her.¹ Statues of this kind must make an illusion while at first new; before any particle of their covering was removed, they might be taken for statues of gold. There was a sort of deception; thus it does not appear that the example so given had many imitators, at least among the Greeks.

note 1.p.178. Collignon. Histoire de la Sculpture. vol. I. p. 381, fig. 197.

note 1.p.179. Pausanias. X. 18-7; 15-1.

Silver does not seem to have been so frequently employed as gold for coating bronze; no mention is made of statues where the entire bronze surface was concealed by silvering; but silver was also sometimes called on to furnish those small attached parts more frequently required from copper. Plutarch mentions another use; we know by this the ingenious means that the ingenious artist of the 4th century, Silanion of Athens, knew how to make use of this. Having to represent a Jocaste killed by the discovery of the horrible secret, he silvered the face of her figure; the tone of the metal that he added gave the impression of the paleness that despair and the last swoon spread over the face of the dying.

note 2.p.179. Plutarch. Quæst. conv. v. 1,2. The same. Aud. poet. III, 3.

Inlays, gilding, silvering, and all these attempts in execution were then early familiar to the Grecian artist, who employed them with discretion and taste; but it is certainly not by the charm along of this refinement, that it is proper to explain the success of bronze.

This is because most of the great Grecian sculptors have chosen it to express their highest conceptions. Praxiteles alone, after having required from the metal the material for several masterpieces, seems to have ended in devoting himself more gladly to work in marble; but Phidias, Myron and Polycletes were especially artists in bronze. Yet it appears that artists like the Greeks must have preferred to the metal that marble from Paros, which by its whiteness recalls the cool color of the flesh, and by its semitransparency is so without a rival to adapt itself to every delicacy of modeling; to retain their value, even in the shadow. It is entirely otherwise with bronze. Its dark tints have

not even a distant relation to the tones of the nudes of the human figure; they only arouse a memory of them by virtue of a convention, which at first must cost some effort of mind. Finally, if marble absorbs the light, bronze returns and reflects it freely, which produces violent contrasts between the gleam of the lighted parts and the deep black of the parts plunged in shadow. These under a very vivid light baffle the eyes of the spectator and trouble them to follow in the passage from light to dark the inflections and development of the form. These defects inherent in the material are compensated by the firmness that the metal impresses on the contour, and by the facility afforded to the artist for giving the movements more freedom. In these conditions, the image long has to reckon with the laws of gravity only as to them is subjected the living body represented. Then one can say that the inconveniences and the advantages balance each other; but the latter alone seem to have struck the Grecian statuary. The secret reason for that persistent and strongly expressed preference that he had for bronze, we believe is found. He loved bronze particularly because it singularly simplified the effort of creation in relief. Like marble, bronze admits of precision and a wise and close rendering, that in marble is due to chiseling; but in bronze the chisel only intervenes to give the work the last finish, while in the marble it is also charged with accomplishing under the blows of the mallet all the work by which the figure is painfully taken from the block and fashioned by degrees. This preliminary labor demanded much time from the artist, if he wished to do it himself, time that he could employ better; to perform it the sculptor is then forced to have recourse to the practitioner. If the ancients had known the method of pointing, nearly that employed in modern studios, it seems proved that this method could have scarcely been applied before Macedonian and Roman times. In the 6th and 5th centuries the practitioner, judging from certain antique statues that have come to us as roughed out, sought his statue in the solid marble, as it is said, doubtless according to a small model placed under his eyes by the master to whom was due the design of the figure.¹ In these conditions he came to design the form

only by a series of trials, whose traces may be followed on these unfinished marbles; if he did not have consummate skill or there was some carelessness, he risked spoiling the marble entrusted to him.

note 1.p.180. E. A. Gardner. The processes of Greek sculpture etc. (Jour. Hell. studies. 1890. p.129-142). Also see some observations on this subject in Pottier. 'Relief funéraire, etc. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1881.p.65-70).

The artist that decided for bronze saved himself the slow and hard labor of reducing the stone as well as the danger of having to ask the assistance of an inferior sculptor. He doubtless could not do without collaborators; but with those that he took into service, he ran scarcely any risk. He had modeled his figure in clay in the dimensions that it should have in its final form in metal. He had done all the essentials of modeling, everything not details reserved for retouches by the chisel. It was for him to select the moulder and founder, who were skilful and careful; he had only to let them work, only to allow the flowing stream to spout forth, when at a sign from the foreman of the workshop, it ran into the mould and filled all the cavities. Then occurred a sudden metamorphosis and a sort of resurrection. When the product of the casting was cleaned, nothing remained of either the model in plastic clay or of the sand covering; but the work of the sculptor appeared as he had conceived and desired, living in the sonorous bronze and ready for placing on its pedestal. This liquid stream that by cooling and hardening became the statue, was this also material? In every case it was a mobilized and spiritualized material. As soon as practice had fixed the procedures, as soon as in many cities were groups of workmen knowing well their trade, the sculptor could not fail to be charmed by the ease and celerity of the operation. No other mode of working offered him the same attractions and led him more directly to multiply the works by which was satisfied the fertility of his genius. If Lysippus had not had bronze at his command, could he have left the 1500 statues attributed to him by a tradition that does not seem unworthy of all credit?¹

note 1.p.181. Pliny. N. H. XXXIV. 37.

The introduction into Greece of the processes of hollow

casting is not the only advance due to the travels and the inventive minds of the Ionian metallurgists. Glaucos of Chios is said to have first practised the welding of iron. By the manner in which the ancients speak of what they call ^{this} discovery, one divines how it had struck contemporaries.¹ It could not fail to find at once numerous and varied applications in industry; but art itself only derived from it a very secondary benefit. At most it furnished useful resources for the construction of complicated pieces, like the *cyaterra* executed by Glaucos and offered to the sanctuary of Delphi by Alyattes, king of Lydia, which was decorated by figures and ornaments in wrought iron;² but not in the development of that technics of hammered metal was to be the future of the art. It was to be in the magical transformations made by the crucible and the fire. Now cast iron is far from offering the sculptor the same advantages as cast bronze: it cannot be tooled in a manner to obtain them. To melt iron requires a heat very different from that sufficing to liquefy copper, a very high temperature that was not afforded to the ancients by the furnaces at their command. "Iron does not melt," writes the celebrated critic Aristarchus in the 3rd century.B.C. It is true that Pausanias seems to affirm the contrary; but we do not think that there is any reason to accept his assertion. When he visits the Skias at Sparta, he is told that the edifice is the work of Theodoros the Samian. He notes this information, and then adds an explanatory gloss: the Theodoros who left this monument of his sojourn at Sparta is, he says, "he who first invented the casting of iron and making statues of it."⁴ Now in three other passages of his relation, what Pausanias honors this artist for is having invented the "casting of bronze to make statues of it," together with a compatriot Rhoecus. He did not have to mention Rhoecus there, since Theodoros alone built the Skias; but the memory of the common invention of the two Samian sculptors is evidently connected in his mind with the name of Theodoros, and it is ~~this memory~~ that one would expect to see aroused when the mention of the Skias brings that of Theodoros. One then feels a real surprise in finding that Theodoros is cited once in four times as the founder of iron, while everywhere else he is presented as

the founder of bronze. On the other hand, we have serious reasons for thinking that the ancients never knew how to melt and cast iron. There is then reason to believe that a simple mistake in one word "sideron" written by carelessness for another "chateon." Was the fault that of Pausanias himself or that of a copyist? It matters little; but one is no less correct in rejecting the hypothesis of statues in cast iron, a hypothesis based only on this one text of Pausanias. There are indeed mentions in the authors of some iron statues, that were shown as rarities;¹ but those mentioning them emphasize the slowness of the work required and the trouble caused to the artist, which suffices to prove that these were not cast pieces, but works executed by hammering. Iron does not allow itself to be modeled and shaped by the hammer and chisel as readily as bronze.²

Note 1.p.182. Herodotus (I, 15) mentions a cratera. Also see the other texts collected by Overbeck. (Schr. Gel. 264-272).

Note 2.p.182. Pausanias. X. 18-1.

Note 3.p.182. Scholiast on Homer, verse 336 of canto XXIII of the Iliad.

Note 4.p.182. Pausanias. III. 12-20.

Note 1.p.183. Pausanias. X.18-6; Pliny. H. N. XXXIV. 141; Pausanias. IV. 31-10.

Note 2.p.183. The conclusions to which we have come are also those reached by Hugo Blümner. Technologie. vol. IV.p. 355-357. He admits, not without some hesitation, that men in the Roman epoch could attain to carbonize and melt iron in the crucible; but the operation was only applied to quantities of metal much too small to produce anything more than little statuettes or small objects. He believes in an error of Pausanias, and rejects the idea of statues of cast iron.

For entirely contrary reasons and in spite of the services of every kind rendered to industry, lead has scarcely found employment in sculpture. Lead has its defects and its qualities. If it melts at a low temperature, if it easily takes the impression of the mould, whether cast or hammered, it is too soft for the sculptor to think of entrusting to it a form, when he has made sufficiently beautiful and noble to desire to ensure its duration. Then one uses lead only to

fabricate figurines and images without value as art, such as the votive figurines collected by hundreds in Laconia, on the site of the temple of Apollo at Amyclea and on that of the temple of Menelaus and Helen on the top of a hill near Sparta.³ There must have been at the threshold of the sacred enclosures shops in which Laconian peasants purchased at a very low price those thin plaques, that they deposited in the sanctuary for lack of ability to offer victims to the deity, so as to perpetuate the memory of their visit and of their prayer (Fig. 93). All these figurines were stamped in a mould; they further appear to date from a very remote epoch, from the time of vases with geometrical decoration and Corinthian vases. Later, when is developed the industry of the coroplasts, terra cotta will be preferred for this use, and men will cease to demand these leaden images, an example of which had already been found by Schliemann in the deepest ruins of Troy.¹

Note 3.p.183. Tsoundas. *Ephemeris*. 1892.p.17-18, pls.III, IV; Perdrizet. *Offrandes archaïques* etc. (*Rev.arch.*1897¹ p. 8-19).

Note 1.p.184. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VI. Fig. 295.

This enumeration of the different materials that the Greek sculptor wrought would not be complete, if after wood, soft stone and marble, bronze and other metals, one forgot to mention ivory. By the fineness of its close fibres and its hardness, that is a mean between wood and stone. The beautiful polish that it is fitted to receive, the clear whiteness with which it gleams when new, the charming golden color that it acquires in ageing, all has contributed in all times to make it a choice and luxurious material, dear to the decorator, and that the sculptor himself has often been pleased to model. By the excavations at Mycenae and especially by those at Sparta, one has seen how much its use had already extended among the Achaean tribes of the prehistoric age.² Let one consult the epic poems or draw up a list of the objects collected from the tombs of the most ancient Attic cemeteries, and he will recognize that even after the Dorian invasion, Phoenician commerce did not cease to import ivory into Greece, and that this had lost none of its vogue. Archaic and classical art no less had a taste for ivory; the

latter aided the expression of the highest conceptions of the masters of Grecian sculpture; but between the use of that, these masters made of this material and the part that the modern sculptor has taken with it, there is a sensible difference. The middle ages and the Renaissance have left us statuettes, reliefs and entire groups chiseled in ivory, some of which are true masterpieces in spite of their small dimensions. No piece of this kind is mentioned for the 6th and the two or three succeeding centuries by the ancient authors, and the excavations have yielded nothing of the sort. It seems that at least until the beginning of the Roman age, the sculptor scarcely used ivory except to cause it to enter into the composition of those colossal figures, that he created in the grandest and most sumptuous of the temples of Greece, when he had to make images of the deity, that should correspond to their dimensions, the nobility of the amplitude and magnificence of the edifices. Those were what is called chryselephantine statues. Gold and ivory were not the only elements that composed them; but these enjoyed such a predominant part as to give their names to the entire work. The draperies were made of sheets of gold, while the ivory was devoted to the representation of the nude flesh.

note 2.p.184. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. p.482,548,948-951

note 3.p.184. The same. vol. VII. p.192,143-147,262-263.

Of all forms taken by Grecian sculpture, this chryselephantine statuary is perhaps that most removed from our customs. To attempt to form an idea of it and divine the effect, it is necessary to wait:- with Phidias in the 5th century this art of ivory and gold will produce its masterpieces. Yet we cannot pass over here in silence this technics; by the procedures employed it is connected with the first attempts of Grecian sculpture, and from the 6th century the sculptors gave the example of placing in the temple images of the deity conceived in this spirit and executed according to these methods. It will suffice to recall the Themis of Dorykleidas, a pupil of Dipoinos and of Skyllis, that was preserved in the Heraion of Olympia,¹ the Athena Alea which probably about 530, Endois had sculptured for the principal temple of Tegea,² and the Aphrodite that Kanachos

of Sicyon, had sculptured for the principal temple of Tegea,² and the Aphrodite that Kanachos of Sicyon had dedicated a little later in one of the temples of his native city.¹

note 1.p.185. Pausanias. v. 17-1.

note 2.p.185. The same. VIII. 46-1,4. Pausanias says that the statue of Athena transported to Rome was entirely of ivory. It is necessary to see there one of those inaccuracies of language that are familiar to him. Athena was clothed; it is not possible that the draperies were of ivory like the flesh. What struck Pausanias, when he saw the statue in the forum of Augustus at Rome, was that the head of the statue, its hands, feet and all visible parts of its body, were of ivory, and he noted that in his way. The temple at Egina preceded the temple of the 5th century yet standing today, contained a chryselephantine statue. What proves this is the archaic inscription recently discovered by Furtwängler. (Vorläuf. Bericht.p.373-375. The statue is designated by the simple word elephas. The ivory was the most precious part of the whole, and one said ivory in brief to designate the statue of wood and ivory.

note 1.p.186. Pausanias. II. 10-4.

In the monuments of Mycenaean art as in many episodes of the epic period, one sees already announced the tendencies to which must later respond the chryselephantine statuary. On the one hand, what remains of the architecture and the decoration of the edifices of Orchomenos, Mycenae and Tiryns, of the furniture used and of the jewels with which the princes of those cities ornamented themselves; on the other hand, one reads in the Iliad and Odyssey the descriptions that the poet gives of the palaces of his gods and his heroes, of their arms and all the objects used by them. Everywhere, both in the relics of the Achaean civilization as in the paintings traced by Homer is manifested the same taste for materials, that nature or industry has endowed with vivid colors; everywhere it is felt that the workmen took pleasure in placing these materials together, so as to produce contrasts and harmonies of tones, that would be for the eye an amusement and a caress. Men sought to obtain these results especially by the process of inlaying; this permitted them to apply on surfaces that accented them, dark or light metals,

gems or pastes of many colors, that imitate their tints, to the fine and white plates of ivory. The succeeding age, that of the awakening of art and of the archaism, develops that technique. The chryselephantine statuary is already in the germ in a work like the coffer of Cypselos, of which Pausanias has left us a detailed description.² Apparently executed about the end of the 7th century, it was of cedar wood, and was covered by numerous figures, some of which were carved in the same wood, and some were cut partly in sheets of gold and partly in plates of ivory.

note 2.p.18 . Pausanias. v. 17-19.

The most ancient sculptors, those that cut on trunks of trees, in timbers and planks the first images of the gods for the temples, employed the same means of concealing under a sort of luxury and ornamentation the insufficiency of the form. This was the case with the group of the Dioscures attributed to Dipoinos and Skyllis, that was shown at Argos.³ The figures of the two brothers and their horses were carved in ebony; but with these the reflections from the robe were indicated by some sheets of ivory inserted in the wood. The same technique in a relief of Dantas, pupil of two Cretan masters, which was preserved in the treasury of the Megarans at Olympia. It represented the combat of Hercules and Achelous, around whom were grouped several deities interested in the contest. The figures were "of cedar ornamented by gold."¹

note 3.p.186. Pausanias. II. 22-5. The same materials and processes must have been employed for the statue of Apollo, that two other artists of the same school, Tectaios and Augelion, executed for the temple of this god at Delos. By fragments of the list found by Homolle, it is known that gold entered into this in considerable quantity. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1882.p.128). It is easily imagined that the statue was of wood and covered by gold leaves.

note 1.p.187. Pausanias. VI. 13-12.

To equip the vast naves of the great temples of the 6th century, and to represent there the deity by statues on which the eyes could rest at once and be held, it was necessary to use a procedure that allowed the statue to be enlarged at pleasure, and without making it too massive, which

would have been the case, if it had been composed of wood or metal. To attain this result, the sculptor only had to inspire himself by the method of technics, which was as ancient as that of inlaying; we speak of that of the sphyrelaton or hammering, which until the time when men knew how to cast in hollow metal, served to construct metal statues. For the bands of repousse bronze attached to an internal framework one only had to substitute plaques of ivory and sheets of gold or of gilder bronze. It was the same system of construction; it required singularly skilful workmanship; but it had the advantage of not imposing on the development of the figure any limits other than the relation to be established between its dimensions and those of the nave, where it was enthroned. The Athena Parthenos and the Zeus Olympios of Phidias would have about 40 and 46 ft. in height.

Nothing indicates, that in the 6th century men aspired to give to chryselephantine statues such colossal dimensions; yet it is probable that then the sculptor tended to make those statues larger than nature. Whether the Greek workman invented his procedures or rather borrowed them from oriental art, he appears to have had certain recipes for using ivory, certain means whose secret is lost. He knew how to soften the ivory without changing its grain or color, then to elongate and extend it in a manner to make plates, that were much larger than those to be obtained by a longitudinal or transverse section made in the tusk itself. Many joints were still necessary; but they would have been too numerous, unless the artist then had in hand pieces of ivory that offered areas larger than those at his command today. With these, how much trouble would it be necessary to take to put together parts so important as the hands, arms and heads of colossal figures of Olympia and of the Parthenon! In this slow and patient work, how difficult would it be to give the parts of the face like the brow and cheeks a firm and free modeling!

Note 1.p.188. The softeners of ivory are mentioned by Plutarch among the citizens occupied in the great works undertaken by Pericles. (Pericles 12). Philostratos said that the tusks of the mountain elephant are more easily extended than those of the swamp elephant; he adds that the hand can

make of them, what it will. Also see other texts collected and commented on by Hugo Blümner (*Technologie* . vol. II. p. 358-371), and by Quatremere de Quincy (*Le Jupiter Olympien* etc. 1814). The last part of the work is entirely devoted to the study of the processes and tools of the Greek worker in ivory for executing his chryselephantine statues. To recover these processes, the author learned all the technics of ivory from the artisans.

There is then reason to believe in a special and skilful management of ivory, which permitted the sculptor to make a very different use of it than in our days; but even in those conditions, the chryselephantine statue no less remained a composite work, composed of very different materials, metals and gems, wood and ivory. These materials suffered in irregular fashion the influence of atmospheric agents. By the effect of heat, some expanded more than others; among them were those equally menaced by alteration by dryness and dampness. Finally, the internal carpentry that supports the brilliant covering is subject to the same risks: the wood springs and moves. However accurately were joined and fitted the pieces that form this complex entirety, this mode of acting implies many chances of separation, and at length of destruction. Soon after having been completed, the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia must be entirely reconstructed;² To preserve it in existence, this statue and that of Athena of Parthenos required incessant and minute care in maintenance.³ Doubtless at this cost, the sculptor succeeded in vividly affecting the imagination of his compatriots; but one no less has reason to state, that chryselephantine statuary was an error of Grecian art in a certain sense, because of its intrinsic fragility. It is a defect in the art work, when its creator by the selection and use of the material, cannot give it the appearance and character of something that will continue indefinitely in the form imposed on it by the genius of man, so long as an external force does not intervene to destroy it. The temple possessed this character in the highest degree; to overthrow its colonnades and walls required the violence of earthquakes and of the bombs of Morosini; but it cannot be stated without some surprise, the sculptor appears not to have been preoccupied in causing his statue

to share the benefit of that probable eternity, that the architect knew how to ensure to the temple. Made of heterogeneous elements, and in spite of all the precautions taken, this statue was far from offering the same guarantees of duration as the edifice, that was only built to present it in all its glory to the admiration and piety of the people.

note 2.p.188. Pausanias. IV. 31-6.

note 3.p.188. The same. V. 11-10; 14-4.

If the sculptor did not allow himself to be arrested by these dangers and inconveniences, this is because the method taken by him was that permitting him best to establish a just proportion between the statue and its enclosure; it was also that he thought to honor worthily the deity by modeling its image in ebony, gold and ivory; finally, it was especially because he found a lively pleasure thus in seeing the play of color and in enjoying it himself. This was so much a habit and a need to him, that even the marble seemed to him unable to do without color, at least for a long time. We shall have to show how during the entire duration of the archaic age, he employed the brush for coloring it; but we can cause it to be observed henceforth, that he sometimes also came to apply to marble the processes of chryselephantine statuary. For example, see the statue bearing the signature of Antenor, a work of the Attic school that must date from the last years of the 6th century (Pl.II). The eyeballs are not cut in the stone; they were formed of a glass paste set in a shell of bronze with beaded edges to imitate the eyelashes, the black paint marked the place of the pupil. Pheidias did not take other means to represent the eye in his Athena Parthenos; but in the sumptuous colossal figure, the cavity of the orbit was no longer filled by bits of glass, but by precious stones. In the same spirit the sculptor with enthusiasm seized on all occasions offered him for combining metal and marble; he sometimes placed bronze on that with the different tints made by the various patinas, and sometimes gold or gilded bronze; thus he arranged contrasts that could comprise much variety. These inserted pieces have disappeared; but they have nearly always left traces more or less apparent. Here are some particles of metal that blacken or yellow the stone; there is a series of little holes in

which were once inserted the points of nails that served to fix the ornament. Thus one divines and can frequently restore the helmets and crowns of leaves, diadems, ear pendants and necklaces, baldrics and belts, accessories of all kinds. By perceiving the mark on the marble and having found more than one fragment, one knows what places these accessories occupied in entireties like the pediments of Egina;¹ the statuary employed these to give his work more accent and greater effect.

Note 1. p. 100. On these pediments the arms placed in the hands of the warriors could scarcely be anything but bronze; but neither in the ancient excavations nor in those recently conducted by Furtwängler, was there found a single remnant of an accessory made of that metal; on the contrary, there were picked up on several occasions hair buckles made of lead. Attached to the marble, these were confused with it by the painting, applied thereto. (Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Glyptothek, p. 89, Vorläuf. Bericht, p. 89).

In studying the treasures of Olympia and the Doric temples of Sicily and Italy, we have seen what use the architect made of terra cotta, and how in coloring it, he associated it with stone in the decoration of the upper parts of his edifices.² The statuary has not imitated that example; of all the materials suited for sculpture, clay is the only one that he has not caused to enter into the composition of the most careful and most beautiful of his works. This not only that he regarded clay as a common material, that did not have sufficient value and nobility to be associated with marble and bronze, with gold and ivory; it is also because the fabrication of it was too different from that of the other materials; clay did not lend itself to the work of the chisel, like them. Its form was blocked out in damp and soft earth by the impression received from the mould; it was finished by the finger and the modeling tool; it was then fixed by burning, after which no retouching was possible. Clay seemed destined to satisfy particularly the needs of patrons, whose primary requirement was the cheapness of the product. Clay satisfied this purpose. So to speak, there was not a temple in whose ruins were not gathered dozens and sometimes hundreds of fragments of terra cotta figurines.

Some were images of crowned persons or of victims, representing the offerings that poor persons could not furnish in kind; others were common and hasty reductions of statues, that occupied the place of honor in the sanctuary.¹ The same workshops no less labored in view of the tomb in which certain clay statuettes appeared as images of Christian divinities; others in greater number found places there for the same reason as the painted vases, as projections and memorials of the movement and of the spectacle of life.² There is a certain cemetery in which they are found in each tomb; more than one tomb contains an entire assortment of them. These images also had their places marked in the habitations of the living. They ornamented the courts and gardens; placed in little niches, they represented there the domestic gods; this is what has been especially proved at Pompeii. They also entered there under another name. Girls and boys among the Greeks already enjoyed the plays that amuse our children; but their dolls and puppets were of terra cotta.

note 2.p.190. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p.321-322, 504-507, 572-580; Pls. VIII, IX.

note 1.p.191. E. Pottier. (Latin).1883. *Statuettes etc.* p. 285.

note 2.p.191. On the complex nature of the feelings from which originated the custom of depositing clay figurines in the tomb, and which perpetuated this habit until the last times of paganism, see particularly Pottier. *Les Statuettes*. Chap. II; *La destination des terres cuites*. The analysis is singularly acute.

Everywhere else, an industry called on to exert itself in these conditions would have been doomed to mediocrity, for example, like that among us which fabricates for churches statues of saints and the way of the cross. The artisans under the name of coroplasts,³ who modeled these figurines, were persons of very little importance: they had shops on the markets and perhaps also in the vicinity of the cemeteries.⁴ See the tone in which Isocrates speaks of them, one of the rare writers that alludes to their traffic:- "Can one imagine some one," says he, "who would dare to compare Parrasius or Zeuxis to the painters of votives (we would say sign painters) or Phidias to a coroplast?"⁵ One cannot

oe more contemptuous. Those that fabricated these images f further do not seem ever to have thought to protest against the scorn of this opinion. Ceramic painters in great number signed their vases. On the contrary, one cannot cite a single figurine in terra cotta of the good period of art, which bears a signature; if on many statuettes of Myrina, one reads names that can scarcely be more than those of the foremen of the workshops that fashioned those pieces, such inscriptions are only found on figurines that appear to belong to the last period of this production, and perhaps already to the Roman epoch.¹ It must be rare that one would give more than a few cents for the most careful of these anonymous works. Yet today we see amateurs compete for them, frequently with gold, and the curators of our museums form a series of them, which they exhibit in a good place. Further, not merely archaeologists study these to find in them useful information concerning the beliefs, manners and costumes of the ancients. Artists also take pleasure in them; many of these statuettes appear to them quite worthy of admiration. If even on the most careful are almost always some parts, that betray haste in execution, as a general rule the movement has a singular correctness and freedom; even where the form is only indicated, it has a certainty in which one sees a hand trained in the school of the best sculptors of the time. This is because that ancient Greece, in more than the Italian Renaissance, ever admitted the distinction that in our days has been wrongly established between industrial art, as one says, and what is termed art or frequently grand art with emphasis. Doubtless in antiquity the masterworks of architecture, statuary and painting, offered the highest expression of the perceptible ideal, such as the genius of Greece conceived it; but in this sovereign beauty, whose attraction was felt everywhere, all the works of man participated in a measure, that varied according to their character and purpose; there was not even one, even of those that seemed to see only utility, whose beauty did not show at least a reduced effect of its charm and nobility.

Note 3.p.131. From *coros*, boy, or core, girl, and *platto*. The form *coroplasthos* is the only one found in the authors. A lexicon, *L'etymologicum magnum*, alone gives *coroplastes*.

note 4.p.191. Demosthenes. I, 28.

note 5.p.191. Isocrates. Antidosis. 2.

note 1.p.192. E. Pottier and S. Reinach. La necropole de Myrina. vol. I, pp186-191. 1887.

Among all the articles of current fabrication of an extensive use, that the workshops of the industrial cities of Greece supplied at a low price, there were none from which this radiation of beauty must have made itself felt more than from the clay figurines. They always represented the living form, and the coroplast commenced by finding his models in the statues and reliefs, that he saw exhibited everywhere, in the frescos of the temples and in the paintings of vases, in all the expressions that the most ancient artists had given of the primary religious conceptions of their people; after these masters of archaism, it reproduced and multiplied infinitely in a simplified and summary form the divine types, whose first features had been vaguely sketched by the popular imagination, and whose traits had then been fixed by the powerful labor of thought evidenced by the epic poetry. Later, when ⁱⁿ Greece by the effect of long practice, some fancy of the chisel or the brush could as by instinct trace correctly the contour of a figure, and at the first stroke, put it in place and in proportion, also the coroplast, emancipated by the general advance of the arts of design, was no longer satisfied by the rather inferior role that he had accepted. While still frequently employed in reducing and vulgarizing the work of contemporaneous sculpture, he was gradually emoldened to do the work of an inventor and to copy nature directly. All then seemed to him good to take, all that in the sights of daily life amused his eyes and aroused his curiosity: the old female slave with wrinkled features and pendent breasts, who kneaded the bread, the actor in a grotesque mask, the beautiful ephebe, nude as he was in the gymnasium, the young woman gracefully wrapped in her mantle for the promenade, or indeed in her house dress, half clad with uncovered shoulders and neck. Then the coroplast would truly be an artist; by the variety it presents, by the freedom in execution, but a certain air of free familiarity, his work took rank beside statuary, properly so called, rather than below it, and

supplies the history of art with one of its most interesting chapters.

It is far from the ruder mycenaeen idols to these statuettes of Tanagra and of Tarente, Smyrna and Myrina, Tarsus and Cyrene, that one admires at the Louvre. This technique has its difficulties. It is not that the material is rare. There is scarcely a country in which it is not found; there was not a district in Greece that did not possess beds of plastic clay. When men had taken care to purify that material, to clear it from all the gravel that it might contain, as easily fashioned in the moist state at the pleasure of the modeler; when he has once impressed on it the form that he had in view, it appeared to be only necessary to pass that figure to the fire to ensure an indefinite duration to that form; but it did not occur thus. Under the effect of heat, the clay suffered a strong shrinkage, and since that heat was not felt equally, on the surface and in the interior of the piece, as soon as it had considerable thickness, there was a risk of producing fractures or at least a possible deformation of the contour. Accidents must also be as frequent in clay when the figure was massive, as they were in bronze when cast solid. Whether the image was modeled with the finger or the tool in the moist clay, or pressed in a mould filled flush with clay, this procedure could only serve for statuettes of small dimensions, animals or little dolls (Fig. 94), then figures in form of plaques (Fig. 95). The mould itself, when employed to hasten the fabrication, produced only the front half of the figure; the back was flat and finished carelessly by hand; the piece always remained prepared by the dozen in firing, that the workmen very imperfectly avoided, when to facilitate drying, they passed a little round stick from top to bottom through the entire mass of clay while it adhered to the mould, "thus opening a sort of duct to the centre of the figure."¹ When for clay as for metal, one desired to represent the living form in a measure in all its amplitude and development, it was no longer possible to do so without a mould made of several pieces: thus must be arranged in such manner as to yield copies that were hollow inside. Then the coroplast could obtain results comparable to those attained by the bronze-worker, when, by means

of a central core he had learned to cast his figures hollow.

note 1.p.194. Martha. Catalogue des figurines, etc. 1890. Introduction. p.@@@. In this introduction the author describes with much precision the processes of fabrication, such as were revealed to him by a careful study of the collection studied.

The first point was to ensure to the mould by prolonged firing a hardness, that allowed it to resist a very strong pressure, and yield long service. Thus completed, the workman "took a lump of moist clay; placed it on the mould and with the finger forced the clay into all the hollows. This first layer was too thin to form a sufficiently solid wall; thus he superposed in the same manner several layers, until the proper thickness was attained. The mould being thus filled was left in the air, where it dried. The shrinkage produced in the soft earth is sufficient in a sort of time to allow the copy to be taken from the matrix."¹ So constructed with as little material as possible, the antique figurines are very light. This lightness is one of the characteristics that modern counterfeiters rarely succeed in reproducing; more than one imitation that might deceive in other respects, betrays its recent origin by the weight of the clay.

note 1.p.195. Pottier. Les statuettes, etc. p. 249.

As always done in Egypt and Chaldea, men were at first satisfied in Greece by copies pressed in one piece in a single mould; the back was flattened and smoothed and not intended to be seen. This is the method which will continue to be employed for making those masks of Demeter, which in the 6th and 7th centuries form a part of the funerary equipment (Fig. 71), as for the archaic plaques that served for various purposes (Fig. 96); but plaques and masks were fixed against a wall. To have figurines that should imitate the roundness of the body, and which could stand erect, it was necessary to give them a back made by a second mould. The image thus found itself composed of two pieces, that were placed together and connected at their edges by means of a little clay dissolved in water; what we call "barbotine." This was a sort of soldering, all traces of which disappeared in firing. Between the two parts thus joined, the interior of the figure remained void.

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This is there the simplest case, a case presented only for the very archaic figurines or for those by which is perpetuated an antique and venerated type, much after the time to which it dates back by its origins. From the beginning of the art of the modeler, the clay had appeared like the marble to lend itself badly to the development and the separation of the form, although for an entirely opposed reason; in stone was long the timidity of the chisel, the fear of sudden rupture; here what troubled the workman was even the softness of the clay, its lack of tenacity. In arranging the model, how to place the body on legs widely separated or not vertical; how to attach to the trunk arms raised in the air or held forward? Thus the figurines of the Mycenaean age and those of the Homeric age have neither arms nor legs, so to speak. On those of the most positive character, the arms are entirely wanting or are replaced by short stumps;¹ on others that already date from a later time, they are represented by great rolls of clay fixed to the body; they are sometimes only separated by lines traced on the brush on the front of the bust.² As for the legs regarded as covered by cloth, they are lost in the mass of the cylinder corresponding to the lower part of the body, and which terminates at its base in an enlargement designed to give it a bearing.³ In Greece itself and especially on Rhodes and Cyprus, have been collected a number of figurines of the 7th and 6th centuries, that recall these old types more or less nearly; although already fashioned in a mould and hollow inside, they still resemble those xoana whose members were concealed in the material (Fig. 97). The two pieces being attached lengthwise to each other, suffice to form the entire image. When they were not content to reduce the back of the statuette, the drapery continues there, treated in a more or less summary manner.

note 1.p.197. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. Plqs. 341-344.

note 2.p.197. The same. vol.VII. Plqs.28,31,29.

note 3.p.197. The same. vol. VI. Plqs. 342,343.

It was no longer the same, unless exceptionally, when about the middle of the 6th century the sculptor began to occupy himself with freeing and separating the members, restoring to them the charm of life and the beauty of movement.

The coroplast could not fail to follow this example, and for the initial operation of making the mould, it became more complicated. At the beginning when the head was sunk between the shoulders or joined to them, either by being enclosed by the veil or by falling masses of thick hair, (Fig. 93), the moulds in which were modeled the body could give the face and another the back of the head. Of the monuments given here, none is moulded in more than two pieces. On the contrary, when to better imitate nature the neck was elongated and made more slender, on it being placed the head, sometimes bent forward and sometimes turned aside, it was necessary to mould the head separately and in two pieces. The number of separate moulds required by the making of a statuette varied with its character and pose; it was greater for a nude figure than for a clothed one, for a figure in lively and bold movement than for one in a tranquil attitude. A certain young woman of Tanagra, erect and at rest, is entirely draped in an ample mantle, that conceals her arms and legs; not more than four moulds were necessary to make that figure, two for the head and two for the body. On the other hand, there is a certain winged Eros from Myrina, which could only be produced by joining 14 distinct pieces, each separately moulded.¹ Even this number would be below the reality if as frequently happened, an image of this kind comprised at the same time those accessories, that also assume a separate moulding. "Fans in the form of leaves, flowers and fruits, hats, crowns, trunks of trees or cippi, bands etc., were made in moulds like figurines; some of them require a double impression, front and back. It is the same for the bases, a simple rectangular slab at Tanagra, a massive and high pedestal in Locris, round or square at Myrina."²

note 1. p. 198. The example is taken from Pottier, *Les statuettes etc.*, p. 250-251. Here is his calculation; two moulds for the trunk, two for the head, two for each arm and each leg, each mould giving the face or the reverse of one of these parts; then a mould for the left wing and one for the right wing.

note 2. p. 198. Pottier. The same. p. 252.

However little one has studied in the museum the series

of terra cottas, he comprehends how with quite a limited number of moulds, the chief of a workshop could offer to a purchaser a great variety of examples of the same type, that nearly resemble each other, but none of which were exact copies of each other. To differentiate two or more figures made from the same moulds, it was not necessary to substitute one head for another; it sufficed for a slight change to be introduced in the pose of a head here held straight, while there it is bent in one direction or the other. Even where all were alike, nothing is easier than to modify the appearance of a personage by placing a hat on the head, that elsewhere remains bare, or by placing a fan in one hand, which in another figurine holds a flower or a fillet.

By very distinct section planes were adjusted the legs, arms or heads and their connection with the body. The intended contact surfaces were picked and scratched with the point; this operation facilitated the adhesion of the parts to be joined. This operation is now termed "chignelage." The slip entered the cavities and thus facilitated adhesion.

On leaving the hands of the moulder and the fitter, most figurines went directly to the oven; this was the case with nearly all those intended to be consecrated in the temples or carried away as a memorial of a visit to some celebrated sanctuary. The believers that purchased them do not seem to have required that they should have some shadow of elegance and beauty; what in their eyes made the entire value of these images was the religious character, that they derived from the divine image that they were thought to reproduce. Whether the copy was more or less nasty was of little importance, provided that there could be distinguished, well or badly, the traits that especially defined the type of the deity to which was addressed the local worship. These traits were indicated by the mould in general; devotion did not demand more from its recognized dealers.¹

Note 1. p. 200. Among the thousands of figurines, whose remains were uncovered by Dechat at Corfu, and that must have come from a neighboring temple, there were none bearing traces of retouches by the modeling tool, so to speak; the mould gave the entire form, made in haste, with a view of sale at very low prices. (Bull. Corr. Hell. xv. p. 17).

It is otherwise with the statuettes furnished to us by the tombs. It is probable that before descending to keep company with the dead, they served to ornament the house of the living. They further comprise according to places, customs, the fortune and tastes of the family that furnished the tomb, a variety of themes whose effect must be to interest more the modeler in his work, and to dispose him to take more care in its fabrication. For most of these figurines, men are then not satisfied by the copy supplied by the mould. The clay print was retouched by hand, like the casting given to the bronze-worker. The difference was that in bronze this important and delicate work of retouching was placed at the very end of the operations which produced the image; here it was inserted between the removal from the mould and the firing. It was also executed on the metal with the chisel and the graver, while on the clay it was done with little wooden tools, flat at one end and pointed at the other, called modeling tools. The most skilful workman in the workshop, after moistening the clay, corrected the parts of the statuette that would be especially viewed. By some quick strokes of the light tool and sometimes with the tip of his finger, he cleared the contours; he sunk the eyes and the mouth; he gave more refinement and firmness to the attachment of the head, the neck and the members, as well as accented more the waves of the hair and the folds of the drapery. This intervention of the modeler sufficed to change the character of the work, to transform the ordinary copy into a personal and original creation, into a work of art that frequently had a singular charm of easy and impulsive grace. Only a little attention is necessary to distinguish pieces fired in the crude state, i.e., just as the mould left them, from those finished and enlivened by the use of the tool. In more than one district, for example, in Locride and Tegeatide, the makers appear never to have thought of imposing that effort on themselves. On the contrary, those of Tanagra scarcely sold pieces before correcting and finishing them; they devoted to this task an instinctive knowledge of form and a sureness of hand that amaze connoisseurs. At Myrina and in the products of other workshops of Asia Minor, these qualities are found, but not in

so general a manner nor always in the same degree; beside pieces worthy to be compared to the best products of Tanagra, there are others where the work of retouching denotes a certain negligence. There are even some where no trace of it is found; these are merely cheap goods.

Retouched or not, all figurines must submit to the test of fire. long practice of this industry had taught the coroplast the precautions to be taken, that the firing should be done under the best conditions and that the burning should be successful." He waited until the pieces were well dried in the open air, which caused a slow and progressive shrinkage of the wet clay. Surfaces were made of a thin and light layer, so that the shrinkage should be as little as possible. There was further made in the back of the statuette an opening of sufficient size, of oval, rectangular or triangular form, called the vent hole, so that the steam escaping from the pores of the clay in the action of the fire should find easy passage, and escape without causing cracks or ruptures. The fire on the oven was kept at a moderate temperature; it was not necessary to give great hardness to the clay, as we do for our porcelain and faience. Thus in general, ancient figurines are burned lightly; they rapidly absorb the moisture of the air, which they yield in the form of salpetre and a slight mouldiness, from which it is difficult to protect them, even in the very dry cases of a museum."

note 1.p.201. pottier. Les statuettes etc. p.257,258.

It was no small affair to properly conduct the firing and to know when to stop it. When the heat was carried to a degree too elevated, or the pieces remained too long exposed to it, they broke into pieces or cracked in the oven; the joints separated. the parts fitted together were detached, and the statuette was only fit to cast away. Those failures were not rare, if one judges by the fragments collected at Tarsus, in which have been recognized the wastes of fabrication.¹

note 1.p.202. Heuzey. Les fragments de Tarsus au musee du Louvre. (Gaz. de Beaux Arts. nov. 1878).

If by the experience and the attentive care of the workmen, these accidents had been avoided, all was not yet fini-

finished, as one might judge from our modern customs. We love the rosy tones that clay takes in the fire; we go so far as to imitate them by applying to our plaster statuettes a tint that gives them the appearance of terra cotta. The Greeks did not see and feel the same in this respect; it did not seem to them that the real color of the clay, no more than that of stone, sufficed in itself for the representation of the living form. Just like the plaques of clay employed for the decoration of edifices, all figurines of terra cotta were painted; this results from observations of all that have had occasion to take them from the ground, or that have closely studied them in the museums. If these colors are very visible and still quite vivid at the time of excavation, then they usually fade and disappear from smooth surfaces by exposure to the open air; it is rare that a careful examination does not find some trace of them in the joinings of the body or the hollows of the folds of the drapery. By studying the processes of polychromy applied to statuary, we have determined what color the coroplasts preferred to use for enlivening their figurines, in what manner these colors were laid on the clay and what was their effect, what appearance they gave to the statuette, when after having received from the painter its final dress, it took its place in the stall of the merchant.

To explain with some precision the series of operations comprised in that industry or rather this art of terra cotta, we have been compelled to seek our examples in a series of monuments, like the figurines of Tanagra and of Myrina, which belonged to the last age of Grecian civilization. Doubtless in the fabrication, there is a great difference between these elegant figurines and those of the 7th and 6th centuries; but the processes of execution have not been changed. Even the style of those images is only modified very slowly by the force of things. The coroplast at length could not do otherwise, than to be inspired by the models offered to him by the contemporary statuary; but his patrons did not impel him in that direction. ^{they} ~~he~~ would rather have been disposed to guard against all fancy for innovation; accustomed to certain types consecrated by popular devotion, they always demanded those from these artisans, to render

homage to their gods and their dead. On the other hand, the rudimentary simplicity of these types singularly facilitated the work of the maker and allowed him to produce without a great cost for designs.

Thus there is a certain figurine to which one would be tempted to attribute a high antiquity at first sight; but there were found with it in the same quarter of the cemetery and sometimes in the same tomb other statuettes, that appear later by a century or two. Is it necessary to believe that some earlier idol was placed in that tomb of quite recent date? It is useless to resort to that hypothesis. These images had not sufficient value to be long preserved in the family; when one needed them, he went to the Ceramicos to purchase them from the merchant. The explanation is much simpler. The figurine of archaic appearance came from some routine workshop in which the old moulds were utilized without caring for novelties in the fashion; yet most frequently the copies made in them betray the taste of the day by some retouches of the tool or the brush. Thus there are many monuments of this sort, that do not actually have the age of their appearance.

We have seen the predominant role played here by the mould; the figure left it with its principal lines and its pose already fixed, with its character clearly determined. In these conditions, it seems that this art of clay risked ending in the mechanical reproduction of types repeated infinitely, and thus falling into monotony; but this danger was not to be feared in Greece. Illustrious or obscure, the sculptor accustomed to cut in marble or cast in bronze the statues of heroes and gods, or a humble modeler of clay figurines, the Grecian artist could never dispense with putting into his work more or less invention and creation, even when he appeared in the role of imitator. In truth, he never limited himself to executing a copy, in the sense of which we understand this word, with our scruples of literal and almost servile accuracy. Only under the Roman empire was created the industry of professional copyists, from whom for ornamenting their palaces and villas, the masters of the world demanded replicas of the celebrated originals, as faithful as possible. In these best ages of art, the statuary was

inspired by the works of his predecessors; he resumed the themes that had been successful, but while appropriating them with the freedom that he used in this respect, with the variations that he introduced. Similarly the coroplasts; from the same mould he took statuettes by dozens, and yet each of these was distinguished from the others by some detail, by some change in pose, or by some peculiarity of head-dress and costume.

The use of the mould no less had an effect of importance to mention; in spite of the retouches that diversify them, the copies from the same mould still resemble each other sufficiently, that one can likewise refer all to a common mould. Thus the figurines supplied by each workshop formed as many series as that workshop possessed different moulds; so our museums contain many clay statuettes, in which are recognized the elements of one and the same series, in spite of the slight differences perceived by the eye in passing. Variety is then less here than in other kinds of monuments, reliefs, statues of stone or marble, and even in bronzes. This is what especially appears in the archaic series, in the abundance of those idols sometimes collected in full baskets, when the spade of the excavator has found one of those pits in which the guardians of the temples occasionally buried to obtain space, the old offerings that began to encumber the sanctuary.¹

note 1. p. 204. On this custom see Heuzey, Catalogue. vol. I. p. 165, 166. As examples of those deposits, besides that of Larnaca, information relating to which was collected by Heuzey, one can cite that of Agios Sostis on the site of Tegea in Arcadia. (Martha. Catalogue. Introduction, p. XI), that of Corfu (Lecnat, Terres cuites de Corfu (Bull. Corr. Hell. vol. xv, p. 1-112), and that of Phoenos in Crete (Am. Jour. Arch. 2nd series. vol. v. p. 384, 385)

It is only between the figurines that came from the same site, that one can prove these close relations. These significant resemblances are sometimes found between statuettes collected at places in the Grecian world very distant from each other. Is it necessary to suppose that statuettes journeyed like the painted vases? Doubtless the case might occur, but these removals were not very frequent. There is nothing

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inspired by the works of his predecessors; he resumed the themes that had been successful, but while appropriating them with the freedom that he used in this respect, with the variations that he introduced. Similarly the coroplast; from the same mould he took statuettes by dozens, and yet each of these was distinguished from the others by some detail, by some change in pose, or by some peculiarity of head-dress and costume.

The use of the mould no less had an effect of importance to mention; in spite of the retouches that diversify them, the copies from the same mould still resemble each other sufficiently, that one can likewise refer all to a common mould. Thus the figurines supplied by each workshop formed as many series as that workshop possessed different moulds; so our museums contain many clay statuettes, in which are recognized the elements of one and the same series, in spite of the slight differences perceived by the eye in passing. Variety is then less here than in other kinds of monuments, reliefs, statues of stone or marble, and even in bronzes. This is what especially appears in the archaic series, in the abundance of those idols sometimes collected in full baskets, when the spade of the excavator has found one of those pits in which the guardians of the temples occasionally buried to obtain space, the old offerings that began to encumber the sanctuary.¹

Note 1. p. 204. On this custom see Heuzey, Catalogue. Vol. I. p. 185, 186. As examples of those deposits, besides that of Larnaca, information relating to which was collected by Heuzey, one can cite that of Agios Sostis on the site of Tegea in Arcadia. (Martha. Catalogue. Introduction, p. XI), that of Corfu (Lecnat, Terres cuites de Corfu (Bull. Corr. Hell. Vol. XV, p. 1-112), and that of Phoenos in Crete (Am. Jour. Arch. 2nd series. Vol. V. p. 384, 385)

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either in the texts or in the results of excavations, that inclines one to believe that clay figurines were ever the object of commerce or of export analogous to that of vases. The figurines that came from the temples represent the local deity; they must have been fabricated near the sanctuaries at whose gates the devotees purchased them. As for statuettes forming a part of the equipment of tombs, all those furnished by the same cemetery have a family air by which one can recognize that they came from the same workshop, or as better said, from the same group of snops. The fabrication is nearly the same in all, and what still better proves the community of origin, they are made of the same clay, that can only be the plastic clay of the country. When the fracture is examined, terra cotta is far from everywhere having the same grain and the same color. It is true that this clay, according to the mode of its preparation and the degree of its firing, takes at the same centre of fabrication quite different appearances. For example, at Myrina have been distinguished nine different pastes.¹ To risk determining the origin of the statuette by the nature and appearance of the paste requires a remarkable experience, an entirely special training in sight and touch. An experienced connoisseur will not fail to take into account those facts, when they agree with other indications. He will scarcely propose to decide the question by this single criterion.

note 1. p. 205. Pottier and Reinach. La necropole de Myrina. p. 126, 127.

If it^{be} true that clay statuettes with rare exceptions, originated in the country in which they came to light, now does it happen that sometimes two figures, that are manifestly the products of two different workshops, have the appearance of two twin sisters? For example, this is the case for a group composed of two women, certainly two goddesses, standing in very peculiar attitudes. One of these women leans on the shoulder of her companion, has her left leg crossed in front, her bosom uncovered and hair gathered on her head in a large knot; she holds a lowered mirror in her right hand. The other is enveloped in long veils, that she half draws aside to show her face and her shoulders covered by a tunic worn in oriental fashion, leans against a pilaster,

on which stands the archaic idol of a goddess, which carries its right hand to its chest and its left to the skirt of its robe. We are assured that in Attica was found the monument which gives the entirety of the composition.¹ Now in a lot of terra cottas that came from Kition have been found fragments of a nearly similar group in which was recognized the hand of the coroplast of Kition, by the refinement and the rose tone of the paste.²

note 1.p.206. Stackelberg. Die Gräber der Hellenen. Pl.49.

note 2.p.206. Heuzey. Catalogue des figurines etc. vol. I. p. 191-192.

Further, not these fragments alone at Kition alone recall the memory of Athens. At the place called the Salines of L Laroaca, in the sand hills around a lagoon near the ancient harbor and the ruins of temples, which were dedicated to gods protecting the sailors, as attested by several inscriptions, were collected fragments of figurines, that are very interesting both by their beauty and by the problem that they suggest.³ Their fabrication is that of works whose authors were inspired by examples of Phidias and his successors; but they were executed at the place in the clay employed both by the foreman of the workshop, that reproduced the old Asian types dear to the Cypriots, and those who sought their models in the distant metropolises of Grecian civilization. The surprise was the greater, since Kition was of all cities of the island, that in which the Semetic element maintained itself longest. Not there would one have expected to find heads of such noble elegance and draperies with such a free flow, which confer on some of these pieces the honor of being classed among the most precious monuments of Grecian ceramics. To explain this apparent anomaly, it must be admitted that in that almost Syrian city, one of the principal markets of the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, there was also a numerous and wealthy Grecian colony.

note 3.p.206. On the place and the conditions in which were collected all these fragments, see Heuzey. Catalogue. vol. I. p.191-192.

It has been conjectured that Athenian artisans came to establish at Kition and open a shop there. Without that intervention the Cypriote modelers, like the sculptors beside

them that chiseled the limestone of the island, would have delayed for a long time still in the monotonous repetition of the types, which give to all the Cypriote statuary such a singular appearance. The initiative of a change of method and of taste could scarcely have been taken except by foreign artists; but when they had become permanent inhabitants of the island, which was only half Greek, they risked not long retaining all the refinement of their esthetic sense; they lost contact with Athens, which in a time when from one generation to another, art changed its character and its forms, exposed them to find themselves behind. Now the examination of the work of the coroplasts of Kition gives the impression, that from Calamis to Pheidias and from Pheidias to Braxiteles, they always followed the movement as closely as if they had lived and worked at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens itself. A single hypothesis appears to give the entire reason of this accordance; these image-makers had not ceased to maintain intimate relations with the workshops of Geranikos; they brought from Athens most of their moulds.¹

Note 1. p. 201. On this workshop of Kition and the conjectures that explain the perfection of its products, see Heuzey. Catalogue. p. 173-183; also Pottier. Les statuettes etc. p. 67-71.

The Cypriote workshop was not the only one to profit by this portability of the moulds for obtaining the themes and motives adopted by fashions, and to thus associate itself with the progress accomplished where art was most original and most creative. Here is another example of these borrowings. The terra cottas of Myrina are known. Due to the excavations that M. M. Pottier and Salomon Reinach made from 1880 to 1882 in the cemetery of that little city, one of the cities of the Eolians that left least traces in its history, it is today one of the workshops most largely represented in the galleries of the Louvre. The style is nearly that of the statuettes collected in the other cemeteries of the Eolia and of Ionia, thus impressed by the modeles of clay on the entirety of their work in that part of Asia Minor, from the time of the last Seleucides of the kings of Pergamon. Now among these figurines are found in notable quantity some

that repeat almost to confusion the current types of another workshop, that of Tanagra in Beotia, whose products appear to have enjoyed in antiquity a vogue comparable to that found again among modern amateurs. The authors of the excavations at Myrina, when they had to classify the booty, then came very quickly to distinguish from the others, the statuettes that they could have believed were imported from outside, unless by the quality of their clay and the degree of their firing, they had not been similar to the other products of Eolian workshops.² It is then also to them they believed these should be attributed; "the work on the head and the hair, the suppleness of the fabric and the smart pose of the whole, allow certain figures of draped women to be placed beside the best works of Tanagra without much fearing the comparison."¹ The accuracy of the reproduction extends to the secondary details. These figurines from Myrina that belong to this category are nearly all posed on a thin slab of clay quite similar to that serving as a base for the statuettes of Tanagra. There is a great contrast between that slab and the very high plinth, that serves to support the other figures from Myrina. One could carry no farther the scheme of an intended counterfeiting to deceive the purchaser.

note 1. p. 208. Pottier and Reinach. La necropole de Myrina. vol. I. p. 169-172.

The surest method for obtaining this result was certainly to acquire and use moulds borrowed from the workshop itself, where had been created the types that it was desired to copy. In view of the use for which these moulds were intended, where one could carry far enough the work of modeling, so that the imprint being once obtained by stamping with care, it would scarcely need retouching; for example, this is observed in the terra cottas of Kition, where the modeling tool seems not to be used, except being "discreetly handled to repair or restore parts imperfectly pressed."² Famous artists, like those of Athens and of Tanagra, had then sold and exported their moulds. This traffic was even the source of notable profits for the foremen of workshops to whom these orders were sent.³ In distant colonies however, it could not always be easy to procure these original moulds; but even then they had another resource for making these imitations.

It sufficed to purchase some figurines from the workshops whose products stood first in the market; moulds were made from these statuettes. Doubtless the moulds made by this moulding did not have the refinement and neatness of those prepared from the original models in the shops in which were created and sent forth the novelties; but the prints obtained by this means were intended for what might be termed provincial patrons, that could not be too exacting; even at the cost of some softness in contours and some uncertainty in modeling, they carried to the frontiers of the Greek world images, into which had passed something of the grace and beauty of the works due to the masters of the art.

note 2.p.208. Heuzey. Catalogue. I. p. 119.

note 3.p.208. Also in Cyrenice and in the Tauric Chersonesus, men seem to have employed moulds brought from Greece proper. What indicates this is, that one finds in these two regions so distant from each other, figurines from the same mould; but the details there vary too much and especially the fabrication is too different, for one to believe them to be products of the same workshop. In the Cheronese, the workmen did not know how to make the same use of the print given by the mould as in Cyrenica. (Pottier. Les statuettes etc. p. 147).

If this process of copying moulds rendered service in antiquity by allowing the reproduction of types appearing most worthy of that honor, on the other hand it has promoted too much the industry of counterfeiting by the facilities offered. One recalls thus the so called groups from Asia Minor, by which were deceived not only dealers interested in so being and amateurs lacking experience and criticism, but also at first archaeologists that had made their tests. Some of these groups were made of entire pieces by frequently very skilful modelers; but others were composed of figures entirely or partly made in moulds made from ancient statuettes, which sometimes made the fraud difficult to discover.

Thus terra cottas are of all monuments of Grecian art, the easiest to counterfeit. Even those whose authenticity is beyond doubt did not fail sometimes to embarrass archaeologists and to plunge them into serious perplexities.

Assume the figurine whose status is not well established,

one neither knows where nor ^{with} what objects it was found; it will often be difficult to assign even an approximate date, to express a probable conjecture concerning its place of origin. The moulds were transmitted in the workshop by inheritance; they formed a part of the capital, as we would say; so they continued to reproduce for many years types, that thus endured and survived in that form, when sculpture in stone had long since abandoned them. The reason of that difference is easily found. When the sculptor takes a piece of wood, stone or marble for carving a relief or a statue, nothing restricts his freedom; his figure appears at once with the air and appearance of the time. On the contrary, how could the coroplast resist the temptation to utilize the moulds in his storeroom, so long as the public favored them? He was of a conservative temperament by profession. Thus the masks of Demeter (Fig. 81) and those of Silenes (vignette at end of this chapter), that one finds so frequently in tombs of Boeotia and of Magna Grecia, still retain in the full 5th century the stamp of an earlier style. When these masks came to us without our knowing whether there were collected with them inscriptions and vases, that supply some chronological information, how can one fix the age of the tomb and of the images it contained?

The same uncertainties occur, when it is necessary to determine the origin of a terra cotta in the absence of all information worthy of credit. In each district in Greece, when the sculptor modeled the sketch of a bronze or a statue, he was subject to the school of the region and to the local taste. By the choice of the motive and the fabrication, his work bears the mark of that taste, and thus it is charged with informing us where it was conceived and executed. How different was the condition of clay figures! We have told how the moulds were exported and journeyed across the entire Mediterranean; if the fact be proved, what can we conclude, either from the consideration of the style characterizing a series of terra cottas, or from indications of origin furnished to us in this respect? Here are the beautiful fragments of the statuettes of Kition; if it were not duly proved that the dune of Larnaca has supplied them to our museums, would one have ever thought of giving none?

to the Cypriote workshops? It is probable that one would not have failed to attribute to Attica pieces, whose pure and noble style has nothing in common with that characterizing the work of the potters and sculptors of Cyprus. It is the same for the statuettes of the Tanagra fashion, that have been found at Myrina by M.M. Pottier and Reinach. If they had not seen them taken from the ground under their eyes, if these had been peddled by one of those dealers, whose assertions are justly suspicious, men would apparently have hesitated to place them to the credit of Boeotian coroplasts.

These examples suffice to show what prudent reserve is imposed on many occasions on the learned, who more particularly occupy themselves with clay figurines, there is no ground covered with more snares, and where one is constrained to look around himself more, and to proceed with more precaution.

3. Artificial Polychromy.

In studying the materials and their use, we have indicated how the Greek sculptor in his most ancient works adhered to combining metal and glass pastes with wood or stone. We have shown all his efforts ending in the chryselephantine statuary, the creation of those complex images of such sumptuous and brilliant appearance, where ivory and silver mix their whiteness with the black of ebony, the dark tints of bronze, the gleam of gold and that of precious stones. Those who love these contrasts and harmonies cannot fail to have recourse also to more varied effects, than can be given at less cost by the application of color on all or a part of the surface of the figure. This is what we term artificial polychromy to distinguish it from that natural polychromy, which has the principle of diversity of the materials juxtaposed in the same work.

From the beginning of history, we have been struck by the very marked taste for the vivid and bold colorings shown by the art of Egypt. We have explained this taste by the splendor of a sun scarcely ever veiled by any cloud and by the strength of the light cast on edifices and on the incidents of the ground. In Greece the sky is far from always being pure as in Egypt; but the conditions of normal lighting there

are again very different from those made for man by the climates of the centre and north of Europe. It results from this that the Grecian architect covered his public and private edifices with a colored ornamentation, that while remaining more discreet than that by which the Egyptian architect clothed his structures, on the whole is no less rich and substantial. Now where the entire architecture is colored, was there a place for sculpture to which was refused the charm of color? The contrast would have been offensive; it would have been the more so among the Greeks between the work of the sculptor and that of the architect, because there was a relation here otherwise intimate, than it is in our modern customs. At least until the days of the decadence, the Greek artist never conceived and created a figure or a group with a view to those fairs that we call expositions, nor even of those encumbered storehouses that we term museums; when his statue, group or relief was not promised to the cella of a temple, to its pediments or friezes, the work was destined to the Altis of Olympia, the sacred way of Delphi or the Acropolis of Athens; it must range itself there near other monuments of the same kind, in the vicinity of illustrious sanctuaries, assembly halls, gymnasiums and theatres, in the midst of those chapels or treasuries, which the principal cities of the Hellenic world had consecrated to the deity of the place. Sculpture was thus either incorporated in the edifices, or distributed in the spaces left between them, and contained in the perspectives that they opened to the eyes; it was thus permanently to present to the eye an appearance, which accorded with that of those grand entireties, of which it formed an integral part.

This superior necessity would alone have sufficed to impose on sculpture the duty of keeping itself within the conditions of the general tonality, which were in relation to those of the architecture; but this was not the only reason for it to take this method; it found another in the nature even of the materials that it employed, at least of those on which its training occurred. Wood with its fibrous texture, the irregularity of its veining and its obscure tints, lent itself badly to recall the warmth and the varied colors of life. As for the soft limestone they attacked by artists,

it had many other defects. This was not only that its tone was usually dull and gray; all limestones more or less contained shells that dented the surface or formed holes in it. These irregularities in the grain did not permit the tool to give great precision to the work. The artist thus found himself led to use color to remedy the deficiencies of its modeling. The crush was soon caused to trace on the tufa, accenting them by the frank contrast of tints, the details to which attention must be called; the headress and hair with their various arrangements, the superposition and ornamentation of the different parts of the dress, and finally the accessories like the arms and attributes of all kinds that defined the personages. Why would the sculptor hesitate to employ a procedure that thus simplified his task? ¹

note 1.p.212. It has been affirmed that before painting on tufa, this was covered by plaster. This is what Purgold believed to be proved by examining the fragments of the hydria on the Acropolis of Athens. This plaster was distinguished by its slightly yellower color from the natural color of the stone, that one sees in the fractures (Epheméris. 1 1835. p.249-251); but another observer, who studied all those fragments with great care, at least for Attic sculpture denied the presence of this plaster. Analyses made by chemists have proved, he asserts, that the colors were directly laid on the tufa (Athen. Mitt. xv. p.88).

This appeal to the aid of the brush was further for the statuary, something other and more than a convenient expedient. The use of polychromy was imposed on him as a moral necessity. Color was separated from form only by an abstraction foreign to a simple mind. The isolated and entirely naked form did not satisfy the eyes of half civilized men. For what they recognized and understood in the images presented to them, they must be shown to them as clothed with colored vestments as in nature. The religious sentiment, from which originated the first images, also came to make these requirements more imperative. Among all peoples, while they are in the age when the imagination reigns as sovereign mistress, and does not admit any limits to the possible, every idol, especially if by its dimensions it recalls the appearance of the human figure, is regarded by its adorers

as the incarnation of the deity that it represents. One is inclined to suppose it alive, at least in the moments, when the prayer and the offering of the believer makes it expedient for the god or goddess to animate its own effigy for a time. Thus is explained all those accounts of statues that move their eyes and lips, arms and legs, that reply to the appeal of the priest by signs or words, accounts that no less were diffused in the middle ages in the Christian world, than they had formerly been among the Greeks and Romans; perhaps one would not even need to beyond this century to find in certain districts of Spain or of Italy a story of a miraculous statue, that could be compared with the statue of Apollo, that is said to have left the temple of Delphi to go to Corcyra, then besieged by the enemy, to take part on the walls in the defense of the city.¹ How easy it is to convince one's self of this by visiting churches in which are preserved images to which is attributed this mobility, of these images always or nearly always having the eyes and faces painted as well as the body clad in the richest clothing, embroidered and of many colored fabrics. Frequently a crown is placed on the head; the fingers are loaded by rings of value. So illuminated and decorated like great dolls, these images make us smile; we sometimes even find them very ugly; but it is no less true that this type was dearest to our ancestors. Why is this preference that is condemned by our taste? It is because the reproduction of the forms of the body alone sufficed to give to those naive souls the impression of an image really endowed with life. The vestments and jewels complete the effect; they end by impressing on the figure this character of an exact copy of the reality that creates the illusion.

note 1.p.213. servius. (Latin). 1. verse 27.

In the first experiments of their sculpture, the Greeks obeyed the same feeling as our ancestors. Color is everywhere on what is preserved of their most ancient idols. They had spread it in broad touches on the figures in stone as on those of terra cotta left to us by the Mycenaean civilization. As for wood, nothing remains of it; but more than one evidence aids the historian to form an idea of the assistance that the image-maker required from painting to div-

diversify the appearance of the images that he made of that material. "The texts make more than one allusion to the old sacred statues, painted or gilded, witness those two Xoanas of Artemis and of Dionysos that Pausanias saw at Corinth, whose bodies were gilded, while their faces were colored by a coating of vermilion.¹ When the religious tradition required it, men still made in the classical epoch these images of wood, ennobled by illuminations. Thus in Delphi in the 3rd century B.C., there was ordered annually for the festival a statue of this kind; it passed through the hands of the painter, who received the same salary as the sculptor.² Of what might be a similar coloring about the 3rd century, one has an idea by the primitive terra cottas, that have preserved to us cheap reductions of the sacred statues. To see that violent motley, those red plaques that conceal the sides of the face, one has the impression of a barbaric illumination, and the impression would change very little, if by an impossibility, excavations should restore to us some specimens of sculpture in wood."³

Note 1. p. 214. Pausanias. II. 2-6.

Note 2. p. 214. Homolle. Comptes et inventaires etc. (Hell. Corr. Hell. 1890. p. 499).

Note 3. p. 214. Collignon. La polychromie dans la sculpture grecque, p. 7. 1898. Zeitschrift zur bildenden Kunst has given two articles on this subject by Th. Ballhorn. Die Polychromie in der griechischen Kunst. 1893. p. 261-267, 286-292.

Even this coloring did not suffice to content the popular piety. It must please itself by clothing and ornamenting the first statues, that were placed at the back of the sanctuary in structures similar to the Heraion of Olympia. This is what we learn from the most ancient text that mentions one of those images. When the supreme struggle begins at Troy, Hecuba undertakes to appease the anger of Athena; she decides to offer her most beautiful and largest peplos, that she possesses in her coffers;¹ introduced into her temple, she places it on her knees. Theano, priestess of Pallas, does not fail to cast that sumptuous drapery over the shoulders and chest of the goddess; when she sees herself more richly clad than the noblest women in the city, perhaps she will be reconciled with the Trojans. The same gift was always

made by the Athenian republic to its august patroness. In the pomp of the panathenaic festival, extended on a car in the form of a ship, was borne the peplos on which the errenoric virgins had embroidered the victory of Athena over the giants. Not for the Athena Parthenos of Phidias was intended that magnificent fabric; they would not have concealed beneath woolen the ivory and gold of the statue; that fabric was to enclose for four years the old xoanon of Athena Polias or "mistress of the city," which was preserved in one of the halls of the Erechtheum.²

note 1.p.215. Homer. Iliad. vi. 90, 273, 303.

note 2.p.215. Aristophanes. Birds. verses 826-828.

These devout practices, this luxury of clothes and jewels corresponded to the same needs as the industry of the workman that illuminated the idols of clay, stone or wood. Thus the statue is found in Greece as well as in Egypt to be born strongly colored, as are born with ^{their} proper color all living beings, that serve as models for the sculptor. Doubtless with the progress of the art, he will recognize that sculpture can separate form from color. By the certainty of his execution and the use of marble, as he shall feel himself more apt in rendering the true proportions of all the beauties of that form, he will cease to spread indifferently the color on all surfaces; but he will retain the taste in all times; he will persist in always keeping for it a certain place in all his works, in applying it with skilful discretion on certain parts of the effigy, such as the accessories and the draperies; yet even when he can demand the aid of painters of consummate skill, he will never allow himself to desire to make the statue something analogous to the mannekins of the Tussaud or Grevin museums. A secret and just feeling of the necessities of the art and the laws imposed on his creations will warn him of the fault that he would have committed by carrying to the limit the servile imitation of the living model. "If sculpture, that fashions its work in the round, adds to the palpable truth of the forms the optical truth of colors, it will have both too much and too little resemblance to nature; it will be quite near movement and life and will show us only immobility and death. After a moment of illusion, color makes only more

sensible and more striking the absence of life and this primary appearance of reality will become repulsive when one sees it falsified by the inertia of the material. We have a striking example in wax figures: the more they resemble nature the more hideous they are. As soon as the spectator has recognized their fixedagate eyes, their imitation hair, their false eyebrows, their attached beards, the presence of phantoms is felt that cause horror, because they look like one's self. The impalpable shades that painting represents to us may have poetry and attraction; but those dense and void spectres, in which is not and never was life, have not even the majesty of death. With their actual clothing and their true colors, they are false corpses, only most horrible to see and speak of." ¹

Note 1. p. 216. Charles Blanc. *La Grammaire des arts du dessin*. p. 4-4.

What experience proves to us, what analysis and reflection attests, the Greek sculptor had already divined; as if by instinct, he has always taken into account the part of abstraction equally comprised in all the arts of design. Much before philosophers like Aristotle reasoned on the theory of the imitation, he had understood that none of these arts, whatever process it employs, can propose any purpose other than to recall to mind forms already known. Painting and sculpture pursue this aim in different ways; but if sculpture seems to have this advantage over painting, that it preserves to the images of bodies that it presents, the thickness that they have in reality, it is no less compelled to make certain sacrifices, like its rival. It is not condemned, as men erroneously believed two or three centuries since, to deprive itself entirely of the aid of color; but under penalty of producing what would be far from being that which tends to give its effect, it must use that color in a very different spirit, than the artist that uses it to project his figures on a flat ground; it must always subordinate color to form, only allowing the color to attract attention to it and dispute with it the suppleness and refinement of the modeling. The sculptor at first took the true means of avoiding this sort of conflict. Whether the colors that decorated the statues and reliefs were innerent in the

material had been applied with the brush, this polychromy always retained a purely conventional character. The strong blues and reds that the sculptor employs on the most ancient works, on the coarse limestone groups of the Acropolis, have no relation to the reality; the only reason that determined the choice is, that they are in harmony with the tints laid on the architectural members around them.¹

note 1.p.217. "Red and blue share all the mouldings in relief, all the flat surfaces of the entablatures and cornices. This blue and this red are indeed the same dark red and the same intense blue, that extend over the works of the sculptor and those appertaining to the architect. Thus one could almost prove that in the 7th century existed no polychromy of the sculpture; there existed only a monumental polychromy, whose principles are nearly identical for the entire monument, even for the sculpture that it comprised." Lechat, Au musée. p. 251.

As a type of the old sculptures in tufa, considered from the point of view of their polychrome decoration, one should take the group of the triple Typhon, the best preserved of all these monuments (Pl. III).² The bodies of the men are painted red with brown circles around the breasts; the face is also colored red. The beard and hair are blue; the eyebrows and the edges of the eyelids are black as well as the pupils. At least on one head, the iris of the eye is green and its ball is yellowish. The bodies of the entwined serpents are decorated by a red band between two white bands, on each side of which are spaced curved lines marked in black. The part where the black lines now are has the natural color of the stone; but perhaps at the origin a yellowish tone was given to it, like that recognized on the eyeballs. Finally, the wings are red and blue.

note 2.p.217. This plate and plates IV and V were executed in heliogravure by M. Dujardin after the beautiful watercolor drawings of M. Gillieron; that the Greek minister of public instruction sent to the universal exposition of 1889; we had his permission to use them. By the fidelity of these copies and the guarantees offered by the process employed, we believe that we have offered images of those monuments, which give to the appearance of the originals the exact value

of the tones of the decoration and a more accurate idea than the reproductions previously published. See the criticism made by Lecnat, (*Bull. Cornell.* 1890 p.567, note 1) of the large plates in color, which were published in the *Denkmäler* of the German Archaeological Institute. (vol. I. Pls. 19, 39). A plate representing one of the same figures in *Ephemeris* (1887, pl. 9) is frankly bad.

In the group of the bull thrown down by two lions, the bodies of the lions were painted light red and their manes brownish red; the hair around the claws was marked with black lines. The body of the bull was blue and the tail red. The muzzle was dotted by black spots, that probably accentuated a yellowish ground. The interiors of the ears and nostrils, the inside of the mouth and the tongue are red. The pupil of the eye is black.¹

note 1.p.218. One will find a very faithful reproduction of the head of the bull in color in plate III of Collignon's *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*. vol. I. p. 212.

On sculptures in limestone the coloring then extended over all parts of the figures, even those nude; in what remains to us of the high reliefs that filled the pediment of the Treasury of the Megarans at Delphi, these were painted yellow or light red.² Red and blue had a marked predominance in the decoration of the statuary in soft stone; the sculptor was in accord with the architect in preferring these colors to all others because of their freedom and brilliancy. he employed them on large areas distinctly separated, the colors did not penetrate each other; the eye easily perceived the limits and contrast.

note 2.p.218. Then in Olympia. vol. III, p.12.

In a somewhat different spirit were executed the coloring of marble statues. One cannot be surprised by this; they are not of the same epoch; they are cut out of different material; they do not always form a part of the edifice. This triple difference must cause some difference in the system of decoration."³ In the works dating from the second half of the 6th century the tones are no longer chosen almost entirely for the pleasure that they give the eye, without the artist caring if they have even a distant relation to the actual coloring of the object represented. In the selection

that controls its more art and calculation. To represent the clothing and the designs ornamenting it, one seeks colors that approach those of the fabrics composing it; but even then, convention has maintained its rights. Thus on many figures the hair is painted brick red (Pl. IV). Now it must be very rare that the hair of Athenian women tended to red. Finally, no flesh tone was laid on the nude, which suffices to mark that the artist had never aimed at deception in coloring his statue. That he did not have that ambition, here is what completes the proof; neither on the works in view for the moment, nor on those belonging to a wiser art, the painter collaborating with the sculptor has never attempted to employ color to complete the work of modeling. In broken tones, in lights or shadows indicated by the brush; everywhere is a simple juxtaposition of uniform flat tones.

note 3.p.213. Lechat. Au musée. p.252.

What the statuary then particularly desired, when he had to regulate the distribution of touches of color thus scattered over his figure, was to warm the appearance of an entirety, which without ^{the} gaiety of this polychrome decoration, would have appeared to him to risk presenting some coldness to the eye. On male figures, that usually are nude, color merely serves only to accent certain traits of the face. Laid on the hair and beard, a coat of cinnabar or of yellow ochre rather alluded to the brunette or blonde tint of the skin, that it pretended to reproduce faithfully. Sometimes the eyeball was painted a light yellow, on which was detached the circle of the iris in red, dotted at its centre with a black spot (Pls. III, IV). A black line outlined the eyelids and the lips were touched with red.¹ All that is equally found on female figures; but these are always clothed from head to foot, and the female clothing as they wore it was made to suit the statuary by largely using color, by the complication of its structure and by the variety of the designs ornamenting it. In spite of this sort of attraction, it did not depart from an extreme reserve in the part derived from that aid. This results from all observations afforded by the memorable excavations on the Acropolis executed by M. Cavvadias from 1835 to 1837. The statues and fragments of statues discovered then still allow to be seen many

traces of their ancient polychrome decoration; but for the most part, these traces are now much faded and some tones are sensibly changed; nearly everywhere blue is altered to green. On the contrary, the colors were very vivid on many of these marbles when they were taken from the ground. Soon after the discovery, Lechat studied these monuments with minute and acute attention. See how the summation of facts that his researches permits him to state.

Note 1.p.219. On this painting of the eye on statues, see Plato. Republic. IV. 420-2.

"We no longer find here large surfaces uniformly painted; the color of the clothing for the most part takes refuge in the embroidered bands, that intersect it at the middle or form the border. The chiton or tunic, the epidrema (a sort of shawl sometimes thrown over the mantle), the himation or mantle no longer present more than rare light red and blue spots, crosses, stars, etc.; but their lower and upper borders as well as the parypne, a wide band of embroidery extending from top to bottom of the tunic, forming complicated frets, dotted lines, wide strips in which blue and red are the only tints employed, sometimes mingled. (Pls. IV,V). The head is a part of the body on which the brush is most employed to aid the chisel. The lips are red and the eyebrows are black; the eyelids are bordered by a black line that imitates the appearance of the eyelashes; the iris of the eye is a red circle having a black pupil in the centre, and is limited outside by a fine black line. The eardrops and the fillet (or band around the head) are ornamented by delicate designs in which red and blue sometimes mingle, but most frequently blue alone prevails on account of the immediate vicinity of the hair, that is nearly always painted red. The bracelets are blue; the attributes, birds, fruits, crowns carried by the figures, in one hand, are sometimes blue and sometimes red."

"In brief, we find on marble statues five colors, whose use is certain; red, blue, yellow, black and gold, gold being sometimes laid over bronze ornaments; but yellow is only found once or twice on the hair, and gold is also a rarity. On the contrary, the use of black is very regular, but is strictly limited to the eyes and the eyebrows. The principal

colors are then red and blue, as on works in tufa. The red is probably cinnabar; it has the beautiful tone of a well burnt brick, that has not reached a brown. Blue must have been obtained by pulverizing a natural copper blue. Where it has been changed to green by dampness, it has a rare intensity and beauty."

"Yet all colored parts together are not one fifth the surface of the statue. Did the other four fifths retain the natural tint of the marble? When the sculptors of the archaic epoch abandoned tufa for marble, I conceive that their choice was not alone inspired by the desire to increase the difficulties of their work. If in spite of greater difficulties, they preferred this new material, this is because it was incomparably more beautiful. Not only did it not have like the other, defects to be concealed by plaster; but it had its own beauty, the perfection of its polish, the irreproachable purity of its surface. These rare qualities must not remain a secret between the practitioner and his marble; it was necessary for the public to know and appreciate them. Now the opaque color applied on the entire statue would not have permitted one to distinguish whether it was of marble or of tufa, whether he had before him the most ordinary stone or a costly material. It was necessary for the statue to be ornamented by certain colors' otherwise it would have disconcerted eyes accustomed to find color everywhere on works of art, and it would not have been in harmony with the edifices in whose vicinity it was placed; but also to retain its intrinsic value, it must allow to be seen the marble of which it was made. On the other hand, the vivid whiteness of the marble, sparkling and dazzling in the sun, would not have been in harmony with this blue and this red, both very dark. The eye would have been troubled and shocked in passing abruptly from the colored parts to those which were not so." ¹

note 1. p. 221. Lechat. Au musée. p. 255.

Particularly the face in that hypothesis would have risked presenting disagreeable contrasts; one can scarcely imagine painted lips and eyes, glaring on the natural tint of the marble. One cannot judge of this effect today by the statues of the Acropolis. On the one hand, the vivacity of

the tones of the painting are much reduced by time, and on the other hand, the marble itself is stained by a long sojourn in the earth, and no longer has its native whiteness. The appearance of these figures as furnished by these excavations then sensibly differs from that presented when they left the hands of the workmen; but "a slight patina, breaking the great splendor of the marble and giving it a softer polish, could suffice to restore the harmony of the coloring of the different parts. Now several ancient authors, Vitruvius,² Pliny,³ Plutarch,⁴ have described a process for a wax patina, applied to the statues of their time. Mention is made of this process in an inscription relating to the expenses of the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos in Beotia.⁵

Note 2.p.221. Vitruvius. VII. 9-3.

Note 3.p.221. Pliny. H.N. XXXV. 122, 133.

Note 4.p.221. Plutarch. (On the glory of the Athenians, VI) mentions the "agalmeton" etc. In an inscription at Rome a certain Aphrodisias is so qualified. (Lewy, Ins. Græc. Bill. No. 551). These texts will be found collected in Hugo Plummer. Tech. und Termin. vol. III, p. 201.

Note 5.p.221. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890. p.184. 200 drachmas were allowed for this.

In a Delian inscription of the beginning of the 3rd century, Homolle found exact details of the same operation.¹ It is true that we have no proof that it was practised in the archaic epoch; but if not exactly this, it was similar to it; this can scarcely be doubted.²

Note 1.p.222. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890. p.497 et seq.

Note 2.p.222. Lechat. Au musée. p.258. On a marble mask of Athena Parthenos, that is of natural size and appears to date from the Roman epoch, G. Treu, who acquired it for the museum of Dresden, noted the remains of a coating of yellowish brown clay that extended over the flesh. Analysis proved that this coating consisted of a mixture of wax and of very fine clay. (Arch. Anzeiger. 1898. p. 52-59).

It seems that the utility or rather the necessity of this application to marble must have made itself felt more and more strongly by the sculptor, as he was more and more emboldened in removing from the body of the woman all covering like that of man. We shall then have to return to this sub-

subject so disputed, when we study the art of the 5th and 4th centuries; further, to the last period of the development of statuary relate all the texts that can be invoked to solve the problem.³ While waiting, we are led to believe, that on those figures contemporaneous with the Pisistratides, the same patina was extended over the clothing and the nude flesh, and that there was not a special coloring for the nude. The face as well as the draperies, in brief all parts that had not received the colors indicated above, were simply rubbed with wax or oil, so that the marble lost its gleaming and hard whiteness, that it assumed a softer tone, a mild and firm brilliancy, near that of ivory."⁴

Note 3.p.222. The practice of polychromy lasted as long as the antique statuary. There is proof of this both by the texts and the monuments. To the texts of Vitruvius, Pliny and Plutarch already cited may be added Virgil, Eclogues, VII, 31-32, Gestelecta, VII; Plutarch, Roman Questions, 28. According to the latter, the first act of the censors on entering on their charge was to contract for feeding the sacred geese of the Capitol and the waxing of the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, because the vermillion with which it was customary to coat the ancient statues changed very rapidly." One will find in the Memoir of Collignon already cited, the indication and reproduction in black of several colored heads dating from the Roman epoch, as well as the reference to the museums where they are found, and to the works in which they are reproduced with the colors of the originals.

Note 4.p.222. Lecnat. Au musee. p.257. Collignon and Paul Girard came to the same conclusion. (La peinture antique. p. 277-288).

If on marble the polychromy became partial instead of total, as it was previously, its execution was only more careful; it compressed refinements unknown to the preceding age. When on figures of tufa the brush spread the same color over surfaces like the entire trunk of a man or an entire vestment, it had entire freedom in working. If sometimes, as on the wings and the serpent body of the giant Typhon, the patina seems traced by the chisel, the change from one tone to another would not have sufficed to distinguish the different

rows of superposed feathers or the three tails, twisted and coiled (Pl. III). To properly mark these divisions was required the intervention of the tool that cut the stone; but elsewhere one could rely on the brush of the painter, that passed over these large surfaces. It was not the same where it had only to decorate narrow bands like the borders of a tunic or mantle, or to scatter little ornaments over the rest of the fabric: then was required much precision in the touch. To assist and succeed in this, very frequently "the illuminator took the trouble to incise with the point on the marble a sort of sketch of the decoration, and this slight line guides his brush to follow the complex design of frets or the delicate outlines of flowers. Further, this is a procedure not restricted to Attica, the seated statue of Chares in the British Museum, that of Nike Archaemos in the central museum of Athens, as well as Aphrodite with the dove of the museum in Lyons, likewise retain traces of those incised outlines, which attest the application of painting, even when every vestige of color has disappeared." ¹

Note 1. p. 223. Collignon. Polychromie dans la sculpture grecque. p. 31-32. See Lechat. Au musée. p. 252, note 1. Potin. Gräff (Athen. Mitt. XIV. 1889. p. 319-320). Traces of these engravings are quite visible on pls. III and IV of the collection entitled: Les musées d'Athènes. 1885. (16 pls. executed in phototype from negatives of Romaldi, and accompanied by a descriptive text by Savadras).

It was not merely geometrical forms, such as the fret and the rosette, that the associate of the sculptor tried to reproduce on these marbles. He piqued himself on giving to the draperies of those statues all the elegance and richness of those in which were clothed the young women of the first families of Athens; he then amused himself in competing with the needle of the embroiderer, following it in all its caprices. On the border of the mantle on one of the most recent of these effigies, that bearing the signature of Euthydikos, he designed a chariot race with the point of his brush (Fig. 99).

Where the statues were so colored, color could not be absent from the reliefs, which decorated the pediments and friezes of edifices, or the fronts of funerary steles. At

the origin, the relief had but a slight projection from the ground, which retained the natural color of the stone. It is thus on one of the pediments in relief of the Acropolis of Athens, that of Hercules fighting the hydra of Lerne. The effect of the whole recalls very well that of the vases with black figures, where the personages rise from a clay ground. Same convention is on the most ancient of the sculptured metopes of Selinonte; the only traces of color found there with certainty occur on different parts of the relief and on the ground supporting it.¹ The analogy with the painting of vases strikes us even more strongly since we have known the metopes of the treasury of the Sicyonians, discovered at Delphi. Not only was the ~~xxx~~^{ground} of the metopes untouched by the brush, but beside the personages illuminated by bistre and a red or vinous orange, inscriptions traced in black letters indicate their names;² it is impossible to imagine a more complete resemblance to the decoration of a Corinthian vase.

note 1. p. 224. Benndorf. *Die Metopen von Selinunt.* p. 42-43.

note 2. p. 224. See the articles by Homolle, *Gaz. de F. A.* Dec. 1. 1884; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890. p. 657-675; *Les sculptures du trésor de Sicyone.*

"Such facts invite us to believe that the polychromy of the relief very closely followed the traditions of painting.³ Thus we saw it suffer the reaction of the revolution, that modified about 530 or 520 the technics of painted vases. Under the influence of the advance realized by mural painting, the ceramic painters abandoned the ancient method; for those black outlines enhanced by pastes of a rather sad appearance, they began to substitute light figures outlined on a shining black ground. In other terms, they began to reverse the ratio of the values.

note 3. p. 224. On this correspondence of the processes of painted reliefs and of painting on vases, see Löeschke (*Arch. Mitt.* IV. p. 40-42). P. J. Meier (*Athen. Mitt.* X. p. 241-250), and Brownson (*Am. Jour. Arch.* VIII. p. 28-48).

"Will the painters of reliefs remain faithful to superannuated customs? We know the contrary. For example, see a well known monument, contemporary with the first Attic vases with red figures; we speak of the stele of Velanidezza and

which an Athenian, Aristion, is represented in war costume. (Fig. 72). The ground has retained a dark tint on which is detached the light values of the flesh and lines skilfully arranged to isolate certain details like the shoulder of the armor and the cloth of the short tunic; these have received a tone of frank red, whose vividness accents them on both the nudes and on the ground of the slao. One of the most important discoveries due to the excavations of the French School at Delphi brings us another argument. On the beautiful frieze of the treasury attributed to the Cnidians, the ground was painted blue, and if the arms, clothing and hair have retained traces of color, none are seen on the nudes. The artist has further taken precautions, that the colors of the accessories may not be confused with those of the ground. A certain warrior wears a blue helmet, but this piece of armor is very skilfully outlined by a red edge, and the eye thus clearly perceives its contour.¹ The painting of the reliefs thus tends to a new system, that will cause sustained values to prevail on the grounds; to continue a comparison borrowed from ceramic painting, the polychrome relief will recall in the general effect the general appearance of a vase on which the red figures rise from the dark ground."²

note 1.p.225. See the very precise indications given by Romolle relating to the use made of color on the frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians, (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896. p. 589). a frieze with blue ground. Lights in flat tints extend over the entire drapery, or limited applications on borders, ornaments and other parts of the costume, such as the shoes, arms, helmets and shields; green with red edges. On the hair red, and red gilded. On the skins of animals, manes of lions red or greenish blue, to distinguish the two animals of a team.

note 2.p.225. Collignon. La polichromie etc. p. 15-20.

On the relief as on the round, to save time, the sculptor sometimes left to the painter the care of making visible to the eyes of the spectator certain lines of the image. Nothing would be easier than to furnish numerous examples of this practice; it will suffice to cite one for the statues and another for the reliefs. The figure, known under the

Moschephoros is one of the most curious monuments of the art of the 6th century contained in the museum of the Acropolis; it represents a sacrificer bearing a young bull on his shoulders. While on the bull as on the face and the body of the man, the tool has been used to indicate beneath the skin the bones and muscles, of all the hair is only modeled the little locks around the brow and the long tresses falling before the shoulder; the back of the head has remained smooth (Fig. 100). It is the same for the beard, whose mass alone is represented by a projection of the marble forming there a sort of chin band. This apparent constraint and negligence allows but one explanation; the brush dipped in cinabar or yellow ochre, the artist had used on the top of the head to trace the meshes of the hair, indicating the abundance of hair and beard. The sculptor has used the same method on more than one relief. For example, see this frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians already mentioned. There are many details that have been executed only by touches of color; this was the case for the harness of the horses, for the inside straps of the shields, and for the rear plane of the sculptured figures, where the brush is charged to represent the wheels of the chariot, and the fronts of the cars seen behind the horses in the heroic combat.¹

Note 1. p. 226. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1886. p. 589.

An art that appeals for the aid of the painter, even when it has marble at command, cannot dispense with using color when it makes its images of clay, whose yellow or reddish tone has nothing in itself to charm the eyes. These statuettes are further mostly of small size, the modeling with some exceptions could be very summary, and the coroplast must be even more tempted than the sculptor to aid himself by the brush, whose rapid procedures permitted him to furnish cheaply the products of his industry. This was done for all clay figurines contemporaneous with the statues and reliefs that we have studied, and this mode will continue till the last days of antique art; but in time the maker of figurines will carry more research and care into his part of the work; he will occupy himself in giving the tones of this illumination more variety as well as more softness.

To take into account this difference, it suffices to compare

a statuette from Tanagra on which the colors are well preserved (The Louvre possesses several in that condition), with the figure from Camisos, a faithful reproduction of which we present here (Pl. VI); this monument apparently dates from the second half of the 6th century.¹ We do not have to define the sense of this type, which numerous examples represent in Phoenicia and at Rhodes, but of which specimens have also been found in Greece proper and even in Sicily; we shall only occupy ourselves here with the coloring given to this image. Now what is first striking is that this coloring recalls the polychromy of the tufa sculptures of the Acropolis; here as on the Typhon and the works of the same school, the painter has employed only a very small number of colors, which he has placed on large areas. On the hair and the head is a tint of light brown, that is tinted red on the band tied around the brow. Some touches of a blue, that has turned greenish, indicate a tunic appearing only on the left shoulder. The entire remainder of the clothing, a peplos with two points falling in front, was painted a vivid red tending to vermillion.

NOTE 1. p. 228. This results for Heuzey from a very careful study made of types from the Rhodian workshop. Those that he believes to belong to the same time as the statues of the pediments of Aegina are of a style much freer than our Fig., very similar to those reproduced in Pl. VII, 5 of his atlas. See *Catalogue des figurines etc.* vol. I. p. 223, 232, and *Les figurines antiques*, pls 12, 13, 14.

The colors are here applied directly on the clay. After the succeeding century, to give them a better support, the figurine will be passed into a bath of milk of lime before painting. This material will penetrate into the pores of the clay and will form a bright white tint on which the other colors will lie better and will show more vivacity. The industry of the 7th and 6th centuries did not yet know that practice, which the coroplasts will renounce only in the full decadence of the art.

"It would seem natural to suppose that the operation of coloring occurred before burning, so that the color should penetrate more into the clay and unite with it; but experience proves that all colors employed in painting the antique

figurines adhere but slightly; these are materials fusible at low temperatures, and firing has destroyed them or at least has modified the tints. They are applied cold, and this is why the adhesion to the clay is very slight. The preparatory bath itself in which will be sought a remedy for this defect, will not succeed in giving real solidity to the tones of the painting. Very few statuettes have seen the light again with the fresh painting of ancient days; in removing their covering of earth, almost always is lost the light coat of color that covers them. Dameness has rendered it very friable, and it falls off in little scales; but if one is sufficiently skilful to cause it to reappear without damage, he is surprised to find their colors as vivid as they were two thousand years ago. It is true that in the light of day and in the sun, that this delicate tint fades very rapidly. If we have few entirely painted statuettes in our museums, this is because no caution was used in cleaning them at the time of discovery, and that having mostly fallen into the hands of ignorant peasants or of dealers too much hurried, they were scraped with a knife or even washed. But if one takes the same statuettes, so carelessly despoiled of their many colored ornament, and examines them under a lens, he will always find in the folds of the clothing and in the hollows of the clay some trace of the milk of lime or of color applied on it. In brief, without fear of advancing a paradox, one can affirm that in spite of appearances, all antique statues of terra cotta were painted." ¹

note 1. p. 229. Pottier. Les Statuettes etc. p. 252. On the sort of glaze sometimes applied on the nudes and the face on figures of great dimensions, see Pottier. Monuments et Memoirs. VI. p. 135 & 136.

When we have treated of the architecture, we have sought to define the part that polychromy has played and to measure its importance. The same question is proposed in regard to sculpture, and for one as for the other of these arts we are interested in presenting images, that by fidelity in reproduction should give the reader the appearance presented by the monuments on which our remarks are based, when new. We have our reasons for insisting on this. Doubtless since the Renaissance, edifices in western Europe have gradually

lost color, but still the tradition of polychrome architecture has never been completely interrupted. Men have under their eyes in Flanders, Italy and Even France, buildings into whose composition enter materials of various colors, brick or stone. One sees and dares churches that are ornamented by harmonious lines and the dead gold of old mosaics. In interiors, gilding is detached in the blue of the coffers, on the dark brown of the oaken beams or the white wainscot, and since the 16th century has never ceased to perform its part in the decoration of buildings. In these later times, men are charmed by the arts of the extreme Orient; now when they look on the tombs, pagodas and palaces of India, China and Japan, they find everywhere color in profusion on the surfaces of the walls and roofs, in the hollows and on the projections of the mouldings, and on the ornamental figures. Thus when it was demonstrated that antique art had not itself disdained that assistance of color, that on the banks of the Nile as in Greece, the boldest use was made of it, men did not fail to see architects, emboldened by these examples, attempt in concert to reestablish color in its rights.

To attain this result, our architects have not all used the same means. All these attempts have not been equally happy; but what it is important to state, is that cause of polychrome architecture has been very quickly won. When we shall expose the principal results of the discoveries that have proved, that the Greeks of the classical age have employed color for decorating at least some parts of their temples, we have almost feared lest we should be accused of losing our time in breaking in an open door, as commonly said.

It is not entirely the same for sculpture. When we shall attempt to establish that sculpture also was never forbidden to associate color with form in a certain measure, as an indispensable element of beauty, we shall offend a prejudice that reveals itself as more powerful and tenacious, than that over which Hittorf and Semper triumphed. This prejudice is connected with the training that the eyes of the practitioner and of the amateur have received for three centuries. But the effect of habits so contracted, men have ended by losing even the memory of the former regime, and yet since

our noble Romanesque and Gothic architecture are better known, one can affirm that the statuary completing those buildings must have necessarily been polychrome by even its destination. "Under the varied light of the gleam of stained glass, on the warm and colored ground of the painted walls, a white surface could not extend without shocking the eyes; for the middle ages colored to an extreme, and white light is the absence of all special color, being only a hole. Never could a statue retain the raw whiteness of stone or of marble without breaking the entire harmony of the edifice."¹

note 1.p.280. Courajod. La Polychromie, etc. p. 10. 1888.
(Extract from Memoires de la Societe nationale etc. vol.48).

This influence is confirmed by the facts, as proved both by the study of the monuments themselves and by the mentions contained in the texts of the times related thereto. Italian sculptors, even when they had ceased to work only for churches, continued to color their figures, whether made of wood or stone, modeled in stucco or clay. There are cited the colored statues and reliefs of Donatello, Verrocchio, Mino da Fiesole, Rossellino, Benedetto da Majano, of all the masters of the 15th century. It appears that Michelangelo was the first Tuscan sculptor that resolutely renounced the use of color. What decided that great artist to take this part and his contemporaries to follow his example is easily divined. His first works bear the mark of the profound impression made on him by the antique marbles, those that his patrons the Medicis had collected in their gardens and set in the walls of their palaces at Florence and Rome; now if these marbles, washed by time and cleaned by the restorers to whom they were left, still retained some traces of an ancient coloring, these were too faint to catch the eyes of those that sought there only the beauty of the movement and of the modeling. No one noticed them and if men continued for some time to produce painted stuccos, and glazed terra cottas in the style of Della Robbia for the decoration of churches, castles and villas, the opinion was established, that to render full justice to the form, grand sculpture must do without the assistance of color. In France, the same doctrine prevails although a little late. In the 15th century the polychromy of sculpture was then the

rule. Our entire Burgundian school practised it decisively and derived very happy effects from it, as one can prove in Dijon and at the Louvre itself before the tomb of Philippe Pot; one then sees in Flanders celebrated painters, like A. Andre Beauneveire and Jean Van Eyck, called to complete the work of the sculptor. Practices so strongly rooted could not disappear in a day. During the entire first half of the 16th century, Michel Colombe and Antoine Just remained faithful to it. The statues of terra cotta of the natural size that ornament the facade of the chateau of Gaillon were painted and gilded. The decoration of the chateau of Madrid executed for Francis I were also in the same style. If after the death of that prince French sculptors in imitation of Italian began to drop that custom, there will still some like Germain Pilon, who until about the end of the century continued to spread color on wood, stone and even bronze. On the beautiful funerary monument, whose principal figure is now in the Louvre, the robe clothing the chancellor de Birague was formerly painted red.

In the following century, the principle of monochrome statuary triumphed in France as beyond the mountains. Scarcely could one cite here and there any infraction of the custom, like that allowed himself by Pierre Paget, when he gilds and colors the caryatids that he sculptured in the facade of the arsenal at Toulon; but this is merely an exception explained by the ornamental charm of those images. When the same artist sculptured his Andromeda for the king, he refrained from risking the least touch of color, and color does not appear on any of the marbles, that people the alleys and shrubbery of Versailles; for the stronger reason that one nowhere in those gardens or in those of Marly, Vaux or of Mondon does one see on the background of verdure the gleam of vivid yellows and light blues of those faïences, whose gaiety charmed the eyes of the Valois on returning from their campaigns in Italy. Famous sculptors that worked for the king and the court thenceforth forbade all use of color. Polychrome sculpture was later practised only by obscure image-makers, especially in the distant provinces, who gained their living in the service of churches, occupying themselves in repairing or replacing the ancient colored

images, figures of virgins or saints, shepherds bending over the manger at Christmas, women and apostles grouped around tombs, that recall the burial and resurrection of Christ. In these conditions were employed very many artisans; but while these gradually rejuvenated the appearance of their principal types; they never aspired to carry into the fulfilment of their task the least care for invention and originality. To convince one's self of this, it suffices to view the statues of painted plaster, that all around S. Sulpice are shown in the windows of licensed furnishers of the rural clergy.

Then it is not under the influence of this inferior industry, that very recently French sculptors have again commenced to occupy themselves with polychrome statuary, and to ask themselves if its methods did not have their reason for existence, if by them they could not acquire resources and produce effects, that might chance to please a public whose taste had become broader. There was still again here to be taken into account the arts of the extreme Orient and of curiosities aroused among our contemporaries. This met with them and admired their a sculptor, who was no less a cold colorist, than the architect with whom he collaborated. However, what particularly contributed to overcome resistance and to cause conversions were the assertions of the historians of western art. Whether these studied antique art or that of the middle ages and of the early Renaissance, they had reached identical conclusions, not without themselves experiencing some surprise; they had recognized and had demonstrated, that neither the sculptors of ancient Greece nor those of France and Italy, before the triumph of what is called academism, had presumed to separate form from color with absolute rigor.. In the evolution of statuary it was a novelty, the divorce pronounced by an esthetics of very recent date between two elements, that abstract thought can can distinguish, one which ⁱⁿ nature mutually inspire each other. Statuary is required to subordinate one of those elements to the other, color to form; but subordination is not suppression, and the examples of great schools, whose memory we have recalled, suffice to cause to be comprehended what advantage the sculptor can find in certain

in certain cases by having recourse to the painter, so that with a light hand he adds to the work of the chisel the discreet caress of color.

When by the combined efforts of archaeologists and artists, the opinions of connoisseurs were warned and prepared, some artists were seen to attempt to restore polychrome sculpture. This was natural polychromy that was chiefly practised by those, who took the initiative in these innovations, or rather in this return to a past long despised. The example was given by Grimart in the restoration of Athena Parthenos executed by him more than 50 years since for the duke du Luynes; but it was only about the end of the last century that attempts were multiplied and the public took a taste for them. Men undertook to combine onyx, stones of different colors and dark or yellow metal with the whiteness of Parian, Carrara, or the more tender tints of ivory, to contrast colored draperies and the lightness of flesh. We shall limit ourselves to recalling the busts of Cordier, the elegant statuettes of Riviere, the Heloise of Allouart, the Bellona of Jerome, the Gallia of Moreau-Vautnier, with the collaboration of Dampé, and especially that beautiful figure of Nature disclosing her secrets, that Barrias exhibited in the Salon of 1899.¹ These attempts were connected with the tradition of the chryseleonantine statuary of the Greeks; they were favorably received. From the same effort and the same taste came other attempts. The ceramists Onolet, Dalpeyrat, Lachenal, Muller, etc., applied themselves to revive and acclimate among us the beautiful art of Della Robbia. One can judge of the effect obtained by the Bakers and A. Charpentier, which are attached to the walls of the old church~~xx~~ in the square of St. Germain-des-Prés. A method of the same kind was taken by Henri Cros with his opaque and colored glass pastes in his project of a mural fountain (Museum of the Luxembourg). The personages are there detached in light from a glaucous ground, whose tone recalls that of running water.

The success of these experiments encouraged other gold artists. They came ^{not} only to juxtapose materials of different kinds and colors, but to paint marble as did the Athenians in the 6th century B.C. The masterpiece is perhaps the Pa-

Tanagra of Jerome; that belongs to the museum of the Luxembourg since 1890. This is a figure of a nude woman, which personifies the charming industry of the Greek coroplasts; she holds in the left hand and exhibits, as if she had just finished it, one of those statuettes to which the little B Beotian city owes its celebrity. The figure is a dancer leaping within a golden circle and is entirely colored; it reproduces the tones found on terra cottas that have not lost the ornament that they once received from the brush; but on the large statue the artist has employed polychromy only with a reserve, that even becomes timidity. A scarcely sensible brown on the hair, a little black in the eyes, a little rose on the lips and on the nipples of the breasts, is all that represents the part of color, and again from the time that the statue was exhibited for the first time, the simple water colors have faded much. The sculptor only made an experiment there; he did not occupy himself then in giving these tones the necessary permanency, a result easily obtained by preparation with wax; this was the means employed for that purpose by the ancients. By penetrating the pores of the stone, the wax further aids in making the marble more resistant to atmospheric influences. However, what remains in the Tanagra is the softness of the white of a soft amber color, that the sculptor spread over this body of the woman. This tint is not a flesh tone; yet it has something much better than the natural tone of the stone, and recalls the warmth of the living flesh; it makes the raw whiteness of the neighboring marbles appear cold and hard. The artist solved in the practice the problem discussed at great length by our archaeologists.¹

Note 1.p.234. See the study of Collignon on this figure; Une statue polychrome etc. (Revue de l'Art etc.vol. VI. p. 181-188 and pl. in heliogravure).

Note 1.p.235. Jerome carried polychromy farther in more recent works. It is more boldly practiced on a bust of Sardan Bernhardt in marble, that I saw with him. The hair is tinted black. The eye is dark blue. Silver tones are scattered on the neck. In the same studio was seen a dancer in ivory and marble. The ivory is reserved for the nudes, its veins give the feeling of the flesh. The hair is blond and

and the cheeks are rosy. On the neck is a golden necklace. The drapery is green and white.

Is it desirable for these examples to find imitators, or to put the question in the same terms as used by one of the most refined connoisseurs and most learned historians of an ancient art, G. Treu, should we paint our statues?² To reply in the affirmative as we should be tempted to do, it would be necessary, like the author of the judicious and intelligent essay whose reading we recommend, to be able to insist on the prudence properly observed in the execution of the projected reform, in order to adapt polychromy to the conditions of a climate neither that of Egypt nor of Greece, and to the tastes of a civilization differing very greatly from that of the Christian middle ages. It would be necessary to entirely state a programme, to indicate all the stages of the route that the promoters of this reaction would have to follow to attain their aim, finally to show how under penalty of meeting only with indifference or hostility, they would be required to make the transition from the existing regime in sculpture to that to be restored to honor; only at that price could they have any chance to accustom the eyes of the public again to plays of color. The first result to be obtained is that one should interest himself in the attempts made in that way; if they are adroit and discreet, to curiosity will soon succeed sympathy, and men will commence again nearly everywhere to seek pleasure from effects long forgotten, to appreciate their expressive value and to take a lively and sincere pleasure in them.

Note 2.p.235. Sollen wir unsere Statuen bemalen? An essay by Prof. Dr. Georg Treu. 1884. On the exhibits in polychrome sculpture made in Germany in recent times, see by the same; Max Klinger als Bildhauer. 1900.

We can here only restrict ourselves to noting the encouraging experiments made by the artists in the matter of the doctrine, whose historical claims we have endeavored to recover and illustrate. It belongs to them to speak the last word in this discussion; now far from protesting in the name of routine or of a narrow esthetic dogmatism against conclusions reached by the learned, they bow before them; several, and not the least among them, have already endeavored

to become inspired to produce works that should confirm the correctness of our theories. We can only be grateful to them for these, and we expect and hope much from their goodwill and loyal assistance. If there be sculptors that have engaged to make good in this difficult undertaking, these are especially the French sculptors, with their influence on opinion, with the strong tradition of knowledge and of the great taste deposited in them, with which they know how to place in their efforts both invention and discretion, prudent wisdom and firm boldness.

Chapter IX. Sculpture from 776 to 480.

Divisions and plan of this study.

In a study of the whole, we have sought to state the ideas and to interpret the sentiments that archaic sculpture proposed to express; this was to indicate the themes that it treated by preference. We have shown how the religion, institutions and customs of the Grecian people favored the development of sculpture and in what sense they orientated it. We have finally stated what materials were employed by the statuary, and in what spirit he placed them in the work. These observations apply in a general way to all works dating from the period in question. The traits mentioned are found more or less marked everywhere; we shall see nearly all of them maintain themselves and persist in the course of the following centuries. The surroundings in which this evolution is produced will be modified but very slowly. The causes that we have tried to reach in their action exerted on the first manifestations of Grecian genius will not exhaust the efforts for a considerable time. Thus we find henceforth that we have defined the permanent characteristics, which until the last hour will form the originality of the arts of Greece, that in spite of so much destruction, we are best able to appreciate in the rich diversity of its simultaneous and successive creations.

We now have to study this variety itself, such as in space and time it displays itself with marvellous amplitude. An active and fruitful life like that of Grecian genius cannot be conceived without this variety, no more in the domain of art than in that of letters; this is explained both by the very long duration of that life and by the vast extent of the separated countries and scattered islands, where from the columns of Hercules to the extremes of the Euxine were built and prospered the Hellenic cities. The Greek people never formed a State in the modern sense of the word, one of those States of little value except by their capital, around which gravitate as humble satellites the provincial cities, as we say. The entire history of a people resolves itself into that of the cities among which it is divided. Cities of unequal importance, which all believe themselves having equal rights to complete independence, is what is

discerned by the eye of the historian. The natural obstacles or the distances separating all these cities further do not condemn them to an isolated life. Constant relations connect them with each other. Weak or strong, located on the continent or on the islands, these cities continually exchanged with each other their ideas and the products of their soil or of their workshops. In pairs or groups, they concluded agreements of amity for peace and war, while at other times they engaged in single combats or rather confederated to engage in bitter strife, league against league. Thus they always are in contact with each other; but they never come to mix or are confused. Each has its gods and worship, its laws and customs, and often a special dialect; it has its particular industries, and it has its literature and arts, when it is opulent and populous, when high ambitions are allowed to it. Consider Grecian poetry and its principal kinds; among these may be said to be not one, which by its origin is not connected with a single city or a group of neighboring and closely related cities, not one that least during its formative period, with the themes and rhythmic forms that determine it, has not had there its own domicile and true native land within the limits of some privileged district.

It is with art as with letters; the effort is distributed and the production is localized in the same manner. Doubtless there are not so many schools as cities. Greece could not supply such an expenditure of invention, however overflowing it was with life and sap. Besides what defines a school is a certain fashion of seeing and of rendering nature. The different systems of interpretation comprised in sculpture respond to different tendencies between which hesitates the mind of man, when he undertakes to express ideas by forms. Now always from one century and one people to another, one sees the same methods reappear under different appearances and names. Each represents the momentary triumph of one of the primordial tendencies, that in turn prevail according to place and time; criticism and its analyses have no trouble in demonstrating that these are in very limited number. This has restricted the number of its schools among this people, in which the independent cities are counted by

hundreds, and where art was everywhere more or less in honor. There is no school in the proper sense of the word, except where was inaugurated an original method of expression, where was created a style, which by the instruction in the studio and the prestige of success, was transmitted to the artists working near the master, to his contemporaries and his immediate successors. According to circumstances the effects of this action are prolonged for a longer or shorter time and are propagated more or less farther. An hour will come in the evolution of Grecian art, in which by virtue of masterpieces everywhere imposed for admiration, Attic art will reign almost without a rival in the Hellenic world. But in the 5th century there exists nothing like that voluntarily accepted supremacy. Everywhere the painter and sculptor do their best, to embody the gods or heroes born from the imagination of the poets, to represent the myths that these have related, finally to realize a certain conception of beauty. This the age of ardent and sincere research, of those experiments that gradually form the education in sculpture. These attempts are undertaken by each regional group of artists, and are pursued at their will with entire independence; thus each of them has its inclinations, preferences, its entirely personal action; it has laid out for itself the paths in which it proceeds to the solution of the problem. All these groups are further in constant relations with each other; if one perfects the means of execution and succeeds in better differentiating the types, all will soon have profited by the advance made by the initiative of a certain school, to which will return the merit of having been for the moment most inventive and most innovating. About this time by the coexistence and the concurrence of local schools, Greece best justifies the definition, that has often been given, that it is both unity and diversity; never has the whole had more unity in the effort, in common aspirations toward one ideal, and more diversity in the work, in the multiple creations of the Hellenic mind and genius.

This archaic Greece which produced so much, this Greece that scarcely reveals itself to our curiosity except by monuments nearly all anonymous and generally more or less mutilated, what makes us best understand it is the Italy of the

Renaissance. The latter is better known to us by written documents; but what first of all gives us a living and faithful representation of it is all that remains to us of the works of its artists, scattered in the museums or still forming rich and beautiful entireties in the noble edifices in which they are incorporated, in spite of so many losses forever to be regretted. No part of the world has seen such an abundant and brilliant blossoming; one cannot find elsewhere such direct and striking analogies. Among the autonomous cities that all nourish high ambitions, and claim to eclipse their rivals by their superiority in the arts, there is the same emulation and the same division of labor, each producing a different note in this concert of efforts. In the first years of the 14th century at Florence, Giotto opens the way in which will engage so many illustrious masters, who will cover by their frescos the walls of palaces and churches of their native city and in the entire middle valley of the Arno; but quite near that and in another Tuscan valley, Siena already possessed in the course of the preceding century a school of painting, whose reputation long balanced in Italy that of the Florentine school. Leave Tuscany; pass the Apennines and on the other side of the mountains these centres of radiation will appear to you as numerous and as near together. For example, see Padua, where painting was cultivated very early; even at the moment when Mantegna was the glory of that school, it gave birth to the Venetian school, where one will soon learn how far the brush can carry the magic and charm of color, both in fresco and on the canvas.

It is the same for sculpture. In the 13th century at Pisa suddenly and without any preceding sign to announce this phenomenon, one sees disengaged from the marble by the chisels of Nicolas and Giovanni Pisano figures, in which one feels by what these have in character of freedom, that the artist is inspired directly by nature, while the nobility of certain movements and of certain draperies evidences the intelligent curiosity with which he has studied the antique monuments presented to his eyes in that old Roman city. Soon after from the following century Florence, situated a little above on the same river, created with Ghiberti and Donatello

an art, that today perhaps touches us more vividly and gives us more profound emotions than the best works of Greece; but even when this Florentine art has conquered a sort of regal primacy in all Italy by the genius of Michelangelo, many cities also possess sculptors whose talent lived an independent and very personal life. Their works have scarcely passed the limits of their native city and its suburbs. There also they are found nearly all gathered together; thus for a long time they produced for their authors only an entirely local reputation. Only in our days, a criticism that wished to see and compare all has rendered justice to the rare qualities of strength and grace, that these artists have displayed; it has recognized and defined their originality. The list would be long, if these chiefs of schools whose titles have recently been uncovered and brought to light by the historians of Italian art. At Lucca, Matteo Civitali lavished in churches and palaces statues and reliefs of exquisite grace, ornaments of exquisite design, that his pupils and workmen imitated after his designs. In Lombardy is the group of skillful decorators, who from generation to generation devoted themselves to decorate the Certosa of Pavia by their works. At Venice, to the Lombardi and Bregni, Leonardo and later Sansovino, we owe, carved on their tombs among allegorical figures and scenes of battles and triumphs, the effigies of all those doges, admirals and captains, that form the grandeur of the republic and founded its vast empire over seas. There is not even a city of the second order like Modena, which does not also have its specialty, a form of art belonging to it in particular. Guido Mazzoni and Antonio Begarelli there are the brilliant rivals of the Tuscan Della Robbia in the sculpture of terra cotta, in which they are distinguished, especially the former, by the coldness and almost brutal freedom of their realism.

For the entire period fruitful in marvels, which is comprised between the appearance of Giotto and the death of Raphael, between the time when Ghiberti carved the doors of the baptistery of S. John, and when Michelangelo sculptured the superhuman figures of the chapel of the Medicis and of the tomb of Julius II, there can be no question of seeking the principal lines of the history in a long list of memorabilia.

works and the names of artists arranged in order of dates. To adopt this method would be to condemn one's self to give the reader only a very false ideal of the life of this art and of its organic development. The chronological order, while retaining its rights to be taken into serious consideration, must here subordinate itself to the geographical order. What will be placed in the first plane are the schools themselves, at least all of them that have created a style and original types. Each school will be studied separately like a living person, who had his infancy and youth, maturity and old age; according to the importance of the part that it played in the world of art, the monograph devoted to it will have more or less extensive treatment, and will offer more or less interest.

When the historian balances the work accomplished by each of these groups, he will necessarily take into account the sequence of the men and the works. By virtue of the same principle, he will indicate the cities, that have distanced their rivals in this resurrection of the taste for the art and of the feeling for form. Besides, he will show the effort and progress operating at nearly the same time in different directions; but he will not restrict himself to establishing synchronisms based on a comparison of the monuments. Those collective entities, the schools are connected together by relations that their obscurity cannot lose from view. There was too little distance between the cities and the relations of politics and commerce were too close for them to be able to live isolated; between them were a constant action and reaction. Certain schools, like that of Siena in painting and of Pisa for sculpture, were very precocious. Their examples aroused the genius that still slumbered at Florence. Giotto certainly saw and studied at Siena and in its vicinity the frescoes of Duccio and his oils. At Pisa the Florentine Arnolfo di Cambio were to learn the profession of a sculptor, which he practised at the same time as that of architect, and one of the last of the Pisan masters, Andrea Pisano, went to work on the doors of the baptistery of Florence near Ghiberti. In the 14th and 15th centuries was scarcely an artist of the first rank, that the calls of the princes and clergy did not induce to leave his native

city, and produce in other cities works, which served there as models. Thus Giotto went to paint at Assisi, Rome and Naples; his masterpiece is perhaps the series of paintings that he executed in the chapel of S. Maria nelle Arène at Padua. Likewise for Padua Donatello cast the first great equestrian statue since antiquity, that a city of Italy had seen erected on one of its places, the statue of Gattamelata. Sienese painters occupied themselves in decorating sometimes the churches of Naples and sometimes the palace of the Popes at Avignon. The Florentines Orcagna and Benozzi Gozzoli covered by their frescos the walls of the Campo Santo of Pisa, and until the 16th century, when so many primitive paintings were effaced to give place to those of Raphael and Michelangelo, there was no need to visit Florence and its monastery of S. Mark to taste the mystic grace of Fra Angelico da Fiesole; the charming master was also well represented in that Rome in which he died and was buried.

Why have we thus left ancient Greece for modern Italy? There is only an apparent digression. By studying the Italy of the Renaissance, the critic succeeds in rendering an accurate account of the course that he must pursue to write the history of Grecian art; by aiding himself by the comparison thus initiated, he will fix the general arrangement of the principal lines of his plan. If he had at command monuments sufficiently numerous and as well preserved as those offered to the historian of Italian art, if he could cite evidence as explicit and as certain, he would no longer experience the embarrassment, and I might say almost the fear, that he now feels before the difficulties of his task. He would then bring into full light, with their proper appearance the special characteristics, the great schools, each of which responds more particularly to one of the tendencies everywhere obeyed by art in one of the conjectured phases of its evolution. The analysis would be the same in many cases, merely carried farther. It resolves these groups into their elements; it distinguishes the different cities, that while pursuing the same ideal have had an unequal and personal part in that general work. In this history each of these cities would have its page, that brief or lengthy would state what it had attempted in the domain of sculpture.

Unfortunately, for undertaking a history of Greek art, one cannot count on resources comparable to those offered by Italy to whoever desires to become its historian. In Greece certain schools are represented by quite numerous monuments; nothing or scarcely anything remains from others. Not because of their value or mediocrity have certain works survived and certain others have perished. Chance alone has controlled this diversity of fortunes. Here the sites of ancient cities have been abandoned. Far from the attacks of man, the edifices have only had to contend against the injuries of time, and beneath the ruoish of entablatures overthrown by seismic shocks, the sculptures of the pediments and friezes come to light, scarcely injured by their fall. On the contrary, urban life is prolonged and the past is destroyed by the use of the materials again. It has sometimes sufficed for some lime kilns established in the midst of the ruins, to devour the entire work of a master. Hence what uncertainties and perplexities, when it comes to define the style of the different schools! A marble leaves the earth in Attica, Argolis, Laconia or Beotia; but the place where the find is made is not of itself a sure indication. Like the Italian artists, the Greek artists were quite nomads. Yet there are certain kinds of works, for example the funerary steles, that assuming a continued production and low price, could scarcely have been made except at the locality and by the artisans of the country. When these steles are found somewhere in numbers, very similar to each other, however nasty the execution, one has reason to seek there at least certain traits, that characterize the manufacture of the local school. Others by which this determination is completed, one is tempted to demand from works of greater value, from those figures of the gods and heroes that decorate the temples; but those have never received a signature, or mostly come to us separated from the bases that bear the inscription. We are ignorant of the name and country of the artist; one is much hindered in making use of these marbles without inscriptions, and very frequently one does not know whether to credit them to the workshop of the country, or to that they were imported. To express some probable conjectures, one has recourse to indications furnished by authors

on the style of the principal ~~entire~~ of schools; but this information is meagre and confused; further, one can but very imperfectly control it by the study of the works, with very rare exceptions, these being known only by copies made in the Roman period, copies that present only a more or less weakened reflection of the style of the original that they pretend to reproduce.

Many of our doubts would be removed if we had for Greek artists biographies, analogous to the Lives of the best painters, sculptors and architects written by the Tuscan Vasari, at the time when the star of the Renaissance declined and was going to be extinguished. In spite of all the gaps and errors found there, this collection still remains for the history of Italian art the principal source and starting point of all serious investigation. On the contrary for Greece, we have nothing to correspond to these notices written by a professional man, who had personally known the most glorious of the masters of whom he speaks, and who saw with his own eyes nearly all the monuments that he mentions. For lack of this assistance, we are reduced to question the dry and obscure compilation of Pliny, that brief history of sculpture contained in books 34, 35 and 36 of the Natural History. Pliny doubtless rendered us an important service, when to conform to the taste of his contemporaries, he judged it well to add to the description of metals, rocks and materials of all kinds, these chapters, that were in his mind only superfluous, yet have preserved for us precious extracts from any Greek and Latin books now lost; but in studying it with some care, one only too strongly feels that the author himself was never interested in the arts of design, which he saw himself compelled to include in his encyclopaedia. Occupied night and day in examining the two thousand volumes, whose substance he says that he appropriated,¹ did he never have leisure to behold with some emotion or even some curiosity a statue or a painting? He never worked excepting on the writings of his predecessors, and yet he read them too much and too rapidly to always find time to comprehend properly what he noted, or what his secretaries copied for him.²

note 1.p.244. Pliny. H.M. Preface. Sect. 17, 18.

note 2.p.245. On his mode of working, see the letter of

Pliny the younger, his nephew and admirer, to Raeburn Macer. (Letters. III. 5. Sects. 10-12, 14-13).

What we seek in vain in Pliny, circumstantial tales that replace the masters in the surroundings in which they lived, and that grouped around them their pupils and successors, accurate judgments that clearly define the peculiarities of their technics, can we demand them from Pausanias? He was not sufficiently intelligent to be able to become a refined connoisseur; but in the course of his travels he did not cease to have his eyes open, and he surveyed thousands of monuments; thus he did not forbid himself to give his opinion occasionally on questions of style and origin. He also frequently summarizes authentic documents; he cites the dedications and signatures that he has read inscribed on the bases of statues and on the architraves of edifices; but at the same time how many ~~possible tales~~ he records without indicating reserves, how many false attributions are taken from the garrulous exegetes or sacristans, each of which to increase the expected gratuity showed the master's works to visitors, that he took through the sanctuary! There again the example of Italy can warn and enlighten us; modern criticism has had much to do to clear the ground encumbered by the boasts of guides and by interested pretensions of the curators and guardians of museums; it has had to reject hundreds of works of Leonardo da Vinci, of Michelangelo, Raphael and Titian, certainly apocryphal or justly suspected.

Assume a Pausanias less credulous and more judicious, yet it would not be always there in the form of a cook, that one would find the elements destined to compose the fabric of the history of the arts of Greece. When Pausanias names a sculptor or painter as the author of a work mentioned by him, he does not compel himself to recall either when the artist lived or his other titles to fame. He assumes that this date and these titles are known to the reader. This information, that would have supplemented the insufficiency of the monuments, we should have found in other writers, if the treasury of ancient literature had been entirely preserved to us. In fact antiquity had its Vasaris, artists that undertook to write the history of the art that they practised with talent. Xenocrates of Sicyon, a bronze-worker and

pupil of Lysippos, appears to have carried onto that study a remarkable spirit of observation and analysis; his principal care was to follow step by step sculpture in its ascending course, and to explain by the initiative of a famous master each advance accomplished. A little later at Pergamon, Antigone of Carystos, painter and sculptor, ornamented his tale more and continued it to his own time, and resumed the theme treated by Xenocrates. Pasiteles, an Italian Greek exhibited at Rome as sculptor and chaser, where he was much in fashion about the middle of the first century B.C. While chiseling marble and hammering metal, we know from Pliny that he had published five books devoted "to all the celebrated works in the entire world."¹ There was also Duris of Samos, who lived in the 4th century. Duris had never handled either brush or chisel; but the past of Greece in all its forms excited his curiosity. A work by him is cited with the title; On painters, and there is reason to believe that he was equally occupied with sculptors. He had a taste for anecdotes and related them with vivacity. Plutarch borrowed much from him, while sometimes asking what confidence was merited. According to all appearance, from him came most of those that Pliny inserted in his chapters.

Note 1. p. 246. Pliny. N. N. XXXVI. 40. (Latin).

If the names of these authors with many others appear on the lists that Pliny made of his sources, one would be in error to conclude that he directly consulted their writings. The critics that have carefully studied that portion of his work agree in thinking, that he never read Xenocrates, Antigone, Pasiteles nor Duris, or that he profited by the treatises in which painters like Parrhasius and Apelles explained the theory of the art in which they were illustrious. Even when he invokes the evidence of these writers, one finds only a quotation at second and perhaps sometimes at third hand. It is especially Varro that succeeded Pliny, and who in his great work, Antiquities of human and divine things in 41 books, who also gave a summary of the history of the arts. Varro knew Greek well and had lived at Athens; differently from Pliny, who had no other passion than for reading and loved the arts; he possessed bronzes and marbles, that decorated his rich library; but he had written 74

different works, which altogether made more than 600 books or volumes. When one produced so much, even if he lived 91 years like Varro, he did not always have the leisure to refer always to the sources. I imagine that for these chapters of his encyclopedia, Varro must also have very closely restricted the field of his researches; he would be content to translate and arrange one or more of the works that we have mentioned, mingling with them his memories and personal judgements. Thus proceeded nearly always those polygraphers, whose race was born in Ptolemaic Egypt. From Alexandria and Pergamon to Rome and Constantinople, they follow each other thus, copying each other and at each borrowing, the newcomer feels that the curiosity of the public is lessened, and shortens the notice that he takes from his predecessors.¹

Note 1. p. 247. To appreciate the value of these indexes, one should consult the excellent edition that Miss E. Sellers has given of the chapters in question of three books of the Natural History (The elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art, translated by K. Jex-Blake, with commentary and historical introduction by E. Sellers, and additional notes contributed by Dr. Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. London. 1898). In the learned and judicious introduction that opens the volume, Miss Sellers has summarized well the earlier works, and has deduced from them conclusions or rather hypotheses, that seem best justified. We have only had to follow this very safe guide and to accord with her opinion. Since the publication of the work of Miss Sellers, the question of the sources of Pliny has again given occasion for an important Memoir of A. Kalkmann, *die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius*. Berlin. 1898.

If by the effect of these habits, Varro and especially Pliny already scarcely worked except with abridgements or summaries, as called by our middle ages, where the author by eliminating all picturesque and living detail succeeded in condensing into a few pages the essentials of all science or of all history, there must be thenceforth but very few readers of writings like those of Xenocrates and of Antigonos, which extended at length on a single thing. Thus there was no reason to multiply copies of manuscripts. When two or three great public libraries were burned, there was every

chance that it was no longer possible to find a single copy of those books. Not one of them escaped destruction. We have not even a fragment, nothing resembling those confessed borrowings made from earlier historians by Diodorus, Strabo and Plutarch; these follow very closely the authorities to which they refer, so that one can know how the historian called in evidence presented the facts, and sometimes even divine what was his procedure in composition and style. Nothing of this in Pliny, and it is only by conjectures that lead more or less to discussion, that one can discern what his statement owes to certain Greek authors, who furnished him with the primary elements. Of all that special literature, there has not come to us a single text of a quotation, a single authentic fragment.

Modern erudition has done its best to fill that gap, and none has succeeded better in this than Julius Overbeck. He applied himself to find and transcribe in the ancient authors all texts far or near, that relate to the lives of artists and their works. He has collected and grouped these texts under heads, that make this collection the most convenient and most useful of instruments of work. This is a precious help, a book admirable in its kind, the *Antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*;¹ the archaeologist always has it open on his table; but if the evidences so collected seem at first sight to form an imposing entirety, how many regrets and deceitions do they cause to those who undertake to profit by them! Borrowed from writers, most of whom have no competence in these matters, many of whom are of a very late epoch, they frequently contradict each other. Besides, between literary and art works are comparisons that furnish only very uncertain light; there are brief allusions, that were easily understood by contemporaries, but which embarrass us more than they instruct us, that have not under our eyes the monuments which they saw; they make the discussions eternal, instead of deciding them.

Note 1. p. 248. Leipzig. Engelmann. 1868.

In these conditions, the historian of Grecian art cannot conceive the hope of filling the framework, whose design is furnished by that in which are distributed the marvellously

varied creations of the genius of the Italian Renaissance, in an order that follows the very movement of the life. He will then resign himself to leave vacancies, not to fill all the compartments as he would; but those should be sufficiently spacious and the outlines must be sufficiently clearly defined, that from today the known monuments fall into their rank, and that in future all that excavations bring to light can find their indicated place near the works, to which they appear to be connected by their source and by the peculiarities of their style.

It is further important in this classification not to multiply the divisions too much, to sacrifice neither diversity to unity, nor unity to diversity. It is essential to use here neither divisions nor subdivisions. Most Grecian cities of some importance were workshops of sculpture; only a small number of those cities had schools in the proper sense of the word, i.e., groups of artists that have made innovations in the art, who have represented in it an original interpretation of the living form. It is important that none of these schools should be forgotten; as far as permitted by the insufficiency of the documents, each of them should be judged and defined according to the characteristics marked in the monuments, that one believes it correct to attribute to it. Between certain schools, these characteristics present very sensible differences in composition and fabrication. Also on the contrary, only by slight shades are distinguished the works of schools, each of which had its independent life and its famous masters, as known by authors and by inscriptions; with some variations only in the choice of types and in processes of execution, it is the same manner of comprehending form, the same conception of the beautiful. These significant resemblances are found especially where cities are near neighbors, and where those affinities exist between them, created by the identity of race and the use of the same dialect, as well as the common part taken in the charges and advantages of the same political association.

The classification based on the study of the monuments will thus correspond in a certain measure to that based on the geographical arrangement; but it must not be confused

with that. There are certain schools whose effect is felt at a distance; they become overseas the metropolises of distant colonies, where men were inspired by their example, while retaining some initiative and some liberty. In the last analysis, it will always be necessary to return to the comparison of styles: according to this criterion will one connect together those schools which appear to have aspired to the same ideal. Those schools are sisters german or are related in different degrees, and will be grouped in families, and this mode of grouping will give results, that on the whole will agree with those to which the Greeks arrived, when under the form of a fictitious genealogy dear to them, they distributed the descendants of Hellen, their mythical ancestor, into several great families, among which the Ionians and Dorians occupied the first rank. We shall again find the Ionians and Dorians in ^{the} sequence of this history. In the nature and quality of the works of art that we shall have to estimate, one will feel manifested the opposition of the two geniuses, that even by the evidence of the ancients, characterized the two most important and most visible portions of the Hellenic race. Between the two will Athens take its place apart, that Athens which is located between the two streams and at their confluence, and has received the benefit of all those experiments made elsewhere by other hands, and in the domain of sculpture as in that of letters and of pure thought, has always said the last word and has brought everything to perfection.

The three grand divisions that we propose to establish in this history of archaic sculpture, following the method whose principle has been stated, will then be the following.

1. Asian Greece and the islands of the Egean sea.
2. Peloponessus, central Greece, and Grecian colonies of the West.
3. Attica.

According to one of the most authoritative masters of criticism, there is reason to establish another group, that of the sculptors of northern Greece. From the hour when this idea was expressed, the number of monuments that came from that region has not ceased to increase, and the studies made of them have rather opposed than confirmed the theory of archaic

It seems proper to regard northern Greece, i.e., Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace and the islands dependent on them as a neutral ground, where from different sides came the best artists of the time. On the coasts of Propontis, in the Chersonesus and the Thracian archipelago, the influence of the Ionian masters appears to have been dominant; but it made itself felt much farther, even in the valleys of the Nestos, Strymon and Peneus. At Larissa and at Pella have also been found works whose authors seem to have been inspired rather by examples of the Attic or of the Peloponessian schools.

Chapter X. Sculpture from 776 to 480.

Asian Greece and the islands of the Egean sea.

1. Asian Greece; its Limits and Character.

The territory that we assign to the group of schools that represents the effort and contribution of the oriental Greeks is very vast. On the entire coast of Asia Minor from the extremity of the Euxine sea to the bay of Issos, the Grecian cities succeeded each other in a series, like the beads of a long and curved rosary. In the west of that peninsula they were very near each other, established at the mouths of all the fertile valleys and principal roads of the interior, mistresses of all the fine roads and all well enclosed harbors. Elsewhere on the northern and southern shores they were scattered; there also they held positions that were best suited to the development of agriculture, industry and commerce on land and sea. It was the same on all the great islands near the Asian coast, from those of the Thracian archipelago to Rhodes and Cyprus.

By the colonies that it had placed on the coasts of Colchis, Scythia and Thrace, this frontier Greece was seen in Europe on large areas, where the barbarous peoples of the North gathered, either in the folds of the mountains without roads, or on the indefinite extent of the unknown plain. On the contrary, in Asia it adjoined kingdoms like Persia and Lydia, that early and by the intermediary of the Syro-Cappadocians, entered into relations with those great empires of the basin of the Euphrates, where civilization dated to such a distant age. Finally, these coasts whose contour was connected at one end to that of the Syrian shore, were the first that the Phoenicians frequented, when they first began to leave their fixed ports to roam the sea. From those ports that they had longest held as fixed establishments in Grecian countries, they latest retreated.

On the narrow band of country that Hellenism had appropriated around the exterior of Asia Minor were found the Eolians, Ionians, and Dorians about the 7th century. The three great tribes whose union composed the Greek nation shared this territory and the islands, separated from it by straits crossed in an hour's sail. About the beginning of the historical period, between these groups were marked differences.

in the dialects, institutions and customs. How and for what reasons could the historian of art believe himself to be in the right to bring together these elements, and to regard them as closely connected parts of one entirety? To justify the proposed fusion, we shall not insist on the similarity of the climate and of the nature of the soil. What caused those very peculiar conditions of life in eastern Greece is, that it was entirely enclosed by mountains that served as a border for the plateau of Asia Minor, across which by the routes followed by the caravans of Nineveh and Babylon with merchandise that came from the industrial centres traveled ideas, and with the ideas were the symbols and art forms that they expressed: they were also neighbors of the Phoenicians, and from the 7th century by their example had entered into direct relations with Egypt. Whether its cities were Eolian, Ionian or Dorian, they furnished when necessary mercenaries to the armies of Psammetichos and of Amasis, or interpreters in the bazaars of Sais and of Memphis; few were not represented in the population of the Grecian colonies of the Delta. Nothing of the kind among the Greeks of Europe. The half-barbarous tribes with which they were in contact by Epirus and Thessaly had nothing to learn from them: they lived on their own ground, or if to enrich their repertory, very poor in the time that they only practised the geometrical style, they likewise made use of models offered to them by exotic art, the types and motives of this art scarcely reaching them except by the intermediary of the Greeks of Asia.

If in this respect the situation is the same for all the oriental Greeks, on the other hand, these appear to us distributed along a great length of coast and on the numerous islands near those shores. When one looks on the map, one asks himself what agreement, even tacit, could be established between such scattered cities, how there could be there in the matter of sculpture a common inspiration and some unity in effort. This is because this multiple and diffused world of Asian Greece had its vital centre, its heart whose beats were felt even to the extremities of the body that it animated, and this centre was Ionia with its great and populous cities, industrial and commercial, Chios, Samos, Ege-

Ephesus and especially Miletus, the Miletus that held the honor of having founded more than 30 colonies on the shores of the Hellespont, Propontis and Euxine. There was truly performed the work of invention and creation; there was formed a style whose impression is found as well on the monuments discovered in Lycia as on those from the cities of Mysia, Thrace and the islands dependent on them. Everywhere the artists trained in the Ionian workshops give the tone and impose the methods and types with which their professional education had familiarized them. When the historian speaks of the oriental Greeks and of the part that they played in the development and progress of the arts of design, he then has in view particularly Ionia; Asian Greece and Ionia are nearly synonymous terms for him.

In Greece the flight of poetry preceded that of sculpture by several centuries. The songs that furnished the primary material perhaps originated in Europe in the Achaean clans; among the Eolian tribes in Asia they began to write and to be arranged in the manner of a poem; but if the Iliad and Odyssey came from them, this was by the work of the Ionian rhapsodists of Chios. Later among the Eolians of Lesbos, Terpander in composing his poems or melodic types by the aid of elements borrowed from the Lydians and Phrygians, opened the way to Grecian music and its future developments. Also in that island expanded one of the most charming flowers of the spring of Greece, the ode of Alceus and of Sappho; but about the same time in Ionia with Archilochus, Anacreon and Simonides, lyric poetry attempted other themes, invented other metres and other rhythms, whose effect was no less original and brilliant. Callinos of Ephesus, was first strongly interested in the elegy and in the contests and perils of the city. Finally, what practically marks the preeminence of the Ionians and the superiority of their minds is the predominating part, that they played as creators of history and of geography, when then originated with Cadmus, Hecataeus of Miletus, Scylax of Caryanda, and as founders of the science, that by perfecting from century to century its methods of investigation, ended in becoming the modern science. Daughter of the curiosity aroused by the sight of the world, science commenced to attempt research in truth by the aid of

meditations of Thales, Anaximander of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Anaximander of Colophon, Pythagoras of Samos and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae. These men had divinations of surprising accuracy. Later discoveries have sometimes been merely the experimental confirmations of their hypotheses.

With the progress of industry and of the manual trades, the moment had come in which it also wished to translate them into forms. Why then did not all its work in sculpture bear the mark of the powerful faculties, which had until then been manifested only in its poetical and philosophical works? At the beginning of the 6th century, the Ionian schools of sculpture are in advance of those on the European continent; but what escapes us are the starting point and the series of efforts by which these artists attained the degree of mastery then reached. We only possess very incomplete documents for attempting to mark the phases of this development. And nowhere has the soil of the principal cities of Ionia been sounded to the virgin earth or the solid rock, like that of the citadel of Athens in 1686. One cannot cite in Asian Greece any find, like that of the painted statues buried in the rubbish of the Acropolis, that would enable the archaeologist to attend the first attempts of the chisel.¹ When one finds the monuments in soft stone, they do not appear to be earlier than the sculptures in marble; they do not represent an earlier period of art, that succeeding sculpture in wood and continuing its technique. Ionia only reveals itself in the second period of its evolution, already emancipated by the use it made of marble. Even for this period, we possess only a series of archaic works of Ionian sculpture, in which one can follow from one generation to another the course and progress of the art; that forms the seated statues of the alley of the Branchides; but these series of images are so far from presenting to us the richness and variety furnished to us by European Greece, either by the excavations of Athens and Eleusis, or those of the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Beotia. Thus here we cannot ascend to the origins except by analogy and reasoning, and even for the period when the chisel has already conquered some certainty and some freedom, one scarcely has any fragments whose true source is always accurately known. In the

chain that one endeavors to restore, many links are wanting.

Note 1. p. 255. The excavations that an Austrian expedition made at Ephesus two or three years since, scarcely revealed more than the arrangements and detached only the edifices of Roman Ephesus. On their results, see the summary reports published in the *Jahreshefte* of the Archaeological Institute of Vienna. Vol. III, supplement, p. 88; Vol. V, p. 54.

The reliefs that ornament the architrave and frieze of the temple of Assos forms a separate group of marked peculiarity in the entirety of the monuments of Ionian sculptures. By the choice of the themes that they represent and by the character of their execution, they are distinguished from all those found in the region, whose limits we have traced. One cannot find there a trait that connects them to one rather than another of the three schools, that we believe ourselves able to recognize in Ionia. For these reasons, then the description of the sculptures of Assos will form a preface to this study.

2. The Reliefs of the Temple of Assos.

To the collaboration of the Eolians and Ionians, or better said, to the concert of their sometimes successive and sometimes simultaneous efforts, that Asian Greece owes epic poetry and the most ancient kinds of lyric poetry, those to which remain attached the names of Alcæus and of Archilochus. This fertile emulation of two families, of the tribe, we found again in the history of the arts of design, when we studied the origins of architecture. Recent excavations have brought to light the very active part which the Eolian architects took in the elaboration of one of the noblest forms created by Grecian genius, that of the capital called Ionic; they have also proved, that among the Eolians on the island of Lesbos and on the main land, another type was either borrowed from Egypt or imagined, characterized by the exclusive use of foliage for the decoration of the capital, a type to which we have given the name of Eolian order.² In these conditions, it seems that we should expect to find in ^{the} history of sculpture entirely similar phenomena, and recognize that there as well, progress was made by the cooperation of two nearly related and nearly adjacent groups.

This foresight is not confirmed by the facts. Neither an-

authors not inscriptions have preserved to us the name of a single Eolian sculptor, and in the entire extent of the territory of ancient Eolis, has been discovered only a single monument of archaic sculpture, that presents some interest, the series of reliefs of Assos.

The American excavations in 1881 corrected the errors committed by the explorer, who first made known the temple of Assos, and they increased the number of fragments found of its sculptured ornamentation. From the drawings of the architect who conducted that campaign, we have presented here the plan of the temple and the elevation of its restored facade;¹ but we have not been able to accept the conclusions in which he ended. According to him the temple was only built in the 5th century in one of the years following the battle of Mycale. It would have only a false air of very high antiquity. The traits giving it that appearance are explained by ^{the} provincialism of a little city lost in a remote district of Mysia.² What appears to us to render this hypothesis inadmissible is first the general system of proportions, such as results for this temple from the very figures of Clarke. The tables that we have made, according to the criterion of placing Doric temples in the probable order of time, place the temple of Assos between the old temple of Corinth and the most ancient temples of Selinonte.³ Also see what agrees with the deductions that we have drawn from the members by which these relations are expressed; the edifice appears to date from a time when Grecian architecture is still trying experiments, that it will soon repudiate as awkward and unwelcome. This is revealed by the method taken here to place the chief work of the sculptor in a member of the entablature, that only presents a smooth surface on all other temples. In fact if at Assos as on many other temples, there were sculptured metopes in the frieze on the principal facade, below these were other reliefs decorating the entire long band of the architrave, and even those first attracted attention by extending over a greater space. Now in 476 had already been built in all parts of the Grecian world too many Doric temples, for there not to be established certain rules, the result of experience, to which architects conformed in the general arrangement

of the whole, while reserving to themselves the power of innovation in details.¹

note 1.p.257. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. pls. 34, 35.

note 2.p.257. J. T. Clarke. Report on the Investigations at Assos. 1881. Boston. 1882. This conjecture is only proposed there; Clarke promised to develop and justify it in a later Memoir, that has never appeared. At the moment when we go to press, we received the first part of the great work in preparation for twenty years. Its title is: - Expedition of the Archaeological Institute of America. Investigations at Assos, drawings and photographs of the buildings and objects discovered during the excavations of 1881, 1882 and 1883, by J. T. Clarke, F. H. Bacon and R. Koldewey, edited with explanatory notes by F. Bacon. London, Cambridge, Leipzig. The first part is the only one that we have seen, and contains only the story of the excavations and the description of the agora. (No more ever published). Thus we cannot know whether Clarke persisted in a hypothesis, which so far as we know, has not been accepted by any archaeologist with any authority.

note 3.p.257. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 501, 505; Pls. C and D.

note 1.p.258. The temple of Assos also presents another anomaly of less importance; this is the absence of drops below the triglyphs on the architrave.

There is nothing in the character of the reliefs of Assos, that does not accord with the views suggested to us by the study of the architecture of the temple. Doubtless the material in which they are cut, a trachyte of dark color and coarse grain, contributes to give them a very rude appearance. It has been supposed that when new, they were covered by stucco, which permitted a refinement that has vanished. The conjecture does not fail to appear plausible; on many edifices of Greece proper and Sicily, the architect thus disguised the coarseness of the material; but now has it been proved that he had recourse to that artifice? Was it not by the discovery of still adherent fragments of stucco to the shelly limestone, especially in the crevices? Now nothing like this has been indicated here by anyone, that has studied the ruins of the temple.

The reliefs of Assos are divided between the Louvre and the Ottoman museum of Tchinli-Kiosk.² Comparison of all these pieces now permits one to seize the idea of the inspired artist, at least for the decoration of the architrave. One is inclined to believe that the temple was dedicated to Athena, whose head appears until the time of the Roman empire on the faces of all coins of Assos. Athena was adored at Troy from the time of Homer; she was so later at Adramytion and at Pergamon; she was certainly the great deity of Mysia. In these reliefs however, nothing recalls the goddess; Hercules alone is recognizable by the quiver fastened on his back and the bow that he bends, who fills the entire field of the architrave with his prowess. Hercules was doubtless associated with the worship that Athena received at Assos. It suffices to recall a celebrated metope of Glymnia, does not one remember the connection established by the myth between the hero and Athena, the appointed protection of Hercules?

note 2.p.258. A single fragment was given to the Americans and is found today in the museum of fine arts in Boston.

On one of the salons of the Louvre, we see Hercules throwing on the ground a massive monster with the body of a man and the tail of a fish. A Nereid or rather Triton, that he holds upside down on the ground and smokes by his hold; (Fig. 101); as if frightened by the sight, six persons of lesser stature walk off with gestures of terror, they must be Nereids. A fragment found later shows us Hercules shooting his arrows at three centaurs, that flee terrified before him (Fig. 102). The episode of the struggle with the demon of the sea was known by painted vases, on which is inscribed the name of the Triton above the vanquished.¹ As for this hunting of centaurs, it can only recall the adventure of Hercules with the centaur Pholos.¹ He had received the hero in his cave as a friend; but he could not prevent his savage companions, tipsy with wine, from seeking a quarrel with his guest, who routed and pursued them to cape Malea. Standing behind Hercules is a person who must be his faithful attendant Iolaus, who still bears the cup from which came the murderous drunkenness. The hero is here not covered by the lion's skin. Only after the 5th century was est-

established the tradition of rarely representing him without that characteristic attribute.

note 1.p.259. Friedrichs-Wolters. Die Gipsabgüsse. p.8.

note 1.p.260. The story is related at length by Apollodorus, Diodorus and Ptolemy. Other ancient authors allude to it. For representations, see Stephani. Erklärung einiger Vasengemälde, etc. 1873.

Hercules plays in these two scenes the part of the principal character, and one can scarcely hesitate to seek him also in a third scene, that occupies as much space on the architrave as the combat with the Triton (Fig. 103). This represents a banquet. Four bearded figures hold cups or jugs in their hands, and lie on couches with one elbow resting on a cushion. Before them, is a cupbearer; he turns his back to the cratera from which he has taken the drink that he pours into the cup held out to him by one of the guests. It has been proposed to see here the feast offered on Olympus to Hercules, admitted to the rank of the gods, and we recognize the hero in the figure at the right. No attribute characterizes him; but what seems to designate the personage in whose honor is given the repast, is the band that his neighbor presents to him, as if to invite him to place around his head the diadem, to which he has a right after his apotheosis.

The three reliefs placed end to end would cover about two-thirds of the length of the architrave of one end of the rectangle. Thus there remains a gap to be filled; now the recent excavations brought to light one slab of the architrave, filled by two rampant sphynxes, winged and facing each other, each having a forepaw resting on a ball supported by a slender little column.² The type of the sphinx seems to have been very popular at Assos. Other examples are found among the existing fragments of this decoration (Fig. 104), and the image of the sphinx appears on the reverse of some coins of Assos. There is then reason to assume that the group of the two sphynxes was placed at the middle of the architrave above the door of the sanctuary. These were what we should call the arms of the city. Then one has only a very short space to fill, and for this purpose could be utilized in a restoration of the whole, the fleeing centaurs

on a fragment in Paris. The representation of the defeat would thus be continued beyond the central escutcheon and that of the festival.

note 2.p.289. Clarke. Pl. XVI.

When one has thus replaced on one facade of the edifice the reliefs that treat of the myth of Hercules, he has not exhausted the account of the fragments of sculpture collected on the site of the temple. Some of these formed a part of the architrave; this is learned from the presence on these slabs of a regula, that corresponds to the bottom of the triglyph. Further, the themes everywhere differ from those so far examined; they are only a series of combats of animals, bulls with heads locked together (Fig. 105), a passing wild boar, a lion that sometimes attacks a wild boar and sometimes a stag.(Fig. 106).

Was the architrave decorated by sculptures on the four sides of the building? This is scarcely probable; but with what we possess of sculptured slabs, there is sufficient to compose the architrave of a second facade, at the middle of which is seen the same escutcheon as on the principal facade. The museums of Paris and of Constantinople each possess the half of a relief reproduced in the group previously described (Fig. 104).

While taking that singular initiative of distributing reliefs over the whole or a part of his architrave, the architect of Assos still did not desire to deprive himself of the advantages offered to him for decorating his edifice by the traditional divisions of the Doric frieze: he has also placed sculpture between his triglyphs, but not everywhere. Several metopes have been found with plain surfaces, which gives reason to suppose that here, as on many other temples, there were sculptured metopes only in the frieze of the eastern facade.¹ The master of the work was contented to resume and repeat there several motives of the ornamentation of the architrave, detaching them from the context. These are the group of the two sphynxes facing each other, cut at a smaller scale, a wild boar rooting in the earth, a centaur running; finally a man pursuing a woman (Fig. 107) and two warriors in combat.

note 1.p.283. Clarke. Report. p. 117. Only five sculptured

metopes are known, three of which are in Paris.

Men have explained by the habits of construction in wood the placing of reliefs on the architrave of the temple of Assos.¹ It is a memorial of the time when to preserve and ornament the beams that formed the entablature of edifices, they were covered by sheets of metal, that the hammer had previously covered with raised figures and ornaments.² There was one of the survivals that we have had more than one occasion to mention. Also the reliefs of Assos by all the traits of their fabrication correspond well to what was produced by the rapid use of the chisel or the most hasty work, when these applications were in current use, or also stamping in the hollow of a mould; the same slight projection, softness of outline and absence of all internal modeling. For lack of other indications, these characteristics of the sculpture suffice as evidence of the remote data properly attributed to the edifice.

note 1.p.264. Brunn. Griechische Kunstgeschichte. part II. p. 128. Collignon. Histoire de la sculpture grecque. I.p.184.

note 2.p.264. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI. p.557,558.

One reaches the same conclusion when he ascertains what place is held in this entirety by themes borrowed from Asian art. If there be one whose source cannot be questioned, this is indeed that which the sculptor has placed on guard on its two facades; the group of the sphynxes facing each other. The first would be too long of the examples of this motive that is found on the monuments of Assyria and Phoenicia. The animals fronting each other are sometimes sphynxes and sometimes griffins or lions. The object interposed is sometimes a palmatum and sometimes a vase or column; but the typical arrangement always remains the same. One can say as much of the series of passing animals and combats occurring between the lion and wild boar, the bull or stag. Finally, there is a trait borrowed from the customs of Asia in the position given to the guests. They eat while reclining, while the heroes of Homer sup when seated around the table.

If the sculptor of Assos thus borrowed largely from the repertory of the oriental workman, he attempted at the same time to introduce in his ornamentation the representation of national myths; we have seen what use he made of the deeds

of Hercules. This is a combination analogous to what one finds on certain painted vases, that men now agree in regarding as the products of Eolian or Ionian workshops. There also abound scenes with subjects taken from the poetic fables of Greece, one sees appear bands of birds and quadrupeds, and factitious beings that the imaginations of the Chaldeans and Assyrians created, combats of monsters and of animals.¹ These ceramic painters and our sculptor have the same taste and methods; vases and reliefs were therefore contemporaneous.

note 1. p. 265. Gottier. *Publ. Corr. Hell.* 1893. p. 431-433; *Catalogue des vases du Louvre.* p. 511.

It is a significant trait that bears its date, the indecision here betrayed in the entire work of the sculptor. To decorate the spaces left for him, he hesitates between these exotic and conventional motives, that do not speak to the mind of the spectator, and the translation is into images of all those adventures of the gods and of heroes, on which was exercised the fancy of the epic poets among his compatriots. He commenced to retrace thus on one facade the marvellous story of Hercules, and has represented three periods of it; but as if exhausted by that effort, to complete his decoration he has returned to the ordinary filling that required from him no labor of invention. He did not know how to continue the story that he had commenced, neither on the architrave of the second facade nor on the metopes. Now as later proved by the sculptor of Olympia, these lend themselves marvellously to the representation of the legend; between each pair of triglyphs is a place for one of the exploits of the hero.

One finds the traces of those exploits in even the details of the forms. For example, see the centaur. The sculptor has multiplied this image. Now in these reliefs and the frieze the centaur appears sometimes as shown by classical art with the trunk of a man and body of a horse (Fig. 103), and sometimes with the body of a man joined behind the back to a horse (Fig. 102). We know from a number of monuments that sculpture thus began to represent the centaur, and this solution did not equal that which prevailed later. In the archaic type of centaur, the two kinds are not juxtaposed; they do not combine in the unity of a strange and superior

being endowed with both the strength and the beauty of the two different species that enter into its composition. This centaur with human legs would not be capable of making through mountains and forests the frantic races, that the poets love to describe. It is truly singular that the two types thus meet together in the same entirety: the sculptor has not yet made his choice between them. This uncertainty accords badly with the hypothesis of an edifice erected and decorated in the 5th century.

If to fix the probable age of the work, we have not so far insisted on the character of the execution, this is because there is an unknown part; we do not know in what measure the appearance of these reliefs has been modified by the injuries of time. Taking the fabrication as presented in the actual condition, it is very summary. One finds no attempt made to give the form either elegance or accent. On the other hand, the movement has an accuracy not without exaggeration, and this contributes to make the poses clear and expressive. Such are those of the Nereids present at the defeat of the marine monster (Fig. 101). And those centaurs, that in their flight no longer think of using their useless arms (Fig. 102); but where the naive awkwardness of the artist appears is especially in the arrangement adopted to place on the same level at the top of the field the heads of all his personages, whether these reclined like the guests of the feast, like the Triton and Hercules, or were standing like the cupbearer and the Nereids. Without embarrassment by the oddity of this disproportion, he has dwarfed the figures to which he assigned the vertical position; he has made one half smaller than the others.

One of the reasons alleged for a later date of these reliefs is, that they contain real or factitious animals, whose appearance has been well rendered by the sculptor (Figs. 104, 105, 106); but we have already proved a similar phenomenon among other peoples, and have given its reason.¹ Mycenaean artists have treated animals admirably; but when they undertook the figure of man, they have given only a very imperfect image. Of animals so represented, some like bulls and boars lived under the eyes of the sculptor; as for the others like sphinxes and lions, he could draw their outlines

after oriental models. When it is necessary to estimate the age of a series of sculptures, the true criterion must be demanded from the character presented by the rendering of the human form; now the expression of that form here remains vague and soft. This indeterminateness itself distinguishes the sculptures of Assos from those in which we shall recognize the hand of Ionian workmen. All persons appear nude at Assos; one scarcely recognizes woman except by the absence of the beard. Below the busts of the Nereids a slight reduction of the stone seems to indicate the place of the belt; that is the sole trace of any clothing whatever to be perceived. Admitting that the brush intervened to complete these indications; it would have only done so very discreetly. There could never have been anything here comparable to the play of the fabrics, that we shall have to mention in even the most ancient works of the sculptors of Ionia. On the reliefs of Assos, all concurs in giving the impression of an art, that still has to seek its way. Its interpretation of nature has nothing personal, nothing constituting a style, or which at least foresees its birth. By the peculiarities of its architecture as by the composition and execution of the images that adorn it, the Eolian edifice retains a very primitive and exceptional character. It does not appear probable that it was erected after the first years of the 6th century; perhaps it dates back in the last years of the 7th. By its advantageous situation, the little city then enjoyed a prosperity, which suggested to it the ambition to build and richly ornament the temple, that dominated its acropolis; but perhaps the attempt was premature; in any case it exerted no influence on the later progress of the arts of design.

note 1.p.267. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. II. p.355.

3. School of Miletus.

For two centuries, Miletus was truly the queen of Ionia; it was predestined to that high fortune by the advantages of the position chosen for it by its founders. Slightly less distant from the great industrial centres of western Asia than the cities situated farther north, and also nearer Phoenicia, it was of easier access by both land and sea. The mouth of the cayster, which gave access to Smyrna, was early

filled with sand, and on the other hand, the short valley of this little river was a blind alley. Smyrna was built at the edge of a superb roadstead; but the valley of the Hermos, which is followed by the principal road leading to Smyrna, is narrower and shorter than that of the Meander; like that it does not ascend to the heart itself of Phrygia. Miletus was seated on the Latmic gulf, into which and opposite it flowed the Meander, the largest of the rivers of Asia Minor that flows into the Egean sea. All its low valley between the Messogides and the Latmos, as far as the western border of the Phrygian plateau, forms a broad and fertile plain whose rich crops and animals fed Miletus, and where by the roads that bordered the branches of the Meander, there were deposited the raw and manufactured products of Caria, Lydia and Phrygia,¹ with the merchandize that the caravans had sought as far as the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. The bay to which converged all this movement of imports and exchanges was filled from antiquity by the alluvium from the Meander. Today it is no more than a vast marsh where marshy miasmas poison the air. Some Turcoman herdsmen, whose lean horses wander around the black tents, are all the living beings found there, with birds swimming in thousands among patches of reeds or tamarisks, on pools of stagnant water; the ruins of Miletus are found at 4.28 miles from the sea. The appearance of these places was very different in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. There was a broad roadstead in which ships could find a refuge in the shelter of the high promontories before discharging their cargoes in one of the three cities with harbors opening on the gulf, Priene, Myus and Miletus; but they turned to Miletus by preference, which had four enclosed ports, one of which was reserved for warships, while the three others placed their quays at the service of the merchant marine.

NOTE 1.p.289. For the topography of the valley of the Meander, consult the work so unfortunately unfinished, of ROYET & THOMAS, *Milet et le golfe latmique*. 1877. It begins with a very accurate and much colored description of this entire region of the lower Meander. In the atlas are two maps drawn after a very careful study of the ground, that present the ancient actual state of the Latmic gulf.

In the confederation of the twelve Ionian cities, Miletus does not seem to have possessed rights superior to those of its associates; but ^{of} all those cities, it had the greatest force of expansion, and which by the number of the colonies it had founded, as by the movement of its industry and its commerce carried farthest the action and influence of Grecian genius. Popular instinct at Athens was not mistaken. When in 494, Pnyx caused to be represented there a drama that placed on the stage the taking of Miletus by the Persians, and the despair of that multitude torn from its hearths and condemned to a distant exile, the spectators assembled in the theatre of Bacchus were melted to tears, and the poet was fined a thousand drachmas "for having revived the memory of a domestic misfortune."¹ Athens felt that one of the luminaries of Greece was extinguished. With Miletus, all Ionia was stricken with death.

note 1. Herodotus. VI. 21.

Given the character of the part that history attributes to the Milesians, one could expect much from the researches undertaken on that territory; this could not fail to prove that in art as in letters and sciences, the Milesians were inventors and innovators. These hopes were but partially realized; there have not yet been made on the site of Miletus excavations, that reached the most ancient layer. What has delayed them so far is the unhealthfulness of this entire district and the difficulty of living there. In the place formerly occupied by the edifices of Miletus is now found only a poor Turkish hamlet; between the proud name of Palatia, "the palace," that it bears, and the misery of its scarce inhabitants, the contrast is singular and striking. Rayet sojourned there for several weeks in 1872; he uncovered the stage of the theatre and made soundings in the cemetery; but in spite of his energy, he was soon driven away by fever. The excavations that Wiegand began on the same ground at the cost of Prussia, only uncovered edifices of the Hellenic and Roman ages. In the finds so far made, archaic art is only represented by some fragments of figures broken up to serve as materials in a hasty rebuilding of the walls executed at the time of the first barbaric invasions.²

note 2. p. 270. Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst. Arch. Anz. XVI. p. 191-193.

Investigations were easier and more fruitful on the site south and about 10 miles from Miletus, where still rise three of the tall Ionic columns of the celebrated temple of Apollo Didymeus. The Greek village of Hieranda is built on the very ruins of the sanctuary. These houses were only an obstruction; to completely uncover the foundations of the edifice, it was necessary to purchase and remove 15, and this compelled Rayet in 1873 and Haussolier in 1895 and 1896 to devote their efforts only to certain parts of the ruins. On the other hand, those dwellings ensured a lodging to the explorer, who found himself there on dry ground and a rocky soil, a prolongation and termination of the long ridge of Mt. Grion.

The temple that Rayet and Haussolier proposed to uncover contained no archaic art. Its construction was begun only in the 4th century and was continued under the Roman empire without ever being finished; one earlier and on the same place had been another temple, of which we know nothing, except that being founded on the site of an ancient Carian sanctuary, it possessed an oracle not less famous than that of Delphi. A priestly family, that of the Branchides, presided over the ceremonies of the worship, and dictated the responses that the prophet gave to individuals, cities and kings. This religion of Didymeus was not conceived without the interposition of this hereditary clergy, so that its name was finally substituted in current use for that of the god himself. Men did not speak of the temple of Apollo Didymeus; they said the "Temple of the Branchides;" or more frequently by abbreviation, "the Branchides;" the last form was almost always used by Herodotus.¹ Modern learned men have followed that example; by the name of the statues of the Branchides are designated the very ancient works of sculpture, that form a part of the decoration in the vicinity of the old temple. It was burned by Darius, when he obtained possession of Miletus.² The Branchides were deported into Bactriana; the statue of Apollo, the work of Kanachos, was transported to Ecdanana, from whence Seleucos caused it to be returned to Miletus nearly two centuries later.

note 1. p. 271. Herodotus. I, 48, 32, 157; II, 153.

note 2. p. 271. Herodotus. VI, 19; Pausanias. VIII, 48-3 and

Strabo, VIII, 1-5, place the account of the destruction of the temple of the Branchides to Xerxes; then it could only have occurred in 479, when the king was conquered in Greece and returned into his own states, exasperated by his defeat; but he gives no details. To that allegation is opposed the very precise tale of Herodotus. He was born in a district bordering on the territory of the Milesians, and had visited Ionia less than a half century after the events the events related by him, and he could have gathered at the place the evidence of the last survivors of those who had fought with Histios against the generals of Darius.

If the temple was robbed of all its treasures, and then sank into the flames, it does not seem that the Persians would have taken the trouble to destroy the monuments of less dimensions, that the piety of the people had grouped on the road to the edifice. From the port of Panormos, where the pilgrims landed and the processions formed, a paved way ascended to the threshold of the sacred enclosure; it was about 3.13 miles long by 19.7 ft. wide.³ Particularly in its part nearest the sanctuary, this road was bordered by tombs and seated statues; there were also crouching figures, sphynxes and rampant lions. From the restoration of the worship, men could not fail to respect these images, sole remains of an entirety, that recalled the ancient prestige of the oracle. When in the middle ages life withdrew from this district and the second temple of Apollo, at first changed into a church, had become a ruin in its turn, these marbles were saved by the desert formed around them. Half concealed in the sand that here rose above the head only, and there the entire busts of the statues, they began in the last century to attract the notice of travelers.¹ In 1353 Newton carried away to the British Museum ten statues with a lion and a sphynx, as well as various fragments, detached heads and a relief representing a dancing scene.² The ten statues taken away by Newton represent but a small portion of the images of this kind that border the way; he indicated the remains of other figures, and recently Haussolier uncovered the fragments of two of these effigies broken at the height of the girdle.

note 1.p.272. Newton. Travels and discoveries in the Levant

1865. vol. II. p. 149. For the earlier mentions of discoveries, see a Catalogue of Sculptures in the department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum, by A. Smith. vol. I, p. 17. 1892.

Note 2. p. 272. Smith. Catalogue etc. nos. 7-21; Newton. Travels. II, p. 231-236.

The type is everywhere the same, that of a person sitting on a square seat with a high back. The feet projecting from the bottom of the garment and close together, the hands are placed on the knees. The bust is nearly upright, and the head faces the front on the only figure that has retained it (Fig. 109). In this attitude is an air of solemn gravity and meditation, which corresponds well to the idea inspiring the donors and authors of these figures, a thought expressed in the inscription engraved on the leg of the chair of one of them; "I am Onares, son of Kleisis, chief of Teiconiussa; the statue belongs to Apollo (Fig. 110)." This idea is what we have determined concerning the statues that are crowded in the Cypriote sanctuaries;¹ it is also that whose expression we find in the numerous images of young women, uncovered in the excavations of the Acropolis of Athens. At Cyprus and at Athens, the male and female worshippers are standing; here all figures are seated.

Note 1. p. 274. Histoire de l'Art. vol. III, p. 257-258, 531.

In the group of monuments of the alley of Branchides, male statues are in the majority; of the 10 statues possessed by the British Museum, only three appear to represent women by the modeling of the chest (Fig. 111). Viewed from a little distance, all these statues appear almost alike. All have the same attitude. Each has the same costume, an ample tunic with short sleeves and no girdle, that descends to the feet. Over this vestment is cast a mantle that passes under the right arm, one of its ends falling from the left shoulder to the middle of the leg. Concealed under the stiff clothing, the form is only indicated in a general and summary manner. Yet on examining these statues more closely, one does not have the impression that they are all contemporary; they form a series in which is marked the progress of the art from one statue to another. The only one that has retained its head has the most primitive appearance of all.

(Fig. 109). The face has suffered too much for one to have the least idea of the character attributed to it by the sculptor. The hair was spared more. Wavy in front, it is thrown back and hangs in long locks, not too stiffly, on the neck and shoulders. As for the body, nothing can be divined of the principal divisions and inflections beneath the cloth that entirely covers it. Excepting the wrist where it leaves the sleeve, the arms are almost confused with the trunk, and in the bottom of the figure beneath the drapery that conceals even the feet, one neither finds the separation of the thighs from the trunk nor the projection of the knees. As for the clothing, if the workmen adhered to indicating that it consisted of two parts, they did not attempt to recall by the fashion of the marble, that it was composed of two different materials, the tunic of linen cloth and the mantle of a woollen fabric. In statuary, by the design and relief of the folds the artist indicates the material; now here is no trace of a fold in the entire costume. If the mantle is distinguished from the tunic, this is only by a slight elevation of the surface and by the cast shadow of the contour. What the sculptor scarcely indicated, the painter certainly rendered visible; colored a vivid red or blue, the mantle must have been detached from the whiteness of the tunic. Every vestige of color has disappeared. On the sleeve of one of the figures, that on which is read the name of Chares, one sees a fret engraved with the point; these line sketches served to guide the brush of the decorator.

note 1. p. 275. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VIII. p. 228.

There can be no question of successively submitting to this analysis all these statues, to show how the artist differs more from one to another; two examples will suffice to prove the continuity of this advance. See the image of Chares (Fig. 110); its appearance is already quite different. If the legs are not yet indicated beneath the massive opacity of a double layer of cloth, the arms are already clearly detached from the trunk. On each of them a wide border is chiseled with decision and marks the end of the sleeve. On this slight grooves denote the goffering of the linen, while on the forearm the marble is smooth, where the flesh is nude. The feet have their toes carefully separated and projected.

beneath the bottom of the tunic; but what is especially remarkable is the arrangement of the drapery. There is here a manifest effort to approach more nearly to reality. The tunic forms in folds on the bust, where it is in contact with the skin; it presents them only on its lower part, where there is a certain distance between it and the smaller bottom of the leg. On the mantle are two systems of folds. The part of the vestment retained beneath the left armpit and enveloping the right half of the body, is sketched by oblique folds; on the contrary, vertical folds are presented in the part of the fabric thrown over the shoulder, which descends to the height of the calf, passing over the knees. There are zigzag lines, that we find firmer and with sharper angles on all archaic sculpture, showing that at this point are several thicknesses of cloth. Doubtless these folds with a cold parallelism are neither sunk nor raised; but the sculptor saw their general direction; at least he had a presentiment of the use that his successors would make of this sort of effect.

As the last term of comparison, we will take the best preserved of the female statues (Fig. 111). If in some respects it lends itself to criticism more than the statue of Chares, on the other hand, the execution is colder and freer. Here it is not only the relief of the arms that is pronounced; the outlines of the legs begin to appear under the tunic and before the seat. Doubtless these are badly attached to the trunk, and particularly they are too far apart; this mode of sitting lacks grace. The bust is also massive and as if crushed. Thus there is much awkwardness; but it is no less a decisive step that the artist made when he separated those lower limbs after the arms. Where progress is yet more sensible is in the fashion of the drapery. The folds that groove the tunic between the legs and at the sides no longer have the stiffness of the straight line; for this the sculptor desired to substitute the elegance of the curved line. As for the mantle, it no longer presents here the rather labored arrangement found on the statue of Chares. It is placed on the two shoulders; the ends fall in front on the knees; now there is already some skill in the rendering of these pendant ends of the woollen fabric.¹

Note 1.p.277. Furtwängler mentions a marble statue from Epheesus that presents the same type; it belongs to the British Museum (Meisterwerke, p. 715; Fig. 137).

With this statue one can compare as later examples of the same type, two female statues that Rayet found in the cemetery of Miletus;¹ we reproduce the one that seems to be the more ancient (Fig. 112). The pose ^{and} ~~in~~ the costume have not changed; but the art is more advanced than in any of the marbles of the alley of the Branchides. The torso is less heavy, still apart, the legs are less so than on the statue of a woman described above. The movement no longer has anything ungraceful; on the entire image, the distribution and direction of the folds formed there by the tunic appear to be required by the relief of the forms on which is placed the clothing. The fabric is stretched over the chest. It is folded lower and is gathered at the height of the very open angle, that the thighs make with the bust. But the two legs are a smooth band descending to the ground; yet below the knees that touch the linen and push it outward, folds cross and mingle and are well placed. At the sides, between the tunic and the legs of the chair, the border of the mantle is seen to appear, that is also there merely cast on the back.

Thus completed by the addition of the marble discovered at Miletus, the group of statues of the avenue of the Branchides forms a series of similar monuments of capital importance for the historian of art. This series is the only one, for the period when the Greek sculptor was already master of the marble, and attempted to create his types and his style, that allows us to present constantly in a way his efforts and labor. We see him from one figure to another, establish a happier conformity to the model and the copy, at each time that he resumes the traditional theme, triumphing over one of the difficulties that had previously stopped him. He finally succeeded in freeing gradually the body from the block in which it had been imprisoned, and at last rendering a more accurate account of the part that statuary can derive from the play of the fabrics and the arrangement of the folds, effects that Egyptian and Assyrian are hardly scarcely suspected, in spite of their rare merits of power and skill.

None of these statues is dated; but from the form of the letters in the inscription engraved on the effigy of Chares, epigraphists are agreed in believing that this may have been sculptured about the year 550;¹ now to judge it by the character of the execution, this figure should be placed about the middle of the series that we have arranged. Further, that average date is suggested for the entire group by the examination of some other fragments of inscriptions found in the same place, which belonged to monuments of the same kind.² One can then admit that these statues were erected between 570 and 530; for the two figures taken from Miletus, they likewise stood in the cemetery before the destruction of the city by the Persians, but one can only attribute them to the last years of the century, so much certainty has already been obtained by the hand that modeled them.

Note 1. p. 278. Kirchnoff. Studien zum Gesichte der Griechischen Alphabets. 4th edition. p. 20.

Note 2. p. 278. Löwy. Inschriften Griechischen Bildner. 1885. nos. 2 and 3. There are read the names of the sculptors Terpsicles and Eudemos. Haussoullier uncovered a fragment of another seated statue, where the leg of the seat bears a dedication to Apollo written in boustrophedon. The inscription is still unpublished; it appears to be of the second half of the 6th century.

We shall not say of these statues of Branchides, as some have done, that "they are the most ancient of all works of the Grecian chisel, that have come down to us."³ In the sequence of this study, the reader will have under his eyes many figures, that are more formless and which seem more ancient; but for these figures no data permits them to be even approximately dated. Fortunately it is otherwise here. One can demand from these statues the elements of a chronology; there are points of reference furnished by the alphabet of the inscriptions borne by the monuments, on the one hand, and on the other by the known date that put an end to the prosperity of Ionia. By this series of images we now know where sculpture was in the second half of the 6th century among the Asian Greeks, how the artist interpreted nature there, against what difficulties he struggled and how he endeavored to triumph over them. What one notes at the

first glance in these statues, is the ease of attitude and the correct proportions. No stiffness in the pose of any of these personages. The upper part of the body leans back just enough so that the shoulders rest frankly against the back of the seat; the movement of the arms and legs is in perfect accord with the inclination of the trunk. One feels that if these figures should rise, they would have the normal height, and that nothing would hinder the movement of their members.

note 3.p.278. Rayet. Le temple d'Apollon Didymeen. p. 113. (In *Etudes d'archéologie et art*, collected and published by S. Reinach. 1888).

The sculptor has already seized the principle of the architecture of the human body and of its great divisions, the ratios of dimensions and of subordination, that exist between the different parts of that entirety; but the form here remains concealed beneath the clothing, and where it shows itself uncovered, like the arms, neck and head, it is rather fleshy and rounded.

However defaced the marble, this character in fabrication can already be divined in the only head that surmounts one of the seated statues (Fig. 109); but it is much more clearly marked in a head found at Hieranda, and which must belong to a female statue (Fig. 113). The face is round and broad; the eyes are large and projecting, and the cheeks are very full. Although the modeling has suffered from long erosion, one feels a sort of vague smile is sketched in the features of the face. Divided in numerous narrow bands, the hair is thrown back and hangs on the nape. One will note the much inclined line of the shoulder; on the other archaic works, we shall find square shoulders, that make almost a right angle with the neck.

Because of the resemblance of the style, another head has been compared with this monument, larger than nature and of uncertain origin, possessed by the museum of Tchinli-kiosk at Constantinople (Fig. 114).¹ There are thought to be several reasons for attributing it to Rhodes. Now although inhabited by Dorians, Rhodes and the adjacent lands were only appendages of Ionia during the entire course of the 7th and 6th centuries, for all that concerns art and the indus-

industries connected therewith. On the head in question, a face has the same curvature, the same open and smiling air as on that of Hieranda. Yet there is here more care in the execution, especially in that of the hair. The vertical grooves are there intersected by oblique strias; thus are produced "a network of little lozenges, that the workman has then cut with two facets, so as to imitate the spiral movement of the tresses or twists. He has further tried to vary his work; thus on the brow he has indicated the roots of the hair by a series of very close little grooves, which it is necessary to regard as a crown of leaves. He has also distinguished carefully the locks placed on the temples, and has treated them as two raised bands around the ears."¹ The same care for elegance obtained by refinement of details is again betrayed by the design of the chin, in which the sculptor has hollowed a dimple, and by that of the ear, where he has made volutes more complex than they are in nature. Nothing remains of the trunk; but the neck is well designed and has a studied curve, that must extend in the line of the shoulders.

Note 1. p. 280. On this head see especially Heuzey. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1884. p. 331-333.

Note 1. p. 282. Heuzey. Bulletin. p. 335.

To return to the monuments whose Hittite origin lends itself to no doubts, we shall content ourselves by mentioning a relief discovered at a little distance from the temple. It appears to represent a Komos, a sort of frantic dance; it is the remnant of a frieze of which the rest is lost (Fig. 115). We find again there those fleshy and covered forms that the statues presented. The same broad treatment and "a little careless,"¹ as said, also characterizes a monument that also came from the village of Hieronda (Fig. 116).² It is the image of a woman, sculptured in high relief at an angle of a cubical block of marble. This woman is a divinity, as indicated by the four large wings attached to her back, and that extend to right and left on the two tangent faces of the block. She is standing; the entire weight of her body rests on the left leg, that is strongly bent with the knee projecting forward. The movement is forced; but one knows today what meaning was attributed to it conventi-

conventionally by sculptors and painters, the artists of the archaic age, from having found a number of examples, what they so represent is the rapidity of race; to make themselves better understood, they have taken the method of exaggerating the flexure of the front members. This attitude of the race was frequently given by the sculptor to goddesses like Iris and Nike, messengers of the gods; but we can consider neither one here. However mutilated the head, one distinguishes there a detail which gives the name to a personage. Above the mass of the hair, whose long locks descend before the chest, are ~~twined~~ serpents with tails projecting behind; this is the headress of the Gorgon in classical art, and we have here the most ancient known example of the addition of serpents to the mask of Medusa. We should doubtless have found that mask here with the tails characterizing it, if that part of the work were not that most injured by storms. Yet one divines even in these injuries of the marble the breadth of the face, the large eyes, the length of the great open mouth, which must show the teeth and allow the tongue to hang out.² What was the Gorgon doing? Before her on the return of the block and on the side toward which she springs are perceived the paws of a lion (Fig. 117); but there is no trace of the body of the animal. Where we should find it is nothing but a plain section of the stone. The figure of the lion must continue on another block, that adjoins the first. This certainly formed a part of an entirety; the traces of two cramps appear at its top; a notch is cut there, that represents the joint with a projection of the adjacent stone; but no indication allows us to hazard even a conjecture on the place that this relief could occupy in the construction and as to the meaning of the theme. The work is then interesting, especially by its fabrication: this is indeed the same as on the other monuments of the Miletan school. The same slightly heavy roundness of the arms, where neither the joint of the elbow nor that of the wrist appears under the flesh. The chest is much rounded. As for the clothing, one does not distinguish here the chiton and himation, as on the statues of the Branchides; the Gorgon seems to be clothed only in a sort of peplos. That is fixed on the right shoulder like a sleeve by a series of brooches and extends

in wide folds before the breast. These folds are flat; but their arrangement is correct.

Note 1.p.283. Collignon. Histoire etc. Vol. I. p. 174.

Note 2.p.283. Haussolier in 1898 found this curious fragment built into the wall of a village. We owe to his courtesy the ability to first publish it.

Note 1.p.284. E. Curtius. Die knienden Figuren der antiken Kunst. 1883. Berlin.

Note 2.p.284. On the type of the Gorgon, which was fixed after the Homeric age, see Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VII.p.115-11

If only some vestiges remain of the lion belonging to this group, we are not compelled to ignore the interpretation given to the forms of the king of beasts by the Ionian artist. Two marble lions in the round were discovered on the sacred way. The most beautiful and best preserved of the two is lying (Fig. 113). Two marble lions. It has the left paw placed on the right paw, which idly extends on the ground. As for the rear portion, it bends to the right. On this side all its weight rests on the haunch, which frees the left thigh and paw. The sculptor did not seek here to attract attention to the power of the muscles and on their mode of insertion, as done in Assyria; but whether he consulted nature or imitated a model inspired by it, he has very faithfully rendered the indolent attitude of the feline in repose. There is nothing conventional in this image but the stiffness of the little pointed locks representing the mane. The head is wanting. As proved by an inscription engraved on the flank of the animal, this lion formed a part of a group of figures consecrated to Apollo as a tithe by three persons, sons of an archegos, probably one of the chiefs of the Milesian nobility.¹ Judging it by the form of the letters, the inscription would be more ancient than the dedication of Chares, and still the execution here is freer than on the statue of Chares. That is nothing to surprise us. Everywhere and always, the artist has succeeded more quickly and earlier to reproduce successfully the characteristic traits of the different species of animals, than those of the body and face of man.

Note 1.p.286. A Catalogue of sculpture. Vol.I.p.22.

The other lion is walking and is a very inferior work; its

proportions are very heavy. I do not know why it has been termed a sphynx.² No wings, and the head is so broken that no trait can be distinguished. Nothing indicates that there was a human face.

Note 2.p.283. This name is borne by the ticket of the museum. The catalogue (vol. I, no. 18) makes formal reserves in this matter.

The monuments just enumerated were all found in Miletus itself or in its suburbs; thus one has serious reasons for attributing them to the local workshops. They are then sufficiently numerous and varied to demonstrate that in the great and commercial city was a centre of artistic production, whose activity is manifested by the progress of the chisel continued until the taking of Miletus by the Persians and the destruction of the neighboring sanctuary. But Terpsides and Eudemos, the two Miletan sculptors whose names have been preserved by the marbles, never acquired sufficient notoriety for history to retain their memories.¹ It was otherwise with Samos and Chios. Those two islands had artists that were fertile and sufficiently celebrated that the ancient authors have preserved to us more than one mention of their works. It is then important to seek for each of the two schools what tendency the sculptor impressed on his work, what gradual improvements he introduced in technique, what materials and themes he preferred, and finally, the peculiarities in style by which are recognized the works of his hands.

Note 1.p.287. Löwy. Inschriften griechische Bildhauer. nos. 1

4. Schools of Samos.

Samos and Chios had one advantage over Miletus; they were islands. The narrow channel separating them from the continent sufficed to protect them, while there reigned at Sardis the ambitious dynasty of the Mermnades, against the attacks of the Lydian armies from which Miletus in particular and Ephesus suffered so much. After the fall of the Lydian kingdom, the islanders like the Lesbians and Chians could at the cost of a purely formal homage, or like the Samians without even accepting the appearance of this vassalage, could remain independent of the Persian empire, then master of the main land. Until the unfortunate result of the revolt

caused by Histieos, they retained their liberty of action. Thus during this period the Samians enjoyed a prosperity, that attained its climax in the second half of the 6th century under the government of Polycrates.

The culture of the vine and olive furnished to Samos an abundance of oil and wine for export; but what particularly enriched it were maritime commerce and art industries. From the end of the 8th century, Samos had closely followed Corinth in the matter of varied innovations, that ended in the creation of the Greek war navy; it obtained the services of the engineer Ameinocles, who had laid on the ways the first triremes for the Corinthians.² Under the protection of these structures the merchants of Samos boldly risked themselves in the most distant seas. They were not satisfied by establishing agencies on the coast of Cilicia on the one hand, on that of Thrace on the other, where they had left colonies, of which at least Perinthos became a very important city. They had visited the shores of Sicily and of Italy, where among other agencies they had founded Zancle (Messina) and Dicearchia (Pozzuoli). It is said to have been an accident and a tempest that drove one of their vessels to the end of the western basin of the Mediterranean, and caused it to pass the columns of Hercules. Before the Phoenicians, the Samian Coleos had landed on the coast of Tartessos, and had brought from it a cargo of prodigious value.¹ Libya and Egypt no less attracted the merchants of Samos. They were in close relations with Cyrene, from which they brought silonium, that product of African soil that found an assured sale in all markets of Greece.² In the delta of the Nile, the Ionian agency of Naucratis, they had their temple and their separate quarter.³ From the time of Cambyses, merchants of Samos were even established in that oasis of Ammon separated from Thebes by seven days of travel across the desert of sand.⁴ In the course of these adventurous voyages and these long sojourns in a foreign land, the thoughts of all those sailors and merchants frequently reverted to the great local goddess, the Samian Hera; they attributed to her the merit of having saved them from the perils of the sea. Thus they were ingenious in seeking means of testifying their gratitude to her. About the middle of the 6th century the city

erected that temple of Hera on the site of a very ancient sanctuary, which by its imposing dimensions and the elegance of its decoration was counted among the marvels of Asia;⁵ perhaps Polycrates had the honor of completing it. The new edifice inherited the offerings, that the piety of the Samians in the preceding century had commenced to group in the nieron. Thenceforth the mariners of the island adopted the custom of levying a tithe for the benefit of the goddess on the profits of operations, where the profit often surpassed all hopes. About 632 Coleos, returning from that voyage made in the Atlantic, did homage to Hera by a great cratera of bronze, that Herodotus describes with complacency.¹ From that moment the offerings did not cease to be heaped in the sacred enclosure, more numerous and richer as the wealth of the city increased.

note 2.p.287. Thucydides. I. 13.

note 1.p.288. Herodotus. IV. 152.

note 2.p.288. The same. IV, 152, 162-164.

note 3.p.288. The same. II. 178.

note 4.p.288. The same. III. 28.

note 5.p.288. On this temple see Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII, p. 604, 615-617; figs. 288-272.

note 1.p.291. Herodotus. IV. 152.

In the multitude of these votive monuments, what dominated were works whose materials were furnished by metals.² Those of the Samian artists that left the greatest reputation, Rhoecus, Theodoros and Telecles, were particularly bronze-workers. The predilection with which these masters devoted themselves to this kind of work and the skill displayed were not surprising; they are explained by the close relations that Samos maintained with Egypt, where the arts of metal were cultivated from the most distant times. Theodoros and Telecles had sojourned in Egypt; as for Rhoecus, it is believed that a trace of his stay is found in a dedication to Aphonroite, written in Ionian letters on a vase found at Naukratis.³ By frequenting the workshops of the cities of the Delta, these artists saw and appropriated the processes of casting in bronze, at least those of casting hollow in bronze. One easily takes into account the system that all metal industries derived from those novel techniques, and of

the improvements introduced by Glaucos in the methods of soldering. These facilitated all insertions and retouches that could be given to a piece, whose total weight was singularly reduced by the use of the sand mould.

note 2.p.289. It was still so many centuries later. Apuleus. Florida. II. 15. (Latin).

note 3.p.289. R. Gardner. Maucratis. II, p. 85.

From this moment sculpture could freely use bronze. The Samian masters hastened to profit by the advantages ensured to them by this advance in the trade. The figures of natural size or larger than nature commenced to appear in the sanctuaries. Rhoechos cast for the Artemision of Ephesus the most ancient Grecian bronze mentioned. There among several statues erected before the so called altar of Artemis Proctothronia, was shown one that the Ephesians called Nient, and which was the work of Rhoechos; the fabrication of it appeared very archaic and rude to Pausanias.⁴ Soon afterward Theodoros and Telecles made for the Samians an image of Apollo Bytnios. The hands were held before the body; the legs reproduced the movement of walking.¹ Finally, Theodoros also cast his own effigy in bronze. He was represented as holding in his right hand the file of the chaser, while three fingers of the left hand showed a chariot with four horses, so small and such delicate work, that a filv made of the same metal covered with expanded wings the whole with the team and driver.² For statues, these were all that were cited by these masters. On the other hand, there left their workshops a number of celebrated goldsmith's works, great crateras of bronze, silver and gold, that were consecrated in the temples, the golden vase and plane-tree, that suspended its grapes made of precious stones, and that extended its leafy branches above the couch of the king of Persia.³

note 4.p.289. Pausanias. X. 38-5.

note 1.p.290. Diodorus. I. 98.

note 2.p.290. Pliny. H. N. XXXIV. 83.

note 3.p.290. Herodotus. I, 25, 51; IV, 152; VII, 27; Athenus. XII, p. 514; Pliny. H.N. XXXIII, 51, 127. It is thought that some archaic bronzes can be referred to the Samian workshops, such as a statuette of a woman found at Olympia, probably an Aphrodite (Olympia. Textband IV, p. 223-224, and

PL. VII, 74), and a statuette of a reclining man holding a patera in the hand, discovered at Amyclae (Rev. Arch. 1901¹, 142-143). The details concerning the last monument are lacking; but the statuette from Olympia is cast solid. Now what characterizes the manufacture of Samos is the use of the process of casting hollow.

To their recognized mastery in metal works the Samian artists owed the privilege of becoming the appointed furnishers of the courts of Susa and of Sardis; but also this condemned their work to perish almost entirely; bronze is exposed to chances of destruction very different from marble. Without the marble, we should have no idea of what might be the work of the sculptors of Samos. Their preferences were for metal, but they must have frequently been led by the needs of their patrons to use a material, that the sculptor then employed on all the islands and coasts of the Aegean sea. Of the votive monuments that came to group themselves around the Heraion, the best preserved that has come down to us is a statue of Parian marble, a little larger than nature, discovered by a peasant very near the northeast angle of the temple, and acquired for the museum of the Louvre in 1860 by the care of M. Paul Gerard, then member of the School of Athens (Fig. 79).⁴ By a short inscription engraved in a border of the clothing, we learn that this image was consecrated to Hera by a certain Keramyes.¹ The head is wanting as well as the object held in the left hand and pressed against the chest; yet one can scarcely have a doubt of the character to be attributed to that image. The statue is that of a woman; it is then not the giver herself that is represented in the posture of a perpetual worshipper. As evidence of a pious piety, the believer disposed of a different means; to multiply the figures of the divinity, whose servant he declared himself to be. It is agreed that Hera is to be recognized in this broken marble. We find here again the two parts that form the costume on the statues of the Branchides; a long linen tunic fits the forms of the body and is held to the waist by a girdle, falling to the feet; over it is placed the himation, that sort of shawl thrown over the shoulders, pinned on the right arm and crossed on the chest; but there is here something more, a veil made of a large

piece of cloth folded lengthwise, a fabric that seems firmer and heavier than that of the other clothing. Attached in front to the cord that takes the place of the girdle, this veil covers the entire back, turns over the left hip and descends on the leg almost as low as the tunic. This veil envelops the head; it is the ornament, the ritual headdress of the married woman. Now it is said that Hera was united to Zeus at Samos; she was adored by the Samians as the companion of Zeus and as the tutelary goddess of marriage.

Note 4.p.230. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1880. p.483-493.

Note 1.p.231. Keramayas etc.(Greek).

Note 2.p.231. Lactantius. I. 17-18.

This Samian statue is a truly original type. By the type the goddess is a woman. The right breast has not been injured by the fracture, like the left side of the chest, and projects boldly beneath the cloth that it raises. The right arm is the only one preserved and has a very correct contour and pose; under even the thickness of the doubled veil, one feels the indication of the curve of the loins. On the contrary below the girdle, the body is concealed by the drapery and is recalled to mind of the spectator only by the feet, that project from the drapery on the plinth. Neither the relief of the hips nor that of the knees is indicated through the fabric. On all that lower half of the image the form of the whole approaches that of a column; the flutes of the shaft only imitate the close or parallel folds that groove the tunic.

What is striking when one studies this marble is this contrast that is noted between the two parts of the figure. In the treatment of the trunk and arm is recognized the work of an artist, whose hand does not lack skill; the head would certainly present the same character, if we possessed it. Why has the sculptor seemed to lose sight of the living form to adhere to an idea only derived from pure geometry? Is it this a lack of power? Certainly not, for in the execution of this cylinder and its symmetrical decoration one still feels the decision of a chisel very sure of itself. A method is assumed, that can scarcely be explained except by the imitation of a model too much respected at Samos, for the artist should not find himself led quite naturally to be

piece of cloth folded lengthwise, a fabric that seems firmer and heavier than that of the other clothing. Attached in front to the cord that takes the place of the girdle, this veil covers the entire back, turns over the left side and descends on the leg almost as low as the tunic. This veil envelops the head; it is the ornament, the ritual headdress of the married woman. Now it is said that Hera was united to Zeus at Samos; she was adored by the Samians as the companion of Zeus and as the tutelary goddess of marriage.

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more or less inspired by it. One divines in this marble a reduction of a statue, that in the interior of the temple represented the august patroness of the city. Hera was at first represented at Samos by a plank or timber roughly dressed, with which the popular devotion was long contented.¹ A little later out perhaps before the erection of the great temple, this was transferred to an xoanon, that according to tradition was made by the Eginetan Smilis, and according to Pausanias the work of this Smilis, called a contemporary of Dedalus, had a very primitive character.² It must recall the antique fetich since the human form was still but half disengaged from the timoer, in which it had formerly been implied and understood.

Note 1.p.292. Gallimachos quoted by Eusebius. Prep. Evang. III. 8.

Note 2.p.292. Pausanias. VII. 4-4

Of what material was made that old religious statue, as one says? Pausanias seems to have seen it, but does not inform us. He assures us that it dated back to the age of the legendary Dedalus; this was to affirm that he knew it to be much earlier than the works of historical personages, such as Rhoecus, Theodoros and Telecles. It could then not be of bronze, for those masters were the first to introduce into Greece the only methods permitting the erection of a figure of great height. It was either wood or stone that Smilis employed, most probably wood, perhaps covered by sheets of a hammered bronze. In any case the statue of the Louvre dates from the time when the bronze industry flourished at Samos. What indicates this is the nature and quality of the work. This is not the work on marble. One does not find here those broad and fire touches given by the free use of the chisel, which attacks the marble boldly and places there what are termed blacks in the language of the workshop. No play of shadow; one feels everywhere here the action of a hand especially accustomed to use the graver, that bites into the metal in tracing there fine lines with sharp edges. This flash execution of the marble, these cuts without death, the minute regularity of the thin folds that groove the tunic, all that recalls the procedures of the workman, who passes over with the dry point and file the pieces that the

founder has furnished him to be finished, after taking them from the mould. One would be almost tempted to believe that the artist to whom Kheramaves applied, had never attacked marble until that day. Placed before a block of Parian, rather than risk spoiling it by the use of tools that he had not previously employed, he would adhere to those rendered familiar to him by long practice, in spite of the difference of material.

One is not satisfied to find in the treatment of all this surface a sure indication of the influence that the metal industry exerted on the other technics in that island; he also seeks the reason for the form in which the statue is here presented. It has been stated, that this form was even that given by the first bronze-workers to the figures that they cast.¹ They sought to avoid strong projections and very marked hollows, all that would have complicated their task. They facilitated this by making the image a cylinder or something approaching it. Two moulds could then suffice, one for the front and the other for the back.

NOTE 1. p. 293. Winter. Studien zur älteren griechischen Kunst. I. (Journ. arch. Inst. 1879. p. 73-72.

In support of that opinion is also alleged another industry, whose products were imitated from the arts of metal, and permit one to go back to the works of the first bronze-workers; this is the industry of terra cotta. Whatever the form, the clay figurines were modeled solid for centuries; they remained solid; but when one saw leaving the shell of sand sheets of bronze that reproduced all the curves of the sculptor's model, the coroplasts also began to use the mould, and then were multiplied hollow figures with very thin walls. Two types dominate in the series in which it is believed can be recognized the hand of the ceramist inspired by the examples of the Samian founder. There are one or two women seated on a throne (Figs. 95, 119): a woman standing, whose right arm falls along the body, while the left arm is bent before the chest. (Fig. 97 and Pl. VI). All these statuettes further present a common trait; to produce them are needed only two moulds, front and back, each producing half the image. The coroplast then only had to adapt to work in clay the processes that Rhoechos and Theodoros had applied to metal.

No one will contend that the progress thus realized by the bronze-worker benefited the ceramist; but is it necessary to conclude from this that the coroplasts of Samos took the initiative in that reform, and fabricated figurines with internal cavities, then to distribute them in the entire basin of the Mediterranean? It is said that at Samos were created workshops from which came the first statues cast hollow. In that respect it is recalled, that in the excavations recently made at Samos, the tombs have furnished several figurines of this kind; but these are found only in very small number in that Samian cemetery.¹ In these conditions is one really authorized to seek in the island of Samos the starting point of the new methods of modeling clay and to assume that these figurines were exported in entire cargoes to Rhodes and Phoenicia, where they are collected in very great abundance? Indeed, the Samian artists by popularizing the procedures of hollow casting, pointed out the way to the coroplasts; but their part thus remains sufficiently fine, that one can dispense with attributing to them by a doubtful conjecture the indirect paternity of an entire series of figurines, that doubtless came from very different sources.

note 1. p. 294. Böttler. Aus ionischen und italischen Metropolen. p. 155-160, pls. XIII - XIV.

If the sculptors of Samos, even when they renounced the use of metal, remained the disciples and imitators of the bronze-workers, then appeared no less to be sufficiently devoted to work in marble for the island to export statues made of that material. Among the archaic female statues discovered on the Acropolis of Athens from 1832 to 1836, two are distinguished from all others by the general character of their execution (Figs. 120, 121).¹ They are made of the same marble with very coarse grains. That was found only in these two images in the course of the excavations on the Acropolis. It seems to come from the Fourni islands (anciently Corassiae), which are situated south of Samos.²

note 1. p. 295. Lechat. Au musée etc. p. 393-394.

note 2. p. 295. Lepsius. griechische Marmorstudien. p. 55-56 and 63, notes 1-3. This is "the very hard marble with large shining grains and in places, tints of light bluish gray" in which were cut the columns of the Didymeion (Rayet &

Thomas. Milet et le golfe latmique II. p.70). The quarry has recently been recovered. (Pent, in Jour. Hell. Studies, 1886, p. 143-144).

That one of two statues, whose resemblance to the Hera of the Louvre is most striking, has lost its head (Fig. 120). It is the same pose and nearly the same arrangement of the drapery. The difference is that the statue was cut in a rectangular block instead of a cylinder. This no longer entirely the Hera column of Argos; it is rather the Hera beam of Samos. Of the other statue (Fig. 121), we have only the head and trunk; but it appears to have been entirely similar to the preceding, and by combining the two fragments may be restored the entirety of the type, which is that of an idol of entirely hieratic appearance. It is particularly the head that gives that impression with its flat cheeks, vague eyes and dead mouth; it lacks expression and life. There is a sensible contrast between this face of dull immobility and those of the other statues found in the same place, where the faces are animated, the eyes project and gleam, the mouth is arched, the cheeks wrinkled by a smile, the hair is neatly arranged, the affected pose evidences an intense life and a naive effort to attain grace and beauty.

If one must note this contrast, all that it would be right to state, is that these two statues did not leave the same workshop as those near them in the hall of the museum; but what allows the presentation of a conjecture concerning their origin, which offers a high degree of probability, is the mode of rendering adopted for the execution of these two figures. The folds nowhere have that supple roundness in the masses of the hair nor in those of the cloth, those frank projections and hollows full of shadow, that the chisel has done its best to imitate in the other female statues of the Acropolis. These folds are only indicated here by lines incised with a pointed tool, lines that are finer and closer for the folds of the chiton, farther apart and more deeply marked in those of the himation. Thus instead of recalling the softness of the wool of which it is made, it assumes the stiffness of a metallic covering. The same procedure was employed for treating the hair. Now this process is that which we have studied and defined in regard to the

Hera of the Louvre, which we have explained by the habits contracted in chiseling in bronze.

It would then be at Samos among the pupils of the bronze-workers, too docile pupils, that marble was attacked without entering into the spirit of that material, that it would be proper to seek the author or authors of these two statues.¹ What do they represent? Images of the Samian Hera dedicated to the Attic Athena, or effigies of mortals desiring to perpetuate the homage that they had rendered to the goddess? What appears to confirm the first hypothesis is that the two statues of the Acropolis, like the statue of the Louvre, hold in the hand the pomegranate, the ordinary attribute of Hera. Otherwise it is of little importance. What is interesting is to find even on the Acropolis of Athens these works of the Samian school. Yet the fact is not surprising. Relations appear to have been frequent in the second half of the 6th century between the Athens of Pisistratos and the Samos of Polycrates. The two States were prosperous and wealthy; both were governed by princes friendly to display and the arts. Another type familiar to archaic sculpture, that of the nude male figure, is represented at Samos by the trunks, one of which was found in the vicinity of the temple of Hera, quite near the trench from which came the statue of the Louvre; this trunk is of very skilful execution and can scarcely be earlier than the end of the 6th century. A second trunk of the same kind, very summary in fabrication, is interesting by a dedication to Apollo engraved on the left thigh in Ionian letters. The material of all these works appears to be the marble from the Corassiae islands.¹

Note 1. p. 295. It is necessary to renounce the idea occurring for a moment, of attributing these statues to Theodoros of Samos, an idea suggested by finding on the Acropolis the base of an offering, on which was read in Ionian characters the name of Theodoros. (G. I. Att. IV. No. 373⁹⁰); Lolling, having found another fragment of the mutilated inscription, demonstrated that the name of Theodoros designated one of the donors of the offering and not the Samian sculptor. Lechat. Au musée. p. 403, note 3.

Note 1. p. 298. Viesand. Antike Sculptoren in Samos. (Athen.

Mitt. 1900. p. 145-214. Pls. XII, XIII). On this Samian sculpture in marble see Purtscheller's *Meisterwerke*, p. 713-719. We should be inclined to believe that he has exaggerated its importance. The Milesians had with Egypt relations just as close as the Samians, and for the nude male figure as for the seated figure, men must have been inspired by Egyptian models as much at Miletus and in the rest of Ionia as at Samos. Further it does not appear to me, that very decisive reasons have been given for attributing to the workmen of Samos rather than to others, figures like that of the very archaic Apollo of Ptoion, (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1830, pl. IV), found in a country, that no historical text informs us was in relations with Samos. The quality and the origin of the marble of which that statue is made, has not been clearly defined, and there must have been a character common to all the first statues of this type, this absence of expression, stupid and dull air, in which men desire to find an indication of Samian origin.

Samos then had its marble statuary and its workshops where it was wrought; but in those, men did not know how to boldly free themselves, to relieve themselves from the influence of the bronze-workers. It was a different school, that of Chios, that having at command stone of a more beautiful tone and closer grain, entered into amity with marble, which divined and caused its future to be foreseen.

5. School of Chios.

Of all the Ionian schools, the school of Chios is that whose claims are best established. Pliny gives the names of the artist founders of this school, constructs their genealogy, and seeks to fix the limits of the period in the course of which they lived and produced.² Some errors have been noted in his statements. Pliny made a bad calculation of the generations. He appears to have assigned to each of them a duration of 60 years, that of a normal life, instead of 30 years as ordinarily reckoned. He has taken for a sculptor a local hero, Melas, son of Poseidon and of a nymph, who was honored at Chios as the patron of one of the villages of the island;¹ but the whole of his evidence, which refers to mentions engraved on the marbles, is not in accord with the epigraphic texts.

note 2.p.288. Pliny. H. N. XXXVI. 11-13.

note 1.p.289. Pausanias. VII. 4-8. In the celebrated inscription of the Nike of Delos, Mikkiades and Archermos entitle themselves (Greek).

The masters of Chios had a marked predilection for marble.² Not a single work by them is mentioned for which the material was furnished by metal. If we omit the legendary Melas, the first in date was Mikkiades, who added as a collaborator his son Archermos.³ The latter had as successors his sons, Boupalos and Athenis.

note 2.p.289. Pliny. H. N. XXXVI. 14.

note 3.p.289. This is attested by the inscription in the manner it is restored. Mikkiades and Archermos are named jointly, as authors of the statue.

Boupalos and Athenis were contemporary with Hipponax of Ebesus, who had violently attacked him in his lampoons, and Hipponax wrote about 540.⁴ These two sculptors would then belong to the second half of the 6th century; their father Archermos and their grandfather Mikkiades would then have worked, one during the first and the other in the second quarter of that century. Between 530 and 570, Mikkiades and Archermos, one already aged and the other at the beginning of his career, could have undertaken together a common work; now there exists a statue signed by both these names, and there is nothing in the execution of the figure nor in the choice of the forms of the letters of the inscription, which does not accord with the approximate date suggested by the synchronism established between Boupalos and Hipponax. By the comparison of these different data, one thus obtains in this history of archaic sculpture a point of reference nearly fixed, where most things remain vague and floating. It is truly a happy chance, which has preserved to us this monument. One could not imagine any other, that would have better informed us concerning the art of statuary at about the year 575 in Asian Greece.

note 4.p.289. Pliny and the chronicle of Paros agree on that date within about two years. The names of Boupalos and Athenis are found, accompanied by injurious epithets, in some fragments of Hipponax preserved to us by the grammarians. Bergk. frag. lyr. graec. 3rd edit. Hipponax. 10-14.

The figure that we have in view here was discovered by H. Homolle in 1877 at Delos before the site of the old temple of Artemis.⁵ At some steps from it was found at two different times a base on which were engraved three hexameter verses. The contiguity of the layers, even the form of the base that is in accord with the pose of the figure, and finally the identity of the marble in the two groups of fragments, all concurs in giving the same impression; this base was indeed that of the statue that we are going to describe.¹

note 5. p. 233. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1879. p. 233-239.

note 1. p. 300. The same. 1881, p. 272-278; 1883, p. 254-258. The discovery of the second fragment is due to Salomon Reinach. We must recognize that doubts have been expressed concerning the attributing of this base to this statue. (Sauer. Athen. Mitt. XVI, p. 185; Winter. Arch. Anz. 1881, p. 184; B. Bull. in Roscher; Lexikon der Mythologie. III, 820; Studniczka. Jahr. für class. Alter. 1888, p. 382; Treu; Jahresf. des Ost. Arch. Inst. zu Wien, 1889, p. 200-201). In spite of this agreement of authorized critics, we persist in believing that the base indeed belongs to the statue. Our conviction is particularly based on the inscription as restored by six; this text seems to refer to the pose of the statue and the wings with which it is provided.

The statue is smaller than nature (Fig. 122). It was furnished with a pair of great wings: the sumos are still seen on the back (Fig. 123). These wings must have been spread and curled up at the ends; they were represented thus frequently on the vases (Fig. 124). Little wings were also attached to the heels. The two arms are broken at the shoulders; the two legs are not preserved, the right as far as the ankle, the left only to the knee; but one can restore the destroyed parts with all probability. The left arm falls and rests on the hip; a piece of that hand was found and replaced. As indicated on the right by the break of the shoulder, the right arm extended forward, as if to accompany the movement of the body. As for that of the lower limbs, what aids in restoring it are the indications furnished by similar monuments. "At first sight, one would say that the figure has a knee on the ground, and that consequently it is at rest; but considering the general movement of the

body, that slightly leans forward, the position of the right leg, which is bent as if to step, and seems stretched by the effort, the relative height of the two legs, the arrangement of the folds of the drapery, one will be convinced that the left knee could not rest on the ground, but on the contrary, that it was raised several inches above it."¹ If the left foot touched the ground, this could only be with the ends of the toes, and if one conceives it thus placed, it is necessary to assume the right foot with the toes flat and sustaining the entire weight of the body, while the other foot behind forms a spring to throw the body forward. Indeed the statue was so restored at first.² But it has been noticed that in the little bronzes found at Athens, and which appear to be copies more or less free of the Delian type, the figure rests on the base only by a part of the drapery forming the bottom of the tunic. (Vignette of Chapter VIII).³ In this manner has the image been restored at Dresden for the beautiful series of casts, that fills the gallery of the edifice there called the Albertinum (Fig. 125).⁴ The artist has thus shown the goddess not walking on the surface of the ground like simple mortals, but flying in space.

Note 1 p. 302. Gomolle. Bulletin. 1873. p. 335.

Note 2. p. 302. Furtwängler. Aus Delos. (Arch. Zeit. 1882. p. 324.

Note 3. p. 302. Petersen. (Archaische Mikielbilder in Athen. Mitt. 1886. p. 372-386) has collected in the same plate (XI) various fragments of marble and several of bronze statuettes, all found at Athens, which reproduce the type of the statue of Delos. The plate accompanying the Memoir of Curtius furnishes several examples of the same pose taken from sculpture, painted vases, coins, Etruscan mirrors, etc. Some fragments of Attic marbles, that must come from figures of that nature, have been described and drawn by Bruno Sauer (Das Aegasma der Archermosisbasis in Athen. Mitt. 1891. p. 132-130.

Note 4. p. 302. According to Treu, the base that retained the inscription supported a group of two figures, judging from its form. The winged statue could have been only an acroteria of a temple. (Jahrb. des Ost. arch. Inst. 1883, p. 200-201). As for the restoration of it made by him, he has justified it in vern. der 42 phil. vers. in Wien.

1893. p. 334-335, figs. 1, 2.

In whatever manner the destroyed parts are restored, the statue differs very greatly from all those that we have found yet. Had it entirely disappeared, we could divine its originality from the inscription. If for this text one accepts that one of the proposed restorations, which seems to utilize best all the vestiges appearing on the stone, he recognizes there a clear allusion to the initiative assumed by Archermos. Here is how it is translated in this case:—"Mikhiades made this beautiful winged statue, thanks to the inventions of Archermos; they have dedicated it to the god (or goddess) who casts his arrows afar, the Oniotes innuoiating the city of their father, that of Melas."¹

Note 1. p. 303. Here is how the two first verses have been restored: we have already transcribed the third; (Greek). Six in Athen. Mitt. 1888. p. 143.

What should be understood by the ingenious inventions (that is the true sense of the word *sophiai*), whose honor belongs to Archermos? By a singular occurrence it is found, that long before the discovery of our marble, Archermos was already mentioned as the creator of an original motive. The scholiast of Aristophanes states, according to Karystor of Bergamon, that there was discussed the question whether Archermos, father of Euboulos and Athenis, or the painter Agappon of Thasos, ~~xxx~~ first gave wings to the goddess Nike.¹ Thus we know what we should call the figure, that we have so far refrained from defining. Because of the place where it was uncovered, it was at first proposed to see in it a winged Artemis;² but poetry and sculpture have but rarely assigned wings to Artemis. Is it not more natural to recognize in it one of those winged Victories, who made their appearance in art with Archermos? One is even tempted to ask whether the statue of Delos may not be the work in which this type was first presented to the eyes of the Greeks. Doubtless there is merely a possibility; but what results from the comparison of the texts quoted and the statue is, that one cannot hesitate concerning the name that this statue must bear henceforth. The Nike of Archermos, we shall designate it to distinguish it from the numberless sisters given to it in the course of time by sculptors and painters.

Indeed, this type had scarcely been created by the masters of Onios, when art hastened to adopt it, since it seemed to express so happily the idea of the goddess, that soars above the field of battle, and that accords glory and power to those favored by her caprice, changes in an instant the destiny of empires.

note 1. p. 304. On verse 578 of the birds. It has been supposed that there was a confusion, attributable to the scholiast, between the grammarian Carystos of Pergamon and Antigone of Caryste, who lived at Pergamon, where as a sculptor he took part in the execution of the group, that represented the victories obtained by Attalus I and Ptolemy II over the Gauls. (Pliny. H.N. XXXIV, 24). Nothing indicates that Carystos wrote on the arts. On the contrary, we know that the book of Antigone is one of the principal sources for Pliny.

note 2. p. 304. Homolle. Publ. 1879. p. 327.

The other invention of Aronermos would be the method that he took, of representing the winged goddess in the attitude of flight. Did he first give this pose to a figure cut in marble? No text informs us on this point, as for adapting wings to the body of the Victory; but what we learn from the monuments is, that sculpture was limited for a long time to representing seated figures, like those of the alley of the Branchides, or standing figures with legs close together, then soon afterwards being slightly separated, as in the series of what are called the archaic Apollos. The attitude was always that of repose, or at most that of a grave and slow walk. It must have been a very notable novelty, when it produced the unforeseen violence of movement in this figure, that thus seems projected in the air without a point of support on the ground. We know what a reputation the sculptors enjoyed in the 6th century. Then they scattered their works everywhere at Delos and in the adjacent islands, on the Asian coast and in Athens itself.¹ There was found on the Acropolis a signature of Aronermos on a base:² there were found bronze statuettes, which are copies more or less free of the Delian Nike, and fragments of marble figures that appear to have reproduced the same type. While the Samian founders created the art of bronze, it was especially the masters of Onios who emancipated art in marble. All then

leads us to attribute to them the honor of this bold innovation of flight thus represented.

note 1.p.305. Pliny. H.N.XXXVI, 12-13; Pausanias. IV, 30.8.

note 2.p.305. Cavadias. *Ephev.* 1886. p.133-134.(Greek).

Rutensonn found a signature of Archermos on a base at Paros. (Athen. Mitt. 1902. p.196-197).

What the sculptor desired to indicate by the attitude given to the image was then the rapidity of the flight; it is that of the race that elsewhere represents the same movement. One does not distinguish. Flight was conceived as a race in space. Whether flight or race be concerned, there is everywhere a visible exaggeration in the flexure of the legs, especially in that of the rear leg. The artist has forced the effect; but this matters little; he endeavored to be understood and has succeeded in it. Wherever it originated, this convention was fortunate. It is found employed in many images in marble, bronze and terra cotta, as well as in a number of paintings on archaic vases, where it frequently characterizes Eos carrying off Cephalos, or the Gorgons pursuing the murderer of their sister Medusa (Figs. 124, 126).

That Mikkiades and Archermos should or should not have to the merit of having imagined this arrangement, this is the most ancient of all the monuments that present it, judging by its style. The figure bears the visible trace of the embarrassment experienced by the sculptor, when he decided to renounce the traditional attitudes. Here, as in all the votive images sculptured for the temples, the goddess must be turned toward the faithful, that come to offer homage to her; but on the other hand, only the side view could cause the understanding of the meaning of the movement intended to suggest the idea of flight. Thus the sculptor was led to join to the bust shown in front view with the head, a lower body and legs shown in profile. This twist shocks the eye, but the awkwardness could be concealed by the skilful treatment of the fabric; yet the artist has not attempted to use that resource. No mantle is thrown over the tunic. On the chest whose rounds are scarcely indicated, this sticks to the skin like a cuirass. There are no folds except below the girdle, and those folds have neither flexibility nor amplitude. One does not understand well now this tunic is made,

that must descend as far as the ankles, and leaves the knee straight and uncovered. The sculptor does not yet know how to utilize the drapery; on the other hand, in the nude parts he already makes proof of a lively feeling for form. Very round, the face is well proportioned. The smooth surface of the brow is framed by a fringe of thin locks whose outlines and internal details have been traced with the chisel with minute care. In front, four tresses fall beside the cheeks and hang on the shoulders, while the rest of the hair is likewise divided into plaits forming a compact mass, concealing the nape and extending on the back. This entire arrangement does not lack elegance. The eyes with the projecting balls slightly rise at their outer edges, and it is the same with the lips, which cast over this entirety a sort of light and vague smile. Nothing has been forgotten, neither the relief of the cheek bones, nor the grooves to be hollowed out at the corners of the mouth, which is very small. The same slightly dry precision is found again in the drawing of the ridge of the tibia.

As in all the works of primitive sculpture, there was an appeal made to the collaboration of the painter. When discovered, traces of color were still very apparent.¹ The breast had scattered ornaments in the form of circles and scales over the entire corsage of the tunic; thus it had supplemented on that part of the image the absence of folds and the poverty of the modeling. It had ornamented by a fret the broad band that starts from the girdle and represents the border of the chiton, embroidered with the needle. Finally, Overlays of metal completed the ornamentation of the marble. On the broad diadem that retains the hair, one sees from one ear to the other, five little symmetrical holes, in which were formerly placed bronze nails. The heads of these nails must have been gilded. At each ear, a similar hole informs us that there were formerly inserted eardrops of metal, where also shone the gleam of gold. Imagine the figure as it left the hands of the artist, with the novelty of its very active pose, with its great opened wings, its polychrome ornamentation, with the accents already placed in the modeling by a chisel already firm and incisive; on all those admiring it at Delos, it must make an impression just

justifying, the naive pride with which its creators in inscribing their signature boasted of the work that they had conceived and accomplished.

note 1. p. 308. Furtwängler. *Arch. Zeit.* 1882. p. 325. Botho Graf. *Athen. Mitt.* 1889. p. 319-320.

After Mikkiades and Archermos, one still follows for one generation the history of this family of artists. The sons of Archermos, Boupalos and Athenis, were proud of the glory that they had brought to their native land. One of the authors used by Pliny had read at Delos this inscription engraved on the base of a statue. "Chios is not celebrated alone for its vines; it is also for the works of the sons of Archermos." ¹

note 1. p. 308. Pliny. *N.H.* XXXVI. 12.

Boupalos appears to have been the most celebrated of the two brothers; no work of Athenis is cited. A signature of Boupalos was found on a base discovered in the suburbs of Rome.² If the inscription be ancient, it does not date from the 6th century; some rich Roman amateur caused it to be engraved in the pedestal of a copy of an archaic original. Besides, in the time of the empire were still shown authentic works of the lod master of Chios. There was at Chios a mask of Artemis, whose expression varied according to the angle at which it was viewed, as stated by the sacristans who showed the temple to strangers.³ There was at Smyrna a Tyche with head surmounted by a polos, a sort of high head-dress in form of a basket, that art attributed to certain great goddesses; one of the hands held the corn of Althea or Cornucopia.⁴ There were clothed Charites in the temple of Nemesis at Smyrna; other Charites at Pergamon formed a part of the collection of the Attalides.⁵ They must also have been draped female figures, like these Charites, the statues by Boupalos, which were placed by Augustus on the ridge of his temple of Apollo Palatine;⁶ it is probable that they were placed like acroterias, on the apexes and angles of the pediment.

note 2. p. 308. Löwy. *Inscript. grec. Pilon.* no. 497.

note 3. p. 308. Pliny. *N.H.* XXXVI, 12; Collignon. *Le musée à double expression de Boupalos et Athenis.* (*Rev. des études grecques.* 1901, p. 1-7).

Note 4.p.308. Pausanias. IV, 30-8. Pausanias says in distinct terms that this figure of Eupalos was the most ancient image of Fortune known.

Note 5.p.308. Pausanias. IX, 35-6; see *Inscr-oon Pergamon*, no. 46.

Note 6.p.308. Pliny. H.N. XXVI, 13.

From the end of the 7th century in the time of Alyattes (625-563), the Naxians had commenced to quarry marble and to furnish it to architects, who used it for the covering tiles and cornices of temples.⁷ Perhaps they were even the first to cut statues from it, an example of which had already been given to them by the primitive inhabitants of the Cyclades, those Carians to whom are attributed the rude figurines contained in the oldest sepulchres of the islands of the Ægean sea.³ It appears that of all the statues found in the excavations of Delos, the most ancient may be that which Nicandria dedicated to Artemis (Fig. 32). The donor being a Naxian, according to all probability, she gave her order to a compatriot; according to the form of the letters of the inscription, epigraphists are inclined to believe that the monument dates in the last years of the 7th century. About that time, there were at Naxos sculptors that wrought in marble. That is attested by a base discovered at Delos, a base of triangular shape ornamented at the angles by a mask of the Gorgon and two ram's heads (Fig. 127).¹ By the mode of arrangement on that plinth, of two nude figures that have remained adherent to it, one divines a male statue of the type termed archaic Apollos. This image was the work of the Naxian Iphicartides, and the inscription given to us by his signature seems nearly contemporaneous with the dedication of Nicandra.² Proofs abound for this activity of the quarrymen and sculptors of Naxos. In the island itself was collected a curious sketch of a male statue,³ and still lying at the bottom of the quarry where the workmen had begun to detach them were found unfinished figures much larger than nature.⁴ Finally, to Naxian hands must have been entrusted the execution of that enormous statue of Apollo, that the inhabitants of Naxos consecrated to the god near his Delian sanctuary, and whose fragments are scattered on the ground, and early attracted the notice of travelers: t

the colossus was of marble of Naxos.¹ There have been found even in continental Greece works signed by Naxian artists.² Finally, it is said that even where inscriptions are wanting, the material employed would give reason to think, that a number of monuments of archaic sculpture are of Naxian origin; a long list of statues and fragments of statues has been made, where is recognized the coarse-grained marble from the quarries of Naxos.³

note 7p.308. Pausanias. v, 10-3; Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. p. 320-321, 534.

note 8.p.308. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VI, p.739-743, 759-762; Figs 331-333, 336, 357, 358.

note 1.p.309. Homolle. Bull. Corr. Hecc. vol. XII, p. 463-472, pl. XIII.

note 2.p.309. (Greek).

note 3.p.309. Collignon. Histoire. vol. I, p. 115, Fig. 57.

note 4.p.309. Ross. Inselreisen. I.p.39.

note 1.p.310. S. Reinach. Le colosse d'Apollon a Delos. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1893.p.129-144, pls.v, vi). In studying the fragments of this colossus, Perdrizet has stated, that he found the lower part of the abdomen enclosed by a bronze girdle (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1897. p.173-179). Bruno Sauer (Athen. Mitt. 1892, p. 42).

note 2.p.310. Collignon. Histoire. vol. I, Fig. 124. Alexor signed another stele, that was recently discovered in a Milesian colony of Thrace. Sarcn. Anz. 1896.p.136-138).

note 3.p.310. Athen. Mitt. 1892. p.39-45.

Is it true that these monuments exhibit tendencies and habits so peculiar for the historian to be able to define the art of Naxos, as he has attempted to do for that of Samos or of Chios? That is affirmed with a great reinforcement of analysis, which has only the appearance of scientific rigor; it is important to discuss the value of these assertions.

note 4.p.310. This is the thesis supported by Bruno Sauer in his memoir entitled: - Altnaxische Marmorkunst (Athen. Mitt. 1892.p.37-39, pl. VII).

There is at the very first a primary reserve to be noted: if a statue is of marble with great crystals, it does not follow that it is always the work of a Naxian sculptor. The marble of Naxos must have cost less than that of Paros, and

must have been frequently preferred to that for reasons of economy.⁵

note 5.p.310. Furtwängler states this and refuses to accept the theory of Bruno Sauer (*Meisterwerke*, p. 715-716). Sauer was the first to recognize that one could not correctly attribute a figure to the Naxian masters, merely because it was made of marble from the island (p. 45); but in the course of his memoir, he frequently seems to lose sight of the principle that he had established.

Let us then place aside here the material; when one claims to assign a common origin to anonymous monuments found in very different places, there is only one means of making a proof, which is by indicating characteristics common to all of them, and that are not found elsewhere. Such is indeed the method that men have tried to apply to the solution of this problem, but between the works so placed to the credit of the artists of Naxos, there are more differences than resemblances. From all these comparisons, we do not see separated the traits that make a unity of the group, which it is proposed to constitute. Antique tradition is not mistaken; it never thought of giving to the Naxians the initiative, for which it gave the honor sometimes to the Cretan masters and sometimes to those of Onios. What is suggested by this silence of the ancients, and results from the facts observed is, that if Naxos had at a very early date very busy workshops, from which came many statues and reliefs, those sculptures did not have a personality sufficiently marked, for them to be a reason to speak of a Naxian style and a Naxian school.

Also at Paros, just as at Naxos, men must sculpture the marble at the place for export, just as done in all times at Carrara. If history mentions the name of no sculptor of Paros for that epoch, two Parian masters, Aristion and Kritanides, are known by inscriptions.¹ there have further been found at Paros examples of all types that Ionian statuary loved to represent; there is the nude standing male figure; as at the Branchides, there is the clothed female figure seated on a sort of throne; as at Delos, the same woman is standing in the attitude of the bearer of offerings.²

note 1.p.311. Att. Ins. 488, 489; *Lugy. Inscr.gr.bild.* 6.

note 2. p. 311. Löwy in Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Oest. vol. XI. p. 147-188.

There were found at Delos in the excavations made by Homolle around the celebrated temple of Apollo, a certain number of statues more or less mutilated, that according to the character of their execution, could be arranged in order of date.⁵ The series thus formed would go from the end of the 7th to the end of the 6th century. From one figure to another, the hand of the sculptor is strengthened; it is kept closer to the form; it is more animated by the variety of poses and the beauty of the movement. This effort of invention, search for novel effects, are just the merits that the historians of art in antiquity attributed to the sculptors of Chios, and from which those derived glory in the inscriptions which they engraved on the bases of their statues.

Note 3. p. 311. Homolle. (Latin) 1885.

Delos with its sanctuaries of Apollo, Latona and Artemis, at the time when were composed the so called Homeric hymns, i.e., about the 7th century, was already the religious centre of all Ionia, the traditional place of assemblage of the insular and continental Ionians, the holy land to which annually the barks sailed by hundreds, when the fixed day of the great panegyric returned, as they do today in the same parts in the month of August for the Virgin of Tinos. Even after there were built on the Asian coast vast and sumptuous edifices, such as the temples of Apollo Didymeus, Artemis of Ephesus, and of the Samian Hera, Delos had also lost nothing of its prestige in the 6th century; its temple will be the only one spared by the Persians in the course of their cruise in the Archipelago during the first Median war. The other deities among which were divided the homage of the Ionian cities, all had a character more or less local; it was the Apollo of Delos that was domiciled in the island where he was born, and remained the great national god of the Ionian race. For a pious Ionian there certainly no more meritorious act, than to erect at Delos his own image, immovable in the attitude of perpetual adoration, or to increase there the number of the divine images crowded at the foot of the Cynthus, or adding to this pebble of statues a new effigy of Apollo or of Artemis. Thus the masters

of Chios were often called to execute works destined to appear in the sacred enclosures of Delos. The marbles on which are read the names of Mikkiades and of Archermos only confirm an assertion of Pliny. To what he says of the genealogy of the members of that family, Pliny adds these words; "They produced many statues in the neighboring islands, as also at Delos."¹ The name of Delos is here placed by itself. Nowhere is there as many of the works of these sculptors as at Delos.

note 1.p.321. Pliny. N.W.XXXVI, 12.

Then one cannot dispute with the historian the right of crediting to these masters of Chios these unsigned statues, each of which seems suited to represent one of the successive phases of the movement of the insular art. At Delos the sculptors successively undertook to seek at first in wood and then in marble a form, which was less and less removed from the type of the youthful and radiant beauty, that the verses of the poets had introduced to the Greek imagination. Among the anonymous marbles, that the chances of excavation have preserved for us, is there a single one ^{on} which Mikkiades or Archermos, Boudalos or Attenis laid his hand? We do not know; but one can admit that he perceives the influence of all the examples given by these sculptors, and thus attribute to them the principal honor of the progress, whose stages they mark.

In the series of statues or rather of fragments furnished by the ground near the temple of Apollo were represented two types, both equally dear to archaic art, that of the nude male figure and that of the clothed female figure, both in a vertical position; but there remain only rare examples of the first of these types, while those of the second are more numerous and better preserved. The latter then lend themselves best to study by the differences that the observer finds between them.

The starting point is the statue dedicated by Nicandra (Fig. 32); one recalls it as long and flat with its arms pendant as if welded to the body, with its clothing that does not outline the forms, however adherent it may be. Other statues of which only the trunks remain are already a little less primitive in appearance.¹ The swelling of the

chest and the roundness of the trunk make themselves felt beneath the fabric. The right arm also falls with the same stiffness and is attached to the hip; but the left arm is freed from this inertia; it attempts movement. If they dared not yet to detach it from the bust, it is bent at the elbow; the raised hand rests on the bosom.

note 1.p.313. *Homolle. De antiq. etc.* p.20-22, pl.III, IV, 1,2.

The impulse being once given, art can no longer stop. Here is an entire group of figures in which the attitude is already different, much more natural and free.² There are nine of them, all replicas of the same type.

note 2.p.313. *Homolle. De antiq.* p.25-32, pls.V-IX.

All are without heads and are broken at the height of the knee. They must have had the same address and the same face. The feet were nude; many fragments of them were found in the rubbish.

In spite of these mutilations, the general characters of the type are easily seized. What the sculptor has represented everywhere is a woman of robust form and noble appearance. She is standing and seems prepared to step rather than already walking. The left leg projects forward slightly; but the soles of both feet were firmly placed on the ground. The forearm and hand are wanting everywhere; but one divines their pose by what remains of the upper part of the member, as well as by some traces of the fingers resting on the cloth, where they were in contact with it. Other statues were more complete, for example, those of Athens, and further allow a comparison that removes all doubts. At the right, the arm is bent at the elbow, forming almost a right angle with the bust. Was the hand open to hold a vase, or did it show a flower held between the fingers? Both poses are found in archaic monuments and perhaps alternated in the series of the figures of Delos. The left arm hung curved along the hip. At this side the hand raised a part of the drapery, as if to prevent it from dragging on the ground (figs. 123,129).

The clothing consists of two pieces, the tunic and the mantle, the Ionian tunic, long and flowing, made of a supple linen, that everywhere seems wavy, and the woolen mantle with broad and rounded folds. The arrangement as a whole

was everywhere the same, but not in the fabrication. That comprises differences which must correspond to a difference in date. There are statues with drapery very close about the trunk and limbs, grooved by folds whose exact parallelism or rigorous symmetry is of a kind that has not yet conquered its full freedom (Figs. 128, 129). On the contrary elsewhere, the body appears to move with greater ease under a fabric, whose arrangement is less regular (Figs. 130, 131). The latter works, whose execution seems freer, can be attributed to the second half of the 6th century; the others fall between 700 and 650.

To one of the most recent statues must belong the only one of the two heads found at that place, which one could fit with certainty to an image of a woman (Fig. 132). Surmounted by a diadem, this head is surrounded by abundant hair. Two rows of little wavy and equal locks are placed before the diadem; they extend from one ear to the other and form a sort of crown on the brow. Behind the ear appear two or three plaits. We follow these plaits on the trunk. We see them there with more or less marked waves hang on the shoulder and even on the bosom (Fig. 130). It is the same for the portion of the hair thrown over the back. On the statues that seem to be the more ancient, it forms a compact and rectangular mass (Fig. 129); on the others it is divided into several great tresses, at the ends of which are fastened light ornaments of metal, those spirals of gold or of gilded bronze already mentioned in Homer;¹ this is proved by little holes pierced there in the marble. On the diadem is no vestige of overlays: the ornament designed there palm-tombs and rosettes; but on one of these figures metal ornaments had been attached to the drapery; the fastenings have left there holes in the marble.

note 1. p. 316. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 272; Pl. 146.

Time has singularly maltreated the sole fragment by which we could judge of the fashion that the sculptors of Delos gave to the heads of these statues. Wear has not been limited to attacking the surface of the marble, it has flattened the ridge of the nose, injured the lips and softened the chin. In spite of these ravages, one divines there a work already of skilful fabrication. Beneath this worn flesh one

feels a firm layer, a bony skeleton with all its parts in place, and this rather long face, veiled eyes and this opened mouth, all appear as a reserved expression of sweetness and pensive melancholy.

All these figures had a votive character; that is indicated by the place where they were found and the poses that they take; there is further the inscription of Nicandra. What did they represent? The goddess Artemis or her worshippers? That question is already placed before us. To attempt to solve it, we shall await the occasion, which will offer us an even richer and more varied series of female statues found in 1836 on the Acropolis of Athens.

By the base of Ionicartides, we know that the type of the nude and erect male figure was also represented at Delos. To an image of this kind must have belonged a very fragmentary head found there by Homolle;¹ but a head and feet do not suffice to restore a statue. In another one of the Cyclades, on the distant Thera is found a nearly complete example of this type. For the statue of island marble known under the name of the Apollo of Thera is lacking only the lower part of the legs (Fig. 133). The two pendent arms are detached from the body for only a small part of their length from the height of the elbow; the modeling is very summary, and one would be tempted at first sight to date the work back in even the last years of the 7th century. However, what gives the impression of a later age is, that one no longer feels here the habits contracted by the sculptor in working wood. The forms are rounded and the contours are involved. One will particularly note the rendering of the face above the sloping shoulders. If the brow recedes, if the ear is placed too high, if the nose is thick and heavy at the end, the arch of the eyebrows is well drawn on a brow surrounded by a row of symmetrical curls. The eyes have projecting balls and are slightly oblique; the outer ends are slightly raised toward the temples. The lips are clearly cut, and the mouth is elevated at the corners as a sketch of a smile. Its sculptor is preoccupied in animating the face; whatever his awkwardness, he has succeeded in this to a certain degree.

Note 1. p. 317. Homolle. *Publ. Corr. Hell.* 1873. pl. VIII, right; 1880. p. 35.

Beside this statue it is proper to place another, known under the name of the Apollo of Milo (Fig. 134).¹ Both are cut in the same marble, which seems to be that of Naxos. Melos is also nearer Naxos than Thera. Between the two statues are resemblances, that allow them to be regarded as related. This relationship is especially apparent in the head; there are noted in both the seeking of the first awakening of expression. The execution of the trunks also presents a certain analogy; it is abrupt rather than soft; it freely accents neither the long sketches nor the design of the muscles in the soft parts. Yet there are differences. In the Apollo of Milo by the effect of the length of the legs, the figure may be more soaring than that of the Apollo of Thera, the forms have more precision and solidity. For example, see the shoulders. In the statue of Thera these are depressed. Their contour has something uncertain and vague; in that of Melos, they are wider and more elevated; they give the impression of a firm attachment to the arms. It is the same for the abdomen; if the sculptor has not even attempted to indicate the white line of the transverse aponeuroses, their proportions are better seized and the limits of the basin are better marked. The thighs are too thin; but in the rendering of the knee and calf, the artist seems to be inspired by nature.

Note 1. p. 320. The first study of the Apollo of Melos was made by Hobaux. (Publ. Corr. Hell. 1872. p. 560-567, pl. XVI). The legs are restored.

The Apollo of Melos certainly is more advanced than that of Thera; although conceived in the same spirit, the head has more elegance. The figures belong to the same school, but do not seem to have come from the same studio. Each artist begins in his own way and treats the common theme in his own manner. To appreciate these works at their proper value, it suffices to compare them to another figure, executed in the same manner and doubtless about the same epoch, that called the Apollo of Orchomenos; nothing is more gloomy than the flat and crushed face of the Beotian statue. Not alone by reason of the source and the material employed have we compared the Apollo of Thera and that of Melos with the statues uncovered at Delos. Whether we have there images of

of the deity or images of a dead man raised on his tomb, as one is inclined to believe in accordance with the conditions of the discovery,¹ we again find in these marbles the qualities and tendencies, that characterize the work of those Ionian sculptors, of which the most celebrated were the masters of Chios.

Note 1.p.321. The statue of Thera was found in the immediate vicinity of ancient tombs even cut in the rock. (Ross. Inselreisen. vol. I, page 8, As for the other Apollo, all that is known is that it came from Melos. (Deltion. 1891 No. 89)

If we believe that we can seek even at Thera the trace of the activity of the Ionian sculptors, for a stronger reason we must recognize their hands in the slight remains that are left to us of the sculptors of the most ancient temple of Artemis of Ephesus. The harbor of Ephesus opened at the bottom of the gulf into which flows the Cayster, between the two promontories facing Samos at the south of Chios and the north. Thus when the opulent city desired to ornament its temple, if Rhodcos of Samos furnished to it a statue of bronze for the sanctuary, it was from the sculptors of Chios, skilful among all workers in marble, that it demanded the sculptural decoration of the surfaces of the edifice, that was very rich;¹ The architect at Ephesus had placed figures where they were found in no other Ionic temple, in the cornice, where the enclosed lions and heads of beautiful character, and around the shafts of several columns.²

Note 1.p.322. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII.p.62-614.

Note 2.p.322. Murray was able by means of attention and patience to utilize fragments of the first temple collected by Wood in his deepest excavations; he marked their places in the partial restorations that he executed for the museum. The results of this labor ^{were} presented in a memoir entitled: - Remains of archaic temple at Ephesus. (Jour.Hell.Studies. vol. X. 1839. n. 1-10, pls. III, IV).

Of the reliefs of slight projection ornamenting the cornice, there remains only little pieces, heads, members, fragments of drapery, all of very fine work; it is thought that one can divine the group of a centaur and a Lapitha. Another series of fragments of ^{came from figures} greater dimensions and relief The curve of the ground from which they project allows the rec-

recognition of these sculptures placed on the shafts, whose tradition was resumed in the temple contemporaneous with Alexander.

What is most remarkable is the head of a woman presenting a three-quarter front. (The face is broad; the cheeks are full and the lips are fleshy. A broad band is placed on the hair, whose wavy locks enclose the forehead and at the back fall on the nape in parallel tresses. In the ears are pendants of circular form; some traces of a collar are distinguished on the fracture. However mutilated is the lower part of the face, the modeling does not lack suppleness nor amplitude. From the same column perhaps comes another image that can almost entirely be restored, that of a male personage, erect and walking, the left foot in advance (Fig. 136).

Over the close tunic is cast a panther's skin; the head of the animal covers the right shoulder of the man. The clothing leaves bare the lower part of the legs. They are of correct and firm design; but what especially forms the interest of this restoration is, that it shows howⁱⁿ the primitive edifice, there moved around the shaft figures all arranged in a vertical position, and consequently as suitable as the flutes above them to make apparent the height of the column. In the restoration that we have given of this column of the first temple of Ephesus, we have grouped around the preserved images, other personages of both sexes.¹ these are entirely invented, but are conceived in the same style as the figure that remains, and they thus fix the character of the mode taken by the decoration. In a third fragment that must belong to that entirety, is recognized a motive that we shall find again more than once in Ionia and elsewhere on funerary steles: there remains the middle portion of a male figure, clothed and with the arms falling beside the body.²

note 1. p. 324. Histoire de l'art. vol. VII, pl. X R.

note 2. p. 324. Murray. History of Greek sculpture. vol. I. fig. 20.

It was also some pupil of the masters of onios that must have sculptured a female statue, whose trunk was found on the gulf of Smyrna, at Vourla near the ancient Clazomenae. (Fig. 137),³ Its material is not marble; it is a limestone

of very close and fine grain. As for the type, it is that which we know by many clay figurines (Pl. VI) and by the statues of Delos and of the Acropolis of Athens. One recognizes either Aphrodite herself or one of her worshippers holding a dove in her hand. One notes here the thickness and heaviness of the forms. The work must precede 550.

note 3. p. 324. Collignon. Torse féminine etc. (Rev. Arch. 1 1900.² p. 374-379).

6. Monuments of Ionian Art outside Ionia and Cyclades.

The monuments so far studied are not the only ones that represent the efforts and work of Ionian sculptors. Others remain for study which came neither from Miletus nor Samos, Cnidos nor the Cyclades, but that we yet believe ourselves authorized to compare with those whose Ionian origin is duly certified. With very rare exceptions, these works are ^{not} signed and we know nothing of them from ancient authors; but we find there more or less marked the traits which have seemed to us to characterize the style of the three schools that we have distinguished.

These scattered fruits of Ionian genius will not alone be discovered on the coasts of Asia Minor, in the vicinity of the part of the shore where the Ionian race had its principal habitation. We shall find them very far from the cities mentioned as the capitals of this civilization; we shall see them arise in the distant island of Cyprus as in the heart of Phrygia, in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly and Attica. After the example of Rhoecus and Theodoros, Arcnermos and Roudalos, many other Ionian artists went to labor wherever called, to decorate the tomb and temple, of wealthy individuals or of princes and magistrates of cities.

Ionian sculpture is not represented at Rhodes for this period by a single important monument, unless one credits that island with the head in the museum of Constantinople, that a false indication caused to be attributed to Rodosto; (Fig. 114); but there are in the British Museum an entire series of small figures of limestone, that mostly came from Camiros.¹ They appear to have a votive character. Here is a woman seated in an armchair, doubtless a deity (Fig. 138), a type also found in Ionia, where it is represented by a stela of Clazomene (Fig. 139). There is a god with a ram's head,

which even sits on a throne. This must also be a god, this person that holds by the tail and hind paws a reversed lion with head downward (Fig. 140). Believers desired to perpetuate the memory of their offering. These are nude young men with one arm pendent on the thigh, while the other is folded over the chest and holds in the hand a patera or a kuo. (Fig. 141). In these figurines the modeling is too summary for one to appreciate its style. The color is a red that has left very visible traces on the stone and completed the work of the chisel. The influence of Ionian masters is certainly felt in this direction far beyond Rhodes and even in Cyprus. It would be easy to follow its trace in all archaic Cypriote sculpture, in its taste for rounded and enveloped forms, in its search for elegance and in its insistence on minute care for the details of ornamentation and costume; but to show what could be at Cyprus the role and the part of Ionian art, it will suffice to present here a sphynx in limestone, uncovered in 1886 in the cemetery of Marion-Arsinoe, where it stood at the entrance of a tomb (Fig. 142).¹

Note 1. p. 325. A. H. Smith. A Catalogue of sculpture. vol. I. nos. 53-75.

Note 1. p. 328. Couze. Sphynx de Cypre. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1 1894. p. 316-322, pl. VII).

Created by Egypt, the type of the sphynx was borrowed from it by the neighboring peoples, each of which had more or less modified it to express one of its conceptions. The Mycenaean artist had already appropriated it in Greece; but after the example of the Assyrian and Phoenician artists, he always gave it wings, an arrangement very rarely found in Egypt, and he omitted that chin beard by which the effigy of the king was recognized.² The head of the sphynx therefore has all the appearance of a female head, an appearance in harmony with the gender that the language assigned to the word denoting that artificial being: but the thought of the men of that time is yet too much concealed from us, for us to be able to state whether they attached a definite sense to this figure, or if for them it was merely a motive of decoration. The art of Homeric Greece continues to reproduce this image;¹ it transmits it to that of historical Greece. Then it assumes a signification which appears to have

been suggested to the Greeks by the representations that they found either on Egyptian furniture and jewels, or on those metal cups and scarabs of a style like Egyptian, that Phoenician commerce distributed on all the coasts of the Mediterranean. They saw there a sphynx holding a man down between its forepaws.² Their ingenious minds labored over this fact; they found a meaning in this group which they were pleased to transfer to their vase paintings. Preoccupied as they were with the mystery of death, they made of the sphynx a being similar to the sirens and harpies, one of those agents of destiny that came to break off life in its flower; to this idea corresponds the name that they gave it, of the stifler or strangler, derived from the verb *soniego*. As the harpy was the ravisner, the sphynx was the strangler, to speak like the Greeks. This type was then like an image whichⁱⁿ sculpture personified the irresistible force by which had been laid underground the guest of the tomb. Numerous monuments evidence the vogue enjoyed by this symbol in all parts of Greece and even in Etruria, where it was disseminated by Greek art; These are sometimes figures in the round, placed on a pedestal in form of a column or a square base (Fig. 54);¹ they are more frequently reliefs chiseled on the front face of a stele or on its back.

note 2.p.327. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. III. Pls. 545, 546. Other examples of the same motive are indicated by Wiltschko, p. 56, 57, in the very complete study devoted to the sphynx, regarded as a funerary symbol. (Sphynx in Athen. Mitt. 1879. p. 45-78, pls. v, vi). Stackelberg. *Gräber der Hellenen*. Pl. LVI.

note 1.p.328. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. III, Pls. 151.

Of all figures of the same species, the sphynx of Marion has the advantage of being that, whose funerary destination is best attested by the circumstances of the discovery; but what is its special interest is, that one recognizes there the work of a sculptor who received lessons other than those of the Cyriote workmen. The first publisher of this monument was not mistaken in this. "If," said he, "one can precisely characterize archaic Ionian art, these are even the characteristics of that art found in the figure of the sphynx of Cyprus, a repugnance for nervous accent, a marked taste

for rounded contours, for full and rounded flesh, in which blood circulates. The eyes project beyond the orbits; the nose is thick, the chin is broad and projects forward, the lips swelled. This is the proper stamp of Ionian works, where one always feels the expansion of young and robust life, not without softness."²

Note 2.p.328. Couve. Sphynx de Chypre, p. 321-322. There is also cited as a very faithful replica of an ionic model of the year 500, a female head cut in the limestone of Cyprus. (Furtwängler. Neue Denkmäler antiken Kunst. Pl. X.). It must have belonged to a statue of the type of xoanona of the Acropolis.

These original traits of the Ionian style are less accentuated on a monument that came from a little island near Rhodes, the island of Syme (Fig. 143).³ It is a slab without ornament or inscription. The longer part of one face is occupied by the figure of a young man seen in profile. He stands in the attitude of walking. He leans on his spear with his left hand. For all clothing a floating mantle covers the chest and falls to the height of the knee in folds that are retained by the right hand. One part is raised on the left forearm. The legs and feet are nude. Below this personage and separated from him by a fillet is a wild boar with erected mane, such as found on monuments of Ionian origin, coins of the dynasties of Lycia, sarcophagi of Glazomene, painted vases, a tomb of Xanthos called that of the Harpies, etc.; an allusion is there supposed to the taste that the deceased had for the chase. The image is quite defaced now, flat and without any modeling; in the interior of its outline, the details of the drapery are indicated by lines, as in the vase paintings with incised designs. As seen by the face, the prominent and angular nose, the very elongated eye, the monument must date from the beginning of the 6th century. Then in Ionia must be sought the first sketch of a type repeated everywhere by the sculptor charged with assisting in the decoration of the tomb. This type is that of the rectangular stele, narrow and high, whose panel is filled by the effigy of the dead, standing vertically.

Nearer than Gyropolis and on the southern coast of the Anatolian peninsula, the elevated lands of Lycia sheltered in

the recesses of their hollow valleys an intelligent and brave people, which was very superior to its neighbors in Cilicia and Pamphylia, and made itself illustrious by the passionate energy with which it defended its independence from foreigners on several occasions. Sparsely inhabited today by some groups of very scattered laborers, woodcutters and shepherds, this picturesque country, the Switzerland of Asia Minor, until recent times had retained almost intact its ancient monuments, the tombs of its cemeteries, built of fine materials or cut in the rock, and the edifices that decorated its cities;¹ likewise the travelers that visited it in the course of this century have brought away from it a rich booty, a series of reliefs and of statues, that are counted among the most interesting groups possessed by the museums of Europe. For example, such are those that archaeologists know under the names of the tomb of the Harpies, Monument of the Nereids and Heroon of Trysa.

note 1. p. 330. On the nature of Lycia and its ruins, see *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. v. part 2.

The Lycians were not Greeks. They spoke a tongue whose secret has not yet been discovered; they wrote by the aid of an alphabet belonging to them. Yet the Greeks were early established in Lycia. If Homer counts the Lycian heroes, Sarpedon and Glaucos, among the allies of the Trojans, he represents them as natives of the Peloponessus. From generation to generation, the number of Greek colonists must increase as the creative activity of Asian Greece and its expansive force increased. The Greeks do not appear to have had in Lycia cities entirely for themselves; but one divides them as being scattered everywhere as merchants, workmen and artists, welcomed and protected by the Lycian chiefs reigning at Telmissos, Patara, Xanthos and in the other cities of the mountain; they undertook to ornament the cities, to decorate the buildings and perpetuate the memory of the exploits of those princes by the images of them on the friezes and pediments of the royal tombs. The immigrants had introduced into that country the use of their language. In the 5th century will be seen on the same stone Grecian texts near Lycian texts, and if not presenting a translation of them, at least summarizing the general sense for the pas-

passers, who did not comprehend the dialect of the natives.

note 1.p.331. For example, such is the case for the Greek inscription in 12 verses, that appears on the stele of Xanthos surrounded by the Lycian inscriptions, where is present the longest Lycian text that we possess, a sort of history of the reign and the exploits of a dynast, son of Harpagos. (Benndorf. zur Stele Xanthia in Jahr. des Oest. arch. Inst. vol. III, p. 98-120).

We have scarcely found to mention for Lycia one or two works of sculpture, that seemed to have a character entirely oriental.² From the 6th century Grecian art conquered Lycia. The Lycians charged it with being the interpreter of their mourning and herald of their exploits, as already attested by the oldest of three monuments to which we have alluded, that of the Harpies. In spite of the strangeness of certain details, surprising at first sight, all is Greek there, the theme, conception and execution.

note 2.p.331. Histoire de l'Art. vol. V. figs. 272-280.

The structure to which belonged the reliefs that Fellows removed to place them in the British Museum was a tower in form of a pier or square tower (Fig. 144); this type is peculiar to Lycia. The monument is found in the interior of the rampart. Differently from the Greeks, the Lycians had the custom of placing within the walls of the city itself at least all the tombs of persons of any importance.¹ What distinguished that represented here, before its mutilation in 1842, were the four reliefs that were sheltered by the projection of the roof and surrounded the funerary chamber. That was placed at the top of a pier and was accessible only by the aid of a ladder; one entered by an opening made in the eastern facade and just wide enough to pass a slender man.

note 3.p.331. Histoire de l'Art. vol. V.p.380-383; fig. 288.

note 1.p.332. See the plan of Xanthos given by Benndorf, Stele Xanthia, fig. 23.

Four different scenes are developed on the four sides of the frieze that ornaments on the exterior the walls of the chamber. On the two narrowest sides (north and south, the monument not being quite square), the compositions are entirely symmetrical. On the two longer sides, western and

eastern, the correspondence is less exact.²

note 2.p.332. For the bibliography of works relating to this monument, see the long note of Friedrich-Wolters. in *Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*. 1886.p. 74.

At the two ends of the slab in which was pierced the doorway are two female personages facing each other and seated on richly decorated thrones. Both have the same attitudes, the feet being placed on a footstool, the arms extended and raised holding objects that seem to have a religious or symbolical character (Fig. 145). The costume is the same for both parts; it is the tunic of a fine fabric that falls to the feet, over it being a mantle cast over the shoulders and supported by the left arm, on which it is draped in large folds. Also the same headdress and wavy hair held over the brow by a wide band, at the back being coiled in a ball at the nape. There is then a very marked resemblance between the two figures, although that on the right appears younger. What differs are the attributes. The older of the two women holds in one hand a cup, the usual vessel for libation. The left arm is broken off; its termination is unknown. At the other end of the surface, the second woman is seated and lifts with the right hand a flower to her nostrils, while she holds in her left hand a fruit, apparently a pomegranate. The doorway opens before the older woman, but does not reach the top of the slab; above the opening a cow suckles her calf. Then come three erect figures, young women clothed in the talar tunic and mantle, facing the right and the first raising the folds of her veil as if for a salute. The other two in a similar pose present a pomegranate, a flower and an egg.

Much more injured by the weather, the eastern face shows an analogous scene (Fig. 146). Near the middle of the panel and on a throne like the two others is seated an aged and bearded personage, whose left hand rests on a sceptre, his right raising a flower. Before him a child with extended arms offers a cock, and accompanied by his dog a young man has the right hand extended. Behind the throne stand two women; one of them holds a pomegranate.

On the north and south faces is a different arrangement. A central group of two persons is enclosed between figures

symmetrically placed, that seem to have no relation to the group. On the north side is a seated personage holding a sceptre in one hand, with the other replacing a helmet on a young warrior with a dagger in his belt, his shield and sword before him (Fig. 147). Under the throne of the god is an animal in which has been seen a bear, inhabiting the mountains of Lycia, but which we prefer to recognize as a rudely drawn dog. On the south face the principal group likewise consists of two personages (Fig. 148). One is seated and appears identical with the principal personage of the corresponding relief. The same theme and same pose in general, same costume and sceptre; yet with some difference in the detail of the movement. Here one hand presents a pomegranate and the other a round fruit. Before the seat is a woman with the right hand open in the attitude of prayer, the left holding by the wings a bird resembling a dove.

On both of these slabs the ends of the surface are occupied by birds with female heads, breasts and arms; the body terminates in the form of an egg. These strange monsters fly away bearing in their hands and claws female figures, that are much smaller than all other personages. The pose of those women carried off alive indicates terror and supplication. On one relief, one of the same figures is seated on the ground; with the head between the hands, it seems to await its turn to be carried off like its companions.

Of all personages here represented, the birds with human heads are the only ones that can be named with all certainty; they are harpies.¹ In the primitive mythology, the harpies personify tempests that wreck ships: it is easy to understand by what association of ideas, they have become divinities of unexpected and sudden death. This is the character that they have in Homer. In the same tale, the poet sometimes calls them *thyellai* (scavalls) and sometimes *arpyeiai*;¹ he relates that they carried off in their youth the daughters of Pandarus, the cherished youths of the four goddesses. How the harpies were represented, Homer does not state. Hesiod lends them wings and the rapidity of the wind.² Art usually contents itself by making them winged figures like so many others; but however rare may be the image furnished by the Lycian reliefs, it is ^{not} unique. On another mon-

monument of Ionian origin, a fragment of a vase that came from Naucratis, was found the winged figure holding a child in its arms.³

Note 1.p.335. Panofka first recognized harpies here. (Arch. Zeit. 1843.p.49-7.), and this interpretation has since been accepted without opposition.

Note 1.p.336. Homer. Odyssey. XX, 66-79. This as a development or rather a later alteration of the myth, that in the fable of Phineus gives them the role of impure and deformed beings, intent on robbing and defiling the festal tables.

Note 2.p.336. Hesiod. Theogony. 265-270.

Note 3.p.336. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1894. p.733-734. On a list of prestate is found a winged figure serving as a handle and with an ovoid body; but it lacks the child. (Mon. ined. vol. VI. Pl. XLIV, fig. 3).

Where embarrassment commences is when it is necessary to interpret these reliefs. What character is it proper to attribute to each of the groups, and how shall we define the figures placed between those of the harpies on two sides, and occupy the entire surface on the other two. Many conjectures have been expressed on this subject. It has been desired to see in that entirety the exposition of an entire cosmic system. Everything here, the choice of personages, their movements and the attributes distinguishing them, would have a symbolical value. In this statement, there is no image nor detail in which must not be sought a profound meaning. By each line traced by his chisel, the artist desired to affirm the eternal opposition and at the same time the intimate correlation of life and death.⁴ All that is very ingenious; but in what we know of the beliefs that the mystery of human destiny suggested to the Greeks, is there nothing that accurately corresponds to the doctrine, that one claims to deduce from the study of the reliefs in question? Finally, even to admit that one can collect the scattered elements of this doctrine in the myths of the religion of the dead and in the primary conceptions of the Ionian philosophers, one must not forget that the sculptor at Xanthos worked for a people still half barbarous, in the sense in which the Greeks understood that word, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of Greek thought and of all its refinements. Is

Is it probable that the artist would have chosen this public to make on it a trial of a theory that we do not see presented in the decoration of a truly Greek tomb, or on a vase intended for equipping the sepulchres, under such a complex form and with such a luxury of symbols?

Note A.p.338. E. Curtius. Das Harpyrienmonument von Xanthos. (Arch. Zeit. 1855. p.1-12), und zum Verständnisse des sogenannten Harpyriendenkmals und anderen Denkmäler verwandten Inhalts. (Arch. Zeit. 1869. p.10-17). The idea of Curtius is summarized in these words: - "In this relief treated with the highest devotion to art, no line is without meaning." p.6. Objections of Conze. (The same. p.78-80).

Without carrying their explanation as far, other interpreters have followed the same course. The latter propose to recognize Demeter and Core in the two seated women, Chtonian deities, and in the male personage thrice repeated and seated on the throne, Zeus, Poseidon and Pluto, or Zeus regarded as sovereign of heaven, earth and nades.¹ As for that, what the sculptor undertook to represent would be the deities that preside over the different acts of life, birth, admission of the youth to the army, and marriage by which the citizen ensures the duration of the city; these would be the homages rendered to those helping deities by the child, youth and adult man. In these scenes the narrows alone of their intervention remind the spectator of the funerary destination of the monument.² Some of these scenes scarcely appear to lend themselves to the meaning attributed to them; but here is the capital objection, that which dispenses with insisting on difficulties of a second order. Never is a place reserved in the ornamentation of the tomb for the gods and goddesses of Olympus. No sculptures or funerary paintings in which appear those divinities. The art of the tomb in Greece has its themes especially belonging to it. In spite of the apparent variety of forms assumed by them, they can be reduced to a very small number of motives, always to the same. What forms the basis is the representation of the deceased; he is represented as engaged in the attitudes usual to him, in the labors and pleasures that filled his earthly life. Death is regarded as a sort of god to whom is addressed the homage of those replacing him in the family

and the city. This is proved by the sepulchral inscriptions, that give to the deceased in certain countries the title of *nero*, which in the minds of those employing it indicates a situation intermediate between man as an ephemeral creature and the supreme deities. this appellation only appears late in epitaphs; but on very ancient monuments without inscriptions, the idea corresponding to it is divined from the composition of the scene sculptured on the stele. For example, such is the case for the curious reliefs from Sparta, where one sees the husband and wife seated near each other on a throne similar to those of the monument of the Harpies (Fig. 74); as at Xanthos, they hold in the hand the cup for libations; there stand before them worshippers, who bring them offerings among which are found the bird, flower and pomegranate.

Note 1.p.338. E. Braun. *Sepulchro di Xantos, etc.* (Ann.d. Inst. 1841.p.133-155), and *Ueber die Marmorwerke, etc.* (Rhein. Mus. N.F.III, 1845).

Note 2.p.338. H. Brunn. *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*. I,p. 139-141.

One cannot deny this resemblance, we might almost say identity. The conclusion is imposed. Men are agreed today to recognize in these Laconian reliefs funerary monuments; why hesitate to attribute the same character to the sculptures of the tomb of Xanthos?¹ Other Lycian monuments of a more recent epoch, the sarcophagi of the Lycian chiefs Pajafa and Menchi as well as the so called monument of the Vereids also present the image of the heroized dead, to whom the living render the same honors. If there be a region of Greece where sculpture may be interested in expressing the ideas inspired by the worship of the dead, this is Asia Minor; is it not there in Caria near Lycia, that two centuries later all the arts are united in a common effort to offer to two deified deceased, Mausolus and Artemesia, the homage of an edifice that by the originality of its scheme as by its enormous dimensions and the splendor of its ornamentation, merited being counted among the wonders of the world?

Milchhofer first recognized that the interpretation adopted for the Laconian steles implied the abandonment of that

which had been proposed for the monument of the Harpies. (Arch. Zeit. 1881. p. 53-54). This explanation was adopted by Collignon. Histoire de la Sculpture. Vol. I. p. 264-266).

Then there is no need to torture one's mind to find a meaning for the reliefs of Xanthos; that suggested to us by these comparisons is simplest and clearest. The principal personage is the seated person, that occupies the middle of the surface in three of the reliefs. What is more natural than to recognize therein the dreaded chief, whose remains reposed in the cavity? Represented twice as a pacific sovereign, on the third slab he is a soldier that lays down his arms. This last scene is designed to recall his warlike prowess. As for the two women seated near the western tomb, one would be the wife of the master and the other his mother or sister. They seem to occupy here a place of honor at both sides of the doorway, in the relief with the most careful execution. This arrangement is explained by what Herodotus relates of the custom of the Lycians to designate themselves by the name of their mother and not that of their father.¹ There seems to be a vestige of an old matriarchal right, which ensured to the women a privileged position in that society.² Nor is there any difficulty for the figures standing, male before the prince and female before the women of his family; these are the two sexes and all ages that participate in the ritual ceremonies celebrated before the tomb. The only symbol that may be here is the group of the cow suckling her calf. From Assyria and Asia Minor to Magna Grecia and Etruria, this ^{motive} ~~symbol~~ is found on monuments of various kinds, utensils of wood and of ivory, vases of metal, coins etc.³ If the artist made such frequent use of this motive, this not merely because of the rural memories evoked by this image; there was an allusion to the eternal fecundity of nature, that never waries in repairing her losses. The use of this symbol was also nowhere better justified, than among a people that made the mother the chief and eponym of the family.

Note 1. p. 341. Herodotus. I, 173.

Note 2. p. 341. Lowy called attention to this point. (Zum Harpyrienmonument, in Melanges Perrot, p. 223-225.

Note 3. p. 341. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, Figs. 552-553.

see a list of these monuments in Longperier. *Notices des antiquités assyriennes du musée du Louvre*. 1854. no. 390.

These reliefs are of marble, and Lycia possesses no marble. Of itself alone, the use made of this material suffices to warn us that we are in presence of the work of a foreign sculptor. This marble was brought from the Greek islands, just as there came from Greece the artist who wrought it. He was an Ionian. One finds here all those traits that have seemed to us to characterize the style of certain Ionian workshops, an easy and current execution but without accent, frequently a happy seeking for elegance in the arrangement and detail of the adjustment. The statuary takes pleasure in folding and pressing the fabrics; but except for the costumes of the women, he takes only moderate care to accentuate the forms of the body beneath the drapery. The sculptures are further not all by the same hand. Those of the western face are very superior to those of the other three sides. In them are betrayed most faults. The seated figures in particular leave much to be desired. They are heavy and as if piled on themselves. It seems that they would have difficulty in rising. The master that designed the entire composition must have himself executed only a part of the work, for the rest, it was left to workmen that did not appreciate it.

Ornaments in metal, such as bands fixed above the brow, have left their traces on several points of the reliefs. If the brass played its part there. The figures were detached on a blue ground. Traces of red were found on the helmet and the shield. Palm leaves were painted on the supports of the thrones; a row of eggs decorated the moulding that served as a frame.

In the absence of any inscription, what appropriate date should be assigned to this monument? If it is compared to the Nike of Archermos, it would appear difficult to assign it to the first part of the 6th century, and on the other hand, in 545 Lycia was invaded and Xanthos was sacked by Harpagos. For the city that had suffered this misfortune a certain time was required to repeople it and place it in condition to supply the cost of such an important work. Thus one is brought to about 520 or 510, perhaps even to the last

years of the century.

It is probably, that like the Lycian dynasts, the last sovereigns of Lydia were assured of the assistance of the sculptors of Miletus and of Chios; like the sages and poets of Greece, these had to take voluntarily the course of this kingdom that the Persians surprised in actual transformation, when under Croesus it became Hellenized as rapidly as Macedonia was under Philip and Alexander. Until now, no excavations may be said to have been made in Lydia, and if by chance some happy discoveries have been made, they have not yielded what we seek here; but on the day when it is resolved to descend to the deepest layers of the soil of Sardis, there is every reason to hope that this will furnish works stamped with the seal of the most ancient Ionian art. While waiting, much farther from the coast has been found the trace of the Greek artist. At Doryleia in the heart of Phrygia, in the vicinity of those royal tombs on which are read the names of Gordios and of Midas, tombs whose decoration bears everywhere the imprint of a purely Asian art, there was found a monument whose presence in that place proves the importance that the chiefs of those tribes attached to the advantage of possessing and of being able to show examples of a more skilful art, whose prestige charmed them. This monument is a stele sculptured on two faces.¹ On one side is seen a woman standing, who in the left hand holds suspended in the air by its forepaws a lion's cub with head turned backward (Fig. 149). For clothing, she has the long tunic, whose fine fabric fits the skin. On the head is a sort of tiara made of a diadem with sawteeth placed on a cylindrical cap. On the back are two great wings curled upward, one extending before and the other behind the bust.

Note 1. p. 343. This stele was discovered in 1823 at Baki-neir by Rodet and Duver (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1824. p. 122-123. Pl. IV); but they only saw the figure of the woman; the sculptures on the other side escaped them. The monument was taken to Constantinople, where Korte recognized that both faces of the slab were ornamented. Then he gave a new description and representation of the monument. (Athen-Mitt. 1825. p. 1-12. Pls. I, II).

The other face is divided into two parts (Fig. 150) In the

first a horseman is on the march, accompanied by a dog and a man on foot. In the second is a chariot drawn by two horses and containing a single personage. This face has suffered more than the others.

This monument is not the work of a native workman. The stone in which it is cut does not belong to the varieties supplied by the quarries of Phrygia. As at Xanthos, here is believed to be recognized the white marble of the Cyclades; all the great cities of the coast must have had stores of it. When the artist responded to the call sent him, he loaded his block on a heavy wagon with grating wheels, an araba as said today, which the slow steps of oxen drew on the Phrygian plateau, to near the sources of the Sangarios. It is not merely the choice of the material that marks the intervention of the Grecian chisel. The crown of the stele has almost entirely disappeared; but observe what has remained of it, an elegant palm leaf and a beaded band, that serves as a frame for the relief; these are motives familiar in the mouldings of Ionian edifices.¹ As for the costume of the female figure, the talar tunic and the mantle, this is what we have already observed everywhere from Miletus to Samos on the marbles that we have described.

note 1. p. 345. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 349, figs. 231, 232

One cannot doubt the funerary purpose of the monument, when he considers what must be its principal face, which time has so strongly maltreated. The horseman and the driver of the chariot are the deceased; he is represented as starting for the chase or for war. On the other hand it is not without surprise, that on the opposite face we perceive an image, which according to the attribute and the address that characterize it, can only be that of a goddess. We have stated that on no tombstone sculptured by a Greek for a Greek are found gods and goddesses mingled in scenes in which the deceased plays a part. The anomaly that strikes us here is explained by the very peculiar conditions presented by the monument of Doryleia. The stele was executed by a Greek artist; but it was at the place in Phrygia and for a Phrygian, and he caused to be inserted on the monument that perpetuated his memory the effigy of the national goddess, of that Cybele that the native workman loved to sculpture on the sides of Phrygian hills, likewise covered by

sculpture on the sides of Phrygian hills, likewise covered by the tiara and flanked by her familiar lions.² The lion was the symbol that this people placed most freely on the facades of its rock-cut tombs.³ On one of these tombs appear both the warrior in the attitude of combat and lions facing each other.⁴ This is further not the sole indication that we have of the aid given by Ionian artists to the nobles and princes of Phrygia. A verse exists, the remnant of an epigram written concerning the statue placed on the tomb of one of these kings:-

"I am a virgin of bronze lying on the tomb of Midas."⁵

note 1.p.345. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII, p.649; Figs. 291, 293.

note 2.The same. vol. v. Figs. 108, 110, 111.

note 3.The same. vol. v. Figs. 84, 92.

note 4.p.345. The same. vol. v, Figs.85, 117, 118.

note 5.p.345. The same. vol. v, p.181, note 1.

In those glades in the forests in which they raised the horses and cattle that formed their wealth, the Phrygians could cast great figurines, like those left by their neighbors, the Syro-Cappadocians;⁶ but it is difficult to believe that their rustic industry even went so far as to cast a figure sufficiently large to serve to crown a royal tomb and beautiful enough to inspire a poet. From some bronze-worker of Samos this must have been demanded, while a workman made the reverse of entirely Greek appearance, the exotic type of the Cybele of Didymene.¹

note 5.p.345. Histoire de l'Art. vol. IV. Figs. 367-369.

note 1.p.346. In this goddess, Radet and Ducre desire to see the Persian Artemis; Korte seeks in it an Artemis adored in Asian Greece. It seems more natural to recognize here

that Cybele which was with it in Phrygia; it was already associated there with the lion, which will always remain its inseparable companion, even when poetry ^{and} Grecian art shall have adapted it to their taste.

To appreciate the execution of the stele, one can scarcely take into account the face in which is represented the deceased. All that is distinguished there is that the movement of the horses was rendered correctly and even with a certain

freedom. The sculpture of the other face can be better appreciated. Now the execution presents singular irregularities. There is real elegance in the arrangement of the folds of the mantle, and the contour of the right leg, visible through the transparency of the tunic is designed with precision, but nothing is more awkward than the head, with its front eye placed in a profile face, and the heaviness of its nose and chin. These defects are explained if one supposes that the stele is earlier than the reliefs of the old temple of Eponesus, to which it has been compared; it would thus date from the first half of the 6th century.

By the land routes in that mountainous country, neither men nor marbles were easily or rapidly moved. It must then be exceptional that Ionian art extended into the forests and plains of the interior. On the other hand, by the sea routes its influence extended no less freely to the north and west as it had done to the southeast in the direction of Lycia and the island of Cyprus. In that of the colonies of Miletus that eventually would assume the most importance, at Cyxicus, this art is only represented by a fragment of a relief, that recalls the chariot races so frequently represented on the sarcophagi of Clazomene.² On the other hand, a stele was quite recently found where formerly stood Apollonia, one of the colonies founded by Miletus in the Euxine on the coast of Thrace (Fig. 151).³ It recalls that of Syme by its form and subject. This is the same slab of white marble, a little narrower at top than at its base: a male figure fills the entire field, standing and leaning on its staff. According to the completely engraved at the top of the slab, he was one of the first citizens of that city: his name was Anaxandros. Art is more advanced here than at Syme: the relief has more projection; the pose is less simple. Wrapped in his mantle, Anaxandros leans forward and his right hand offers a bone to a dog, that rises to seize it; the master of the animal amuses himself by this play. This is a motive familiar to archaic art. We have already mentioned it on a stele of unknown source, which belongs to the museum of Naples (Fig. 73); we find it again on a stele from Oronomenos. Of the two, that of Naples resembles most that of Apollonia. The stele of Naples has retained

its terminal palm leaf; the marble of Anaxandros lacks the crowning ~~at~~^{and} the entire lower part of the legs from the calf.

Note 2.p.346. Bull.Gorr.Hell. A bronze statuette found in a tomb on the Asian shore of the Hellespont reproduces the type of the draped xoanons of Delos and of the Acropolis of Athens. (Mylonas in *Parhassus*. 1899).

Note 3.p.346. Grabstele des Anaxandros. (Arch.Auz.1896.p. 136-138).

Less distant from the illustrious metropolises of Asian Greece, in the northern basin of the Egean sea, are several islands that have always passed for dependencies of Thrace. When the Phoenicians, who had founded agencies and worked mines there, were compelled to leave them, the first Grecian colonists that occupied them came from Samos and Paros. Even in the silence of history, this could induce us to divine the monuments of archaic sculpture discovered in these islands. Thus among them is a slab of white marble found at Samothrace, which must have belonged to the arm of a seat (Fig. 152). There is represented a scene from the war of Troy, a sequence to which was doubtless formed by other scenes of the same kind, on the other sides of the same seat. Before a dragon of very unusual form stand two persons, Epeos and Talnypios, and then a third is seated, Agamemnon. Near them are engraved their names on the stone in letters of the most ancient Ionian alphabet; but what is still more significant is the design of the border enclosing these images. At the top is a band of interlaced lotus flowers, alternately upright and reversed; at the bottom is a wide braid. Now these motives are those most frequently employed by the painters that decorated the Ionian vases known especially by the excavations of the Rhodian cemeteries. Finally, if the execution of the sculpture is here very summary, the traits that characterize it are those that we have already had more than one occasion to notice. All the figures are clothed in the Ionian mantle that the Ionian sculptor loved to cast over the shoulders of his persons of both sexes. The fall and arrangement of this drapery are indicated correctly; but in the contours of the legs we find that sort of softness and indecision, that we have already mentioned in other works of the same school. As on the stele of

Syme, the relief is very slight and comprises no internal modeling; the figures are only flat outlines, detached from a ground slightly sunk with the tool. Comparison with the painted vases is here imposed. "The images are rather drawn than sculptured; if the expression did not appear strange, one might say that this is a painting executed with the chisel."¹ This monument must be earlier than 550.

note 1.p.348. Collignon. Histoire de la sculpture. I.p.188.

On the contrary, to the last years of that century or perhaps to the first of the succeeding century belonged a series of sculptures that came from Thasos. Thasos was very near Samothrace; but its inhabitants, who descended from Parian colonists, owed a brilliant prosperity to the mines, which they possessed in the same island and on the coast of the neighboring continent. Art had long flourished there, when in 462 the principal city of the island, situated on the north coast, was compelled to enter as a subject the maritime empire of the Athenians. On the site of this ancient capital, Miller in 1864 disengaged from the ruins of a structure of the late epoch three slabs of unequal widths but of the same height, all three being ornamented by reliefs and made of the coarse-grained marble furnished by the quarries of the island; they must have served as surfaces, either of some great monumental altar or of a wall surrounding an enclosure dedicated to Apollo, the Nymphs and the Charites.¹ Some of the slabs composing this decoration have not been recovered.

note 1.p.350. Rayet. Monuments de l'art antique. vol. I. (very extended notice that refers to all the earlier works).

At the middle of the longer slab, the sculptor has imitated a wide doorway, whose jambs and lintel project strongly; (Fig. 153); he has counted on the shadow cast into that cavity to produce the illusion of the entrance into an obscure place, such as would be the interior of a temple. At the left of the opening are two persons. One of them is Apollo, the Apollo Nymphagete or "conductor of the nymphs" mentioned in the inscription on the lintel of the doorway. He is recognized by the lyre held in his left hand, whose strings were of metal; hanging in his right hand was a plectrum. He is clothed in a talar tunic and a mantle fastened on the

shoulder. Behind him is a woman with raised arms prepared to place a crown on his head.

On the right portion of the surface, three women face the preceding group and pass toward the doorway. All three have around their heads metal crowns, that must be ornamented with leaves and flowers; there remain of these only little bronze nails. They hold various objects in their hands, earlands, fillets and fruits. Their costume consists of a long tunic falling to their ankles, and an under vestment, that assumes a different cut and shape for each. Same diversity of adjustment in the group of three women walking to the right, that fills the surface of one of the two smaller slabs. The objects held in their hands are of the same nature as in the principal relief. (Fig. 154).

The third slab contains only two persons facing the left. (Fig. 155). The first of the two is Hermes, bearded as he was represented until the middle of the 5th century, the head covered by a conical cap of felt, the chlamys cast over the shoulders, the legs nude and feet shod with sandals without little wings. He extends the right arm forward and the left hand holds a caduceus, whose interlaced serpens were of metal. Behind him advances a woman, whose fingers play with a garland. The inscription read on the plinth under the feet of Hermes it appears, indicates the name properly given to that figure; this was a Kharite. this was probably not alone. Just as Apollo was placed between several nymphs, whose band he led, several Kharites must have formed the procession of Hermes.

The relief of these sculptures has nearly the same projection as in those of the monument of the Harpies; but the internal modeling is more emphasized, and the cutting of the chisel is more free and clean. More than one trait here announces the approaching and complete emancipation of the art. Doubtless in the entirety, what also gives the tone are the traditions of the archaic art. Too uniform symmetry presided over the arrangement of most of the figures. A certain movement, like that of the right arm of the Hermes, is not exempt from stiffness; but one feels there the effort made by the sculptor to animate the scene, and that effort is marked with more success in the entire pose of the nymphs.

who is going to crown the god, in the ease of her gestures. Same suppleness in the pose of Apollo, who presents himself in a three-quarter view. They also attempted to vary in the personages the flow of the drapery. In all that is a freedom not yet found in the works of the Ionian school, and yet we have the impression with this marble, of not having left the domain over which extended the influence of these schools, and in which it reigned until after the Median wars. At Thasos as in Ionia, all figures are clothed, and in the arrangement of the fabric is visible a seeking after elegance, the taste for a luxury of ornament, that was here again enhanced by the addition of metal accessories and colored pastes. Analogies did not stop there. Seven of the women of the relief of Thasos reproduce the attitude of the three women, who at Xanthos occupy the middle of the western face. Charged with attributes of the same kind, the two arms, one raised and the other lowered, are arranged in the same manner. We note this resemblance even in the way in which is treated the form of the body, so far as it appears beneath the veil of the clothing. In both is the same ample and fleshy contour, that in front accents the projection of the neck and behind no less kindly emphasizes the roundness in which ends the fall of the loins. The sole difference is that the figures at Thasos are a little slenderer than at Xanthos.

On the contrary, more archaic is the appearance of a relief from the same source, that represents a seated woman with a footstool beneath her feet, on a broad seat with a back (Fig. 156). The arms alone leave the ample tunic that ascends to the neck and descends to the feet. No indication of the folds of the cloth; but however simple the fabrication may be, it no less recalls that of the sculptures of the sanctuary of Apollo Nymphaeete. The same profile of the falling throat; the same design of the hands with the same slim fingers. One of the hands holds an object that seems to be a pine cone and the other a dove. The presence of that bird gives reason to think that this was a votive monument, dedicated to Aphrodite.

Marble was much sculptured at Thasos about the end of the 6th century and during the entire course of the 5th; then

we cannot be surprised that sculptors of different origins came there to seek work. A certain monument discovered in this island has a style different from that of the Ionian sculptors, that makes one rather think of the schools of the peloponessus. Such is a kneeling Hercules drawing a bow, which is found nearly the same on the coins of Thasos.¹ It is no less true that the influence of Ionia appears to have been dominant here; we can follow its trace in this and in other archaic reliefs, that are too broken for us to think of reproducing them here, and even in more recent works of an entirely free execution, such as the charming stele of Pailis in the Louvre.¹

Note 1.p.353. Bull.Corr.Hell. 1894. p.64-69, pl. XVI.

Note 1.p.354. On the jamb of one of the gates of the ancient city is a relief contained in a pediment crowned by an eagle seen from the front. A goddess is seated at the left on a throne with a low back; she holds a sceptre; before her stands a Nike. Beneath the seat is a Marsyas casting aside the flutes. The sculpture has suffered much; all the heads have been crushed. Judging from the freedom of the movements and the execution of the drapery, the monument would be later than that of Apollo Nymphaete; still it seems to be still impressed by a remnant of archaism. See Mendel. Reliefs archaïques de Thasos. (Bull.Corr.Hell. 1900.p. 553-571).

If the Parians, insular Ionians, peopled Thasos, the Thracians, Ionians of the Asian continent, founded the city of Abdera almost opposite that island on the coast of Thrace, destined to a brilliant future; after the conquest of Ionia by Harpagos, they had sought a new country in a land not forming a part of the Persian empire. Artists, sculptors and ceramists, must have followed colonists in their exodus, and to one of those emigrant we think must be attributed a fragment of a stele from Abdera (Fig. 157). The relief represents a young man standing and seen in profile. When the slab was complete, it must have been about 4.9 ft. high, but it has been broken at the level of the neck of the image. There remains only the head of that, and whose brow is enclosed by bushy hair, separated into line and parallel locks held by a narrow band. This was represented by a metal

ornament, whose place is marked by three holes.

This monument has been compared to the Attic steles, and it was proposed to see in it the work of a sculptor born or trained at Athens.²

For our part, we do not have that impression. The modeling is here more ~~involved~~, the lines are softer and less distinct than in the Attic reliefs; this is rather the work of Ionian masters that we believe is recognized in this head. The stele of Abdera would further be one of the more recent works of the Archaic Ionian school. However symmetrically arranged it may be, the hair retains its natural suppleness on the top of the head and on the temples. The eye is frankly in profile and the mouth smiles without effort. This stele must have been sculptured about 500

note 2.p.354. This is the opinion of M. Pottier, who first published this marble. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1880. p. 256-259. Brunn does not share this opinion. (Athen. Mitt. 1883.p.91-92).

These elongated steles with low relief are again found farther west in Thessaly. They were in that country princes, who transmitted from father to son a power founded in the possession of considerable wealth. The Scopades were at Krannon and the Aleuades at Larissa. These Thessalian tyrants appear to have had their eyes turned to Asia rather than to European Greece, to which they were near neighbors. They had separated their interests from those of the States situated south of Thermopylae; even before Xerxes began his campaign, the Aleuades by ambassadors had already made him offers of cooperation. Proprietors of vast domains cultivated by them by a people of serfs, intrepid horsemen and great topers, the Thessalian nobles were less cultivated than the citizens of the cities of central Greece and of the Peloponessus. Yet the day came, when they also desired to have some smattering of letters and arts; then it was particularly their compatriots of oriental Greece, that they required to serve them as initiators and masters. Aleuades and Scopades called to their courts Ionian poets, and Anacreon that the misfortunes of his country forced to flee from Teos and Simonides who went everywhere to distribute eulogies and glory in exchange for the presents with which he was loaded by his hosts. If they required sculptors that personified their local deities or decorated their tombs, they confided

that task to Ionian artists. Such as this Telephanes of Phocæa, that certain historians of sculpture made almost equal to Polycletus, to Myron and Pythagoras. If he had not the same reputation as these illustrious sculptors, some say that this was because he placed himself in the service of the kings of Persia, Darius and Xerxes, or indeed according to others, "because he was established in Thessaly, where his works escaped the attention of connoisseurs."¹ These indications are only contrary in appearance; what results from them is that Telephanes, after his native city ceased to exist in 544 for a time, always lived abroad, sometimes a pensioner of the great king and sometimes of the Thessalian dynasties. At Larissa as at Persepolis, doubtless he had brought with him workmen accustomed to working under his orders. Besides after the disasters in Ionia, he could not have been alone to take the road to exile. Several of his compatriots could not fail to seek employment of their talent on the western shores of the Egean sea, that had not yet been reached by the Persian conquest.

note 1. p. 256. (Latin). Pliny. H-N-XXXIV, 88. We do not think with Furtwängler (Masterpieces of Greek sculpture, p. 57, note 8), that Telephanes flourished about the middle of the 5th century; we rather believe him contemporaneous with the Median wars. When one sees a Phocæan sculptor wandering thus through the world from Susa to Larissa, he remembers that Phocæa was abandoned by its inhabitants about 544; on those that did not depart for the distant exile of a cruise in the western Mediterranean, the obligation was imposed to seek employment of their talents nearer Ionia. Finally, what seems to me particularly decisive is the fact, that those Persian edifices containing most of the most beautiful sculptures date from the reigns of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and of Xerxes. The end of the 6th and the first years of the 5th centuries are the time of the great activity of the construction yards and workshops of sculpture, to which according to Pliny, Telephanes was attached by the Achaemenide sovereigns. (Latin).

Since Thessaly was annexed to the kingdom of Greece (1331), ancient marbles have been sought there and have been collected in little provincial museums. The number of the works to which

study has been devoted has increased rapidly, and the new finds have confirmed the inferences derived from the rare historical evidence.¹

Note 1.p.357. The Bull.Gorr.Hell. and the Athen. Mitt. have equally contributed to make known these Thessalian monuments. Bull. 1888, Articles of Rougères, p. 179-181, 181-187, 273-274. pls. V, VI, XVI. Mitt. 1888, p.81-100. H. Brunn. Nordgriechische Sculpturen; 1887, p.73-80; pls. II, VII. P. Wolters. Zwei Thessalische Grabstelen. (Plg. in text); 1890. p.199-216. Heberdey. Reliefs aus Thessalien. pls. IV-VII; Plgs in the text.

The most remarkable work that has left the soil of Thessaly is the fragment of a marble stele, that Heuzey brought from Pharsala and gave to the Louvre (Fig. 76).¹ Of the slab on which were represented two young girls erect and facing each other, there remains only the middle portion; but if the crown as well as the bottoms of the two figures have disappeared, we have the heads, busts and arms. Three of these are raised to the height of the face, both arms of one figure and the right arm of the other; the left arm of the latter projects forward and is broken a little below the elbow. That hand should also be provided with an attribute, of which some indistinct traces remain near the fracture. In fact, each of these hands holds in its slender fingers an object, raised as if to call attention to it. Two of these objects are flowers, perhaps the poppy; it has been desired to see in the third sometimes a fruit and sometimes a purse, one of those little bags in which one placed money, toys or jewels. Purse or fruit matters little from the moment that is recognized in that relief the remnant of a stele once placed on a tomb. To have no doubt on this subject, it suffices to recall the so called monument of the Harpies (Fig. 145), where in an entirely similar pose the young women appear to show the egg, flower and fruits, as many emblems of always revived life.

Note 1.p.358. Heuzey. Jour.des Savants. 1858. Heuzey & Daumet. Mission archæol. in Macédoine. p.415, pl.XXIII. Rayet. Mon. de l'art antique. vol. I. Collignon. Sculpture. I.p.270-272, Fig.134. Brunn in Sitzb.der Bayr.Acad.1878.p.323-331.

It can be supposed that we have here the monument of two sisters or two friends, who died at the same age; the stele of Dermys and of Kitylos in Beotia offer us another example of two images of the deceased thus united on the same stone; the inscription will not permit any hesitation concerning the character and meaning of the image. The two young women have the same type of face and wear the same costume, the woolen tunic clasped on the shoulder, leaving the arms uncovered. They have the same headdress. The hair is arranged on the temples in flat wavy bands, and is held by a piece of cloth placed around the head and forming behind the nape a sort of pouch enclosing the chignon; that recalls the scarf of the women of Bordeaux.

There is still here more than one trace of the conventions of archaism. The ear is placed too high; the eye appears in front in a profile head; there is too marked a regularity in the folds of the tunic. In spite of these slight defects, the entirety has a grace not ignored by those who have studied this work. This grace is in the serious and collected attitude of the two persons, in the elegant arrangement of the hair, in the movement of the two young heads inclined toward each other, in the hands holding flowers that seek and meet each other, in the place reserved for the nude in the masses of the drapery.

To explain the pose of the two figures and the attributes shown by them, we have already had recourse to the reliefs of Xanthos. The more that one compares the two monuments, the more one is struck by the analogies that they present. One notes on the stele of Pnarsalus the very broad modeling of the face and neck, the amplitude of the neck that still retains all its firmness, the roundness of the arms, the supple waist and mobile fingers; all evidences of an intelligence already much alive to the beauties of the female body; the sculptor has the feeling for the flesh. This manner of understanding nature is what we have already seen announced in the sculptures of Xanthos; but here the same tendencies have ended in a success more nearly complete. If the Thessalian marble seems less ancient than the Lycian, this is not alone because its surface has retained more freshness; it is especially because its form is rendered

there with more precision. Between the two monuments is perhaps the duration of one generation; but they are too closely related for one to think of attributing to them different origins. In the stele of Pharsalus, we have a specimen of what must be produced about 520 or 510 by a Telephanes of Phocaea or some other of those artists, who went away to seek fortune in the world, after Ionia lost its independence.

At nearly the same time seems to be dated another fragment discovered at Tyrnovo, the ancient Phalaena.¹ The stele of white marble represented a spinner; but ~~by~~ all that remains of the figure is the head, and before it is the distaff raised in the air in the left hand, while the right hand is placed lower, twisted the thread and wound it on the spindle. The crush was charged to indicate certain details; it recalls the stele of Pharsalus by the type of the face and by the character of the execution.

note 1. p. 353. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1888. p. 273-278, pl. XVI. A better and more complete reproduction was given by Heberdey. Athen-Mitt. 1890. Pl. IV, 1.

The other Thessalian steles are too mutilated to lend themselves to observation, or are of another age that that whose limits we do not wish to exceed. Several of these are not without merit; but no more in the 5th than in the 6th centuries, Thessaly had no original masters.

In Hellas, the sculptors of Asian Greece and of the islands are represented by more than one work from their workshops, even where as in Boeotia and Attica they were not expected to come to attempt to reproduce the living form. A stele discovered at Orchomenos in Boeotia bears this inscription engraved on the base; "Alkenor the Naxian made me; observe me." (Fig. 153). The theme of the image, with a slight variation, is that which we have already found on a stele in the museum of Naples (Fig. 73) and on the stele of Apollo (Fig. 151). Leaning on a long staff and wrapped in an ample mantle, a man of mature age presents with the right hand a locust to his dog, that resting on the olivine rises to seize that prey. There is awkwardness in the drawing of the right shoulder and of the arm as in that of the legs; but the whole does not lack nature and a certain grace.

This is not the place to describe the numerous archaic

statues found in the same country around the temple of Apollo Ptoos; yet it is important to note, that to group these votive figures, an appeal was also made to the insular artists. Most of these images are made of an oolitic limestone from the neighboring hills; but some of them were cut in the marble of Naxos.¹ Were they not also executed at Naxos in those workshops, that especially existed on the profits of exportation? There remain to the credit of the Boeotian sculptors only the figures carved in the stone of the country. The marble statues are the most careful of all.

note 1.p.380. R. Lepsius. Griechische Marmorstudien. p. 93, 96; nos. 252, 253, 276-279.

When we shall describe the most ancient works of Attic statuary, we shall have more than one occasion to show what part the Ionian artists took in the education of the first sculptors of Athens; but even before commencing that study, one can furnish the material proof of the relations that the masters of Ionian schools maintained with the Athenians of Pisistratus and his sons. That proof is in the signatures of Ionian and insular artists that have been found at Athens, those of Archemos of Onios,² of Theodore of Samos,³ of Aristion of Paros;¹ it is also in the fact that among the votive statues of the Acropolis, there are at least two that betray a foreign origin. We desire to mention two images that we believe ourselves correct in indicating (Figs. 120, 121), as being from a Samian workshop.

note 2.p.380. Ephemeris. 1886. p.183-184.

note 3.p.380. G. I. Att. I, 373.⁹⁰

note 1.p.381. The same. I. 486, 489.

If at Athens one meets with many works of Ionian insular art, there was even in the heart of Hellas one locality where that art occupied more place, where it displayed all its resources in monuments made to attract attention by the originality of their arrangement and the richness of their decoration. That place was Delphi and its vicinity. After Delos, of all the localities where were celebrated the great games of Greece, Delphi was that which the cities of the Ionian race seemed to have loved most, that where they tried most to be represented by edifices and offerings, that should be evidence to posterity of their opulence and

of the taste of their artists. Olympia in the midst of Peloponessus was too far from them and rather looked to the West; in the list of cities that had built the treasuries grouped on the terrace of the Heraion, we find the name of no city of oriental Greece.² Doubtless Cirrha, the port of Delphi did not open on the Egean sea; but to arrive there from the Asian coast and the Cyclades, the way over the isthmus was shorter than when it was necessary to reach the mouth of the Alpheus, to double the dreaded promontories of Laconia and of Messenia. Farther, what tended to turn toward Delphi the eyes and steps of the Ionians was the oracle of Apollo, and the great part that it played during the entire 6th century and at the time of the Median wars, in the affairs of Greece and the neighboring countries. When the last kings of Lydia sent to consult the Pythia, the Greeks of the coast served as guides and interpreters for the deputies of Alyattes or of Croesus, and thus multiplied for the Ionians the occasions of visiting the temple and appearing at the foot of Parnassus. Thus is explained the part taken by the Greeks of the coast and of the islands taken in the erection of the buildings and of marble and bronze figures, that ornamented the sacred way. At the cost of the Cnidians were executed the celebrated paintings that decorated the lesone, one of the principal monuments of Delphi. Cnidus and Sionnis had at Delphi their chapels, their treasuries as it is said; Naxos had there its votive column. Finally, it was not at Olympia but also at Delphi, that the Athenians, those Ionians that were to continue the work of their brothers of Asia, in memory of the victories obtained by them over the Medes, erected this treasury that recent excavations have almost entirely restored, and placed those bronze statues, that were admired as one of the first works of Phidias.

note 2. p. 381. On the treasuries see *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, p. 404-412.

We have cited Cnidus among the Ionian cities, although it passed for having been founded by Thessalians, Lacedaemonians and Argives. It formed a part of that Dorian confederation which had its religious centre on the promontory of Triopion;¹ but those five or six cities situated in Carian territory never had a literature or an art belonging espec-

especially to them. Like the Dorians of Rhodes, those of the Pentapolis submitted to the lead of the fertile and inventive Ionians, their nearest neighbors. The stamp of Ionian art is borne by the vases and other objects that come from Rhodian tombs, and when Herodotus, a Dorian of Halicarnassus, undertook to compose a history addressed to all Greece, he employed in writing it the language of Ionian prose writers. Those cities of Dorian origin and name may be regarded as annexes of Ionia. It was under the auspices of the Ionians of Chios and of Phocaea, that the merchants of Rhodes, Halicarnassus and Cnidos penetrated into Egypt under Amasis, and took part in the founding of Naucratis.¹

note 1.p.382. Herodotus. I, 144.

note 1.p.383. The same. II, 178.

Among the monuments at Delphi that formed the property of the cities of oriental Greece is one, which by the number and importance of the fragments now possessed, is of capital importance for the historian of archaic art; it is that to which Homolle at first glance gave the name of the treasury of Siphnos, but in which he soon believed that he must recognize the treasury of Cnidos; the reasons that he alleged to justify this change of name appeared very convincing.² As restored by Fournaire, the architect attached to the mission of Delphi, it was an ante temple. Borne on a platform supported by high substructures and that some steps connected to the sacred way, its facade was turned to the west. 29.2 ft. long and 23.0 ft. wide, it must have been about 23.6 ft. high from the ground to the apex of the pediment. (Fig. 159). We have already found this type in the treasuries of Sicyon and of Megara at Olympia;³ but what distinguishes the treasury of the Cnidians is the part taken by sculpture in the decoration of the edifice. That part is here greater than on any other building of the same kind. There are figures in the tympanum of the pediment. In the entablature a continuous series of reliefs forms a frieze, that extends beneath the cornice on the four faces of the monument. Finally, between the antes and to support the architrave are two caryatids, figures of women instead of columns. Like the body itself of the edifice, the reliefs and statues are in marble of the islands.⁴ From one of the

myths of Delphi, the contest between Apollo and Hercules for the possession of the tripod, the sculptor borrowed the theme that he chose for his pediment (Fig. 160). At the middle of the tympanum Athena, the immortal pacificator, separates the two adversaries, each holding one end of the tripod, that he tries to draw toward himself (Fig. 161). At the left of Athena is Apollo, and behind Apollo is his mother Leto. With her extended arms, she clasps the shoulders of her son and seems occupied in retaining him. Then come two female figures, of one of them scarcely anything remains; the other is perhaps Artemis. On the right of Athena appears Hercules; he is bearded and seems to be covered by a sort of bonnet, that projects strongly over his brow. Between Hercules and the angle of the tympanum are a figure of a woman and one of a warrior, both standing behind two horses, of which there remains only the hinder portion; they drew the chariot on which Hercules came to Delphi to attempt to carry off the tripod. There must have been at the left another chariot; behind it was placed a crouching figure, very well preserved, that of a servant occupied in holding the team. (Fig. 162). There also remains a reclining figure that filled the left angle of the pediment.

note 2. p. 383. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896. p. 531-535; 1898, p. 536-538. On the treasures of Siphnos and of Chidol, Pausanias. X. 11-2, 4.

note 3. p. 383. Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII. pl. XX.

note 4. p. 383. The indications and interpretations that follow are taken from various notes in the bulletin; 1894, p. 188-194; 1895, p. 534-537; 1896, p. 581-602; 1898, p. 583-593.

On this pediment the lower parts of the figures are in relief, while the trunks are in the round and detached from the deeply sunk tympanum. This is then an intermediate attempt between the pediment in relief (Hercules and the Hydra of the Acropolis of Athens) and the pediment with detached figures. At the angles of the pediment were placed figures running or flying, doubtless Victories, of which remain no more than the base with some fragments of the drapery. Of the acroteria of the apex there remains only the hole for fastening it, elongated backward as if to receive the olivetti, that bore an animal seated on its hind paws.

The frieze is separated from the architrave by a band of eggs and has an average height of 2.3 ft. The themes that it is believed are recognized there are the apotheosis of Hercules on the west front above the entrance, admitted into Olympus as a reward for the services that he rendered to men and gods, on the south front being the kidnapping of the daughters of Leukippos by the Dioscures; on the east facade is the combat between the Trojans and Greeks about the body of Euphorbus in presence of the gods, who from the top of Olympus follow the turns of the battle, and finally on the north front is the battle of the gods and the giants. At first sight one can scarcely seize any connection between such different subjects, that the sculptor has treated on the pediment and frieze; yet perhaps it is possible to divine the reason that determined the choice of the themes. One of the adventures of Hercules is represented on the pediment. Hercules reappears on the frieze as the auxiliary of the gods in combat with the giants, and there on the eastern facade stands in the chariot, that is to carry him to Olympus. The Dioscures, that are believed to be recognized on the south wall, are Laconian heroes. If this be indeed an episode of the 19th canto of the Iliad that appears in the relief on the eastern wall, one cannot forget that the ancients called that part of the poem the prowess of Menelaus, and Menelaus is king of Sparta, while Hercules by his mother is a descendant from the kings of Argos. The Peloponnesus is the common country of Hercules, the Dioscures and Menelaus; now Knidos believed that it was founded by colonists that came from both Argos and from Lacedaemon.¹ Hence, was it not natural that artists charged with decorating its treasury were required to represent the myths, that carried to the thought of the spectator to either of the two mother countries of Knidos?

note 1. p. 367. Herodotus, I, 174; Diodorus, v, 54-58, 61; Strabo, XIV. 128. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896. p. 598-599.

Among the myths here figured is one that early became popular in all Greece, and had become public property; this was the battle of the gods and the giants; but the sculptor tried on that edifice to give it in some sort a local character by certain traits that he introduced in it. Hercules every-

everywhere has his place marked in the superhuman battle; but in the Cnidian relief appear two personages rarely seen elsewhere in the numerous representations that have given to us this myth in sculpture and painting. These are Cybele mounted on her chariot drawn by lions (Fig. 171), and Eolus with two others, ready to loose the winds (Fig. 170). Cybele is not one of the inhabitants of Grecian Olympus; she is an Asian goddess, and is found associated with the great Olympian divinities in their struggle against the giants only on Asian monuments, such as the altar of Pergamon and the temple of Priene. Eolus is attached to Cnidos by even closer bonds. Legend makes him the grandfather of Triopas, one of the heroes of Cnidos, and further the island of Eolia, that he is thought to inhabit, is no other than Lipara, that was colonized by the Cnidians.

The western facade is one of those that has suffered most. The entire middle of the composition has been destroyed; there remain only two marble slabs, that were opposite at the two ends. On each is a chariot drawn by two horses; the two teams faced in opposite directions. From one chariot descends a woman after having stopped her horses (Fig. 163). On the second chariot mounted another woman, in which was recognized Athena by traces of theegis. Here the horses are winged. Hermes stands before them, wings on his heels, caduceus in his hand, and masters their ardor (Fig. 164). At the right hand a nude male person advances behind the goddess. His head, legs and arms are broken. Is it necessary to see Hercules in him, who came to take his place on the chariot beside his faithful protectress? The absence of every characteristic attribute does not permit arriving at certainty.

The central point of the scene on the south front was marked by the altar on which was offered the sacrifice, that was disturbed by the violent act of the Tyndarides (Fig. 165). Traces of three chariots are believed to have been found, two being those of the kidnappers, while the third was perhaps that of the hero Leukippos (Fig. 166). Between the teams galloped horsemen, the companions of the Dioscures, who came to lend their assistance (Fig. 167).

Of the reliefs on the eastern face, scarcely anything is

lost; the entirety is easily restored. It is divided into two scenes of very different character, but which one is not surprised to see thus brought together; they are in the poem that inspired the sculptor. Around a dead warrior, four heroes contend for the body and arms of the victim; at each side is a chariot with four horses, ready so that the conquerors can carry away the corpse. At the heads of the horses on the right side is a servant; there must have been a similar one at the left side; the symmetry of the composition is rigorous (Figs. 168, 169). Menelaus occupies the first place at the right of the dead man stretched on the ground; he first attracts attention by his shield with the Gorgon's head;¹ a very legible inscription designates him. Opposite him are Hector and Eneas. This composition did not suffice to fill the entire length of the facade. To occupy the space remaining void, the sculptor has imagined the placing there of the assembly of the gods, friends of the Greeks, who were present at the events of the combat. There have been found, broken only at one end, the two marble slabs on which were developed this theme. On one is a group of three goddesses on seats without backs. They seem to converse together and to follow attentively a scene that they point out with the finger. The only one to which can be given a name is Athena at the left, recognizable by her egis (Fig. 170). On the other and longer slab are five personages (Fig. 171). The head of one at the right is broken; but by the powerful muscles of the shoulder is divined a god, and this god is Zeus. Alone of all the immortals, he is seated on a throne with a high back and with arms. Two statuettes, a nymph and a satyr pursuing her, support the arms of the chair. Beneath his feet is a very low footstool. Before Zeus must have been another figure, that has disappeared; it is indicated by a hand placed on the knee of Zeus. This very familiar action could scarcely suit anyone but Hera. Behind the master of the gods, three figures form a closely connected group; they touch each other with the hands. The first has the trunk half nude and is that of a god; the two others are clothed in the talar tunic and draped with an ample himation and are goddesses. The god ^{has} ~~is~~ a beardless and youthful face with abundant hair, that encloses his brow and falls in a thick

mass on his nape. That is a sort of first sketch of the type of Apollo, such as created by classical art, and what confirms the conjecture is the attribute of the god and goddess next him. The god turns his back to Zeus, and turns to speak to his neighbor, and she by a gesture indicating very particular intimacy, places her hand on his shoulder. One recognizes by that sign the fraternal pair of Apollo and Artemis. For the next figure, one is tempted to think of Latona; but this figure is not matronly; she appears in face and flesh as young as Artemis. On the contrary, thus must have been represented Aphrodite, who like Artemis was the daughter of Zeus. Aphrodite leans toward her sister and rests against her; nothing is more natural than that tender ease. Behind Aphrodite is Ares, wearing all his war equipment, helmet, cuirass and shield, and seems to not be interested in the result; he remains as if isolated.

note 1.p.370. Agamemnon carries a similar one (Iliad. XI, 634).

The reliefs on the north side, the combat of the gods and giants, are those whose series has been most respected by time; nearly all the heads remain. At the northeast angle, on the angle of a slab whose length forms a part of the eastern frieze is Eolus with his oithos and another half discharged (Fig. 172). Before him walk two women, that must be goddesses. With them must be fighting two warriors armed with spears, that occupy the left end of a great slab 2.9 ft. long (Fig. 173). Next two deities enter the combat together, Hercules with the skin of the Nemean lion fastened around his neck^{and} Cybele mounted on a chariot drawn by two lions. She is clothed in a talar tunic over which is cast the skin of a wild beast like a mantle. Of the two adversaries opposing this couple, one is menaced by the arrow of Hercules; the lions devour the other (Fig. 174). That double pair of combatants is succeeded by two groups of persons assembled in threes. These are Apollo with his short tunic reaching the thigh, Artemis with a headdress of a sort of tiara, clothed in close fitting tunic and a mantle floating behind, and then Dionysus, designated by the crest of his helmet in the form of a cantharus. Against the three warriors covered by their shields that advance against the tar-

three gods, Apollo and Artemis bend their bows, and Dionysus holds his sword in hand.

Doubtless in sequence to this group must be placed another slab, that perhaps forms the centre of the scene. Unfortunately the entire left portion of it is broken. There was a team, which permits to be divined the head, breast and feet of the horses (Fig. 175). It is probable that Zeus was seated in the chariot, opposite two warriors before whom the horses reared. Next Zeus, one is disposed to seek Hera, and indeed the name of Hera is read, traced with the brush near the head of the goddess behind these two giants, who is intent with piercing with her spear the enemy that she has already conquered. Near her is Athena, turning her back to her. The egis hangs on her breast; also one distinguishes on the marble the letters forming her name. Athena contends with two combatants. One of them has already fallen on one knee; he feels all ready to fall dying to the ground. The combat continues in two groups of warriors that contend against the gods (Fig. 177). To each god are opposed two giants, one of whom brandishes a spear, while the other is armed with a great stone. A dead man lies on the ground. The only personage that can be named is Hephaestus, recognizable by his pointed cap. Of a person next the two giants, there remain only the legs. There are still two fragments belonging to this front, but whose place in the whole is difficult to find. One of them is a slab, of which only the top remains, with the head of a warrior and two horses and heads. On the other are two combatants struggling over the body of a third, already overthrown and with one knee on the ground (Fig. 176).

It seems that on this frieze as on the painted vases were inscribed with the brush the names of all the persons above their heads; but very few of those inscriptions are now legible.¹ One can distinguish those letters from below, but what aided better than these legends in seizing the meaning of those images was the color applied everywhere on the figures, as it also was on the mouldings of the jambs and entablature. When these fragments of the treasury were uncovered, traces of these different tones were still very vivid in places.

Note 1. p. 375. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896. p. 586, note 2. The name

of Hera and of Athena are the only ones that are read with certainty. (perdrizet).

The sculptures that ornament the treasury of Cnidos are not all of the same value; they were certainly not all executed by the same artists. Homolle believed that he could distinguish there as many as three hands. I do not know three; but the reliefs have not been conceived and treated in the same manner in all parts of this decoration. In the pediment and in the west and south friezes that the procedure shows the least technical skill. There is very little modeling in the figures, but a surface sensibly parallel to the ground from which the figures project. They are connected with this ground by an edge cut straight and almost perpendicular to the two planes connected. The work of the chisel is thus reduced to a sort of paneling. Where the sculptor desired to indicate a detail in the space bounded by the contour, he has most frequently done so, less by a projection made in the surface than by a line incised in the marble. That recalls the methods of the ceramic painters, who made such great use of incised decoration on vases with black figures, about the same time.

The appearance of the sculpture on the east and north fronts is quite different; the progress of the art is very sensible there. The body there has all the modeling suited to the conventional relief; it has from 0.24 to 0.29 in. of projection. The modeling is obtained by means of flats, each of which corresponds to one of the inflexions of the living form, and it continues to the intersection with the ground by curves frankly accented.

The difference between the two series of images is not only in the manner of understanding and applying the procedure of relief; it is also in the character of the design. That is more correct and more free in the figures of the east and north than in the pediment, on the west and south. In the pediment is a figure of singular awkwardness, that of Hercules. All the lower part of the body from the belt is seen in profile and turned to the right. The trunk is a front view, and the head is turned to the left (Fig. 161). There is a forced attitude, that the body cannot assume without a violent twist of the breast and of the neck. In the west and south friezes,

it would be easy to point out faults of some kind. From one end to the other of the decoration of the edifice, the muscles are very frankly accented on the nude; but the artist that executed the apotheosis of Hercules has certainly exceeded moderation. In his themes, that youthful god in which in works of classical art, the vigor due to the exercises of the gymnasium is always allied to elegance of form, he has given him calves whose size almost becomes a deformity. (Fig. 164). Likewise in the southern frieze, the riders are too small for their mounts; the contrast is shocking between the puny appearance of these figures and the powerful looks of the horses (Fig. 167). The latter in the entire series of reliefs have a heaviness, that doubtless belongs to the character of the breed from which the sculptor took his models; but in the best parts of the frieze, he has reduced their heaviness by a certain elongation of the rump and especially by the variety of the movements. While at the west and the south the horses are uniformly shown in profile (Figs. 163-167), in the teams on the east, one is seen in a side and another in a three-quarter view (Figs. 168, 169); two others half rear and face the spectator, developing between them their broad breasts and their snorting heads. It is surprising to find this foreshortening here. Until now, the most ancient monuments of sculpture in which they are found only date from the end of the 5th century. For the entire preceding period, there are examples only in painting, where they already appear on certain vases with black figures.

One is no less struck by the technical skill shown in the other parts of his work by the sculptor of the combat before Troy and of the battle between the gods and giants. This sculptor already knows how to give depth to his scenes, to arrange there two or even three planes in which the personages are evolved without some masking the others. (Figs. 168, 169, 173, 175); but what is most astonishing in his work is his knowledge of form, his correct idea of the beauty of the movement and its value in expression. His dead men are stretched on the ground and have the rigor of the corpse; his living persons have the most varied poses, each of which is in accord with the part of the actor to which it is given. These qualities are everywhere sensible; one will then content

himself with presenting some groups in which are quite particularly manifested the gift possessed by the artist in expressing by the character impressed on the form, the idea that he forms of the personage and of the peculiarities that determine him. For example, in the battle of the gods and giants, see the episode of the combat in which Hera and Athena are the leaders (Fig. 175). The violent Hera throws her body forward with such a furious spring, that without the support of her spear, she would lose her balance. "On the contrary, Athena with shield against shield seems to overthrow her enemies without effort, merely by her spring and her walk forward; her calm attitude strikingly contrasts with the efforts and the powerless contortions of her adversaries."¹ Hercules and Cyclops are less clearly defined, one by the almost exaggerated strength of his muscles, the other by the originality of her team, both by the skins of wild beasts that clothe them (Fig. 173). In the voracity of these lions whose teeth are buried in the members of the giants, there is a savagery, that arousesⁱⁿ the mind of the spectator the memory of the mountains and distant plains of Parnassia. The effect sought has been less happily obtained by the arrangement adopted in the same scene for the figures of Apollo and of Artemis. The two children of Latona advance with the same step and in line. With an entirely similar movement, they carry forward their heads, arms and legs. It was impossible either to indicate the tender intimacy that unites these twin deities (Fig. 174). Note also the figure of Hephaestus in this relief, presented in three-quarter front, it turns with rare ease; it permits to be seen both the contour of the chest and the firm lines of the robust back and the fall of the loins. We shall say as much of the movements of the bodies and the poses by which on the eastern facade are marked the interest, that the gods and goddesses of Olympus take in the combat occurring on the earth (Figs. 170, 171). One cannot mistake the meaning of these movements and poses, and at the same time they have an indolent and native grace, whose charm cannot fail to touch an amateur refined in matters of art.

note 1. p. 372. Homolle. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 191

The differences that we have noted in the execution are

also found in the composition. This merits least praise in the pediment. No fault is to be found in the arrangement of the central scene. The artist knew how to find a figure, that of Athena, which is properly in place to occupy the middle of the tympanum, the arbiter of the dispute. The intervention of Latona is no less justified: put at each side of these four personages, the composition is dislocated. Those at the left of Latona and on the right of Hercules turn their backs and seem uninterested in the passionate debate of the two contesting deities. However the sculptor was occupied in filling the angles of the tympanum by placing there kneeling or reclining figures, there are all the elements emoloved by the wiser art of the statuaries of the 5th century, when there was imposed the task of giving a real unity to the scene represented on the field of the tympanum.

In the reliefs of the frieze, this artist has taken the method of not representing his giants as monsters, as done at Athens by the primitive archaic art, and as would be done much later at Pergamon by Hellenistic art. He feared the singularity in appearance presented by forms enlarged beyond measure or composed of heterogeneous elements, mixed with the noble types of the Olympian gods. What he desired in all this decoration is, that one should only perceive this human form, whose beauty he already felt so vividly in the robustness of the body of man, and in the elegance of that body of woman. The hour had not yet arrived when a subtle and refined art would know how to derive pleasure from even the contrast, that was distrusted by the sculptor of the 6th century with a just appreciation of his means.

It is then in the grand scene of the combat of the gods and the giants that the master has shown himself most skillful in distributing his personages. As for the kidnapping of the Leukioides and the apotheosis of Hercules, we cannot judge the entire composition: we possess only fragments of it. Those do not permit us to restore it; yet they suffice to warn us that the figures were rather continuous than grouped; they succeeded each other in a series, separated by too great spaces. It was no longer so in the scene of the combat before Troy and in the assembly of the gods. There

are no voids; the ardor of the struggle brings the combatants close together. Two quadrigas enclose the scene; this is the occasion for placing either at the heads or beside the teams the drivers, whose voices and hands restrain the impatience of the horses. As for the gods, they could scarcely be shown otherwise than as seated beside each other; but we have seen by what an ingenious artifice the sculptor has known how to establish close relations between the figures, that the subject of the theme seems to condemn to isolation. Yet there is one god, Ares the ferocious warrior, that holds himself apart and does not associate in the familiar colloquies of his sister goddesses. This contrast only accents better the effect of the attitudes assigned to the other deities. This is a real find, which gives a high idea of the gifts of the invention and reflection, then possessed by the Ionian sculptor.¹

note 1.p.381. These qualities are shown in even the least details. Is it not an ingenious idea to have given the centaur as a crest to the helmet of Dionysus?

In the other two scenes comprised in this relief, the artist does not seem to have made the same effort to vary the arrangement of his figures. Doubtless in the two opposite chariots at the ends of the field of battle, the movement of the horses and of the drivers is not without presenting sensible differences; but between the chariots, the Greek and Trojan warriors are arranged in couples at both sides, and if some brandish the spear while others are armed with the sword, all four have the body and members posed in the same fashion. This is rather a somewhat regulated symmetry. One cannot make the same criticism on the arrangement of the combat of the gods and giants. There are again two chariots; but one of them, that of Cybele, occupies the middle of the scene, and the lions harnessed to it bring into the scene an unforeseen and picturesque note. Most of the combatants are standing; but some struggle resting on one knee, and a goddess leans over the vanquished enemy to finish him. The spear with the beautiful movement of the arm required, is the arm assigned to the greater number of warriors; but others among them use the bow; some giants brandish stones. In general each god is opposed to two giants; but elsewhere

the adversaries are grouped in threes. One can imagine nothing more varied than the arrangement of this scene, in which the sculptor without ever falling into confusion, has placed so much animation and fire.

One understands why he was sufficiently satisfied with his work to sign it. His signature is engraved on the border of the shield ornamented by a Gorgon's head on the eastern facade, borne by a warrior in whom is recognized Menelaus. (Fig. 163). In this is believed that there is found in that inscription a form of lambda, that so far has only been found in the alphabet of Argos, and from this it has been inferred that the sculptor was an Argive by birth.¹ This conclusion does not seem justified by the facsimile given of this text. One reads there with certainty only the end of the patronymic *iovisio* and the words *em epoisi*.

note 1. p. 328. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1895, p. 526; 1896, p. 599-600.

As for the letters from which it is thought to derive for the beginning of the inscription, *Argeios Thrasymedes*, I do not see even a trace on the facsimile; the alpha alone is certain. As for the half effaced character to which so much importance is attached, all that the use of this form would prove if no uncertainty remained is, that the sculptor was born at Argos; but whatever his origin, it was certainly in Ionia or the islands that he received his training as a statuary.²

note 2. p. 332. One also finds the Argive lambda in the inscription of a dish from Camiros; now there has never been found at Argos the least fragment of painted pottery, that presents any relation in form or ornamentation with the category of vases to which belongs the piece in question. Argive or not, this painter like the sculptor of the treasury learned his trade in Ionia. (Partengeter. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1895. p. 201).

Whether or not one feels himself obliged to resort to this hypothesis, we no less persist in considering the entirety of these reliefs as a precious legacy of Ionian art, perhaps as its masterpiece.³ What has already sufficed to decide the question is the style and taste, whose imprint is marked on the architecture and sculpture of the building; now it does not seem to us that there can be any doubt in

that respect. All the mouldings of the little monument with their ornamentation are those characterizing the mouldings of the Ionic order.⁴ So far as we can judge of it, the treasury of Cnidos was the first edifice in European Greece, among the many Doric arrangements everywhere presented to view, that represented the mode of construction and decoration familiar to the Asian Greeks, whose methods they had applied and whose resources they utilized, when they built the great temples of Ephesus and of Samos. Is it demonstrated that an Ionian master was the architect of the temple, is it probable that its storied ornamentation would have been demanded from artists other than sculptors of the same origin, already employed in the works of the same kind?

note B.p.382. "There are perhaps," writes Lechat, "works as purely and completely Ionian as the frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians; but none are more so, in my opinion." (*Rev. Etud. grecques*. vol. XI, p. 163, note 1).

note A.p.382. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p. 648, 651; Pls. 291, 292, 293.

The examination of the reliefs confirms that inference. In spite of the inequality found in the composition and execution, they offer enough traits in common, that one may have a very clear feeling, that all come from the same school, from that whose work we have studied in the fragments, that we have been able to find, scattered over Ionia to the Cyclades, from Lycia to Thrace and Thessaly. The sculptures whose fragments we collected in the Peloponessus have an entirely different character. The style of the figures of the Cnidian frieze, we find again neither in the poor simplicity of the funerary steles of Sparta, nor in the massive amplitude of the Argive statues of Delphi, nor in the slightly stiff firmness of the images that fill the surfaces of the metopes of the treasury of Sicyon. The Attic sculpture itself of the end of the 6th century, with its elegance and not without the same dryness, does not have the free charm that strikes us here. The contour is not so full and supple. In these scenes of conversation, kidnapping and combat, there is further a life and movement so far found in no archaic relief outside the domain of Ionian art; on the contrary, the qualities that one first notes in the relief,

unfortunately very fragmentary, that was found in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo Didymeus, and represents a Bacchic procession (Fig. 115). If one enters into details, there are yet other comparisons to be instituted; the horses of the Cnidian frieze by their proportions and bearing greatly resemble those represented by the ceramic painter on the sarcophaguses of Clazomene.

The final impression left by the study of this frieze is, that about the time when it was set in place, relief had advanced to the full round. This advance is easily explained. When the sculptor chiseled these reliefs, he could be inspired by forms offered to him by painting. On the last vases with black and the first with red figures, were already produced when the century was near its end, works of beautiful arrangement, free and bold in design. In regard to the Delphic frieze has been recalled the memory of certain vases of Euphronios. Between the work of the sculptor and that of the ceramic painter is an incontestable analogy.

The date of the erection of the treasury of Cnidos would correspond to the apogee of Ionian art; it remains to fix it at least approximately. In none of the monuments so far reviewed has that art seemed so advanced; there is a primary reason to place as late as possible that date which we seek. The revolt of Ionia was soon followed by the first Median war, and must have interrupted or at least relaxed the relations long established between the oracle of Delphi and the oriental Greeks. We cannot then pass the year 500; but when those events occurred, a few years must have elapsed after the Cnicians had completed the building and decoration of their luxurious marble chapel. When Harpagos in 514 began the conquest of Asian Greece, in order to arrest the march of the Persians the Cnicians had undertaken to cut the isthmus that connected to the continent the peninsula at the end of which rose their city. Delayed by an epidemic that attacked the workmen, the work did not proceed; before it was finished, the enemy perhaps had time to attack the city, which must pay dearly for that abortive conspiracy. The Cnicians consulted the Pythia, and she advised them to renounce their project, i.e., to treat with Harpagos.¹ They did so, and in exchange for a homage that cost but a small tribute,

they avoided a siege and being taken by assault. Thus they found themselves under obligations to the oracle; it is probable that the edifice just described was then erected in gratitude and in memory of the service rendered. We believe that it was ~~in the~~^{first} quarter of the century about 520 or 510, that Cnidos contributed in this manner to the embellishment of the vicinity of the sanctuary.

note 1. p. 386. Herodotus. I. 174.

To establish that date and to justify the assurance with which we have attributed to the action of Ionian genius the edifice and its decoration, we have taken into account only the architectural members and the reliefs in which were recognized the remains of the treasury of Cnidos, even in the course of the excavations: we had adopted the hypothesis to which the ~~author~~ himself of the discovery has adhered for several years. He believed that two columns had been erected between the antes; he thought that he had found the base and a part of the shaft.¹ Today by seeing again and bringing together all the fragments collected in that part of the field of the ruins, he has come to propose another restoration, that which was exhibited on the Champ de Mars in 1900 and is now at the Louvre. In the restoration that we have reproduced (Fig. 159), the reliefs of the pediment no longer represent all the part that the sculptor had taken in the execution of the monument. Instead of columns, two carvats were erected before the doorway of the chapel, on pedestals in form of altars, and supported the architrave of the pro-nacs.²

note 1. p. 385. Homolle. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 194, 195; 1896, p. 582. From these indications we have determined the plan of the treasury. (Histoire de l'Art. vol. VII, p. 649).

note 2. p. 385. Homolle has explained the decisive reasons, that after a long study of the fragments, seemed to him to impose the restoration that he presents today in accord with Tournaire. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1899, p. 617-635; 1900, p. 582-611)

Those statues were found in bits; with whatever care they were fitted together, not one could be entirely restored with the antique fragments. Some of them had been already uncovered before the French excavations were commenced; but the latter have brought to light a sufficiently great number,

that today in taking into account the legs and heads now possessed, one can affirm, that within this area of the sacred enclosure were at least four figures of the same type, four female figures, all of which played a part as a support in an edifice. What proves that they really fulfilled that office is the series of pieces, cylindrical cap, echinus and abacus, interposed at the tops to serve as intermediaries between it and the entablature.

The facts were the same in the four statues, so far as the pose, arrangement of the drapery and the aspect of the face; but they especially resembled each other in pairs, forming pendants to each other. There were slight differences between the different pairs, noted in the general dimensions, in the height of the capitals, in the curve of the capital surmounting them. The capital was decorated by images in very low relief; but on one of the types, those images extended around the cylinder, and on the other they appeared only in the front, inserted in a panel giving the whole the appearance of a metope. For a moment, it was asked whether the four statues belonged to the same monument, or if they were grouped nearly as in the portico of Caryatids at the Erechtheum of Athens. This idea must be renounced; it is admitted today, that they belonged to two different edifices, in which ^{they} were placed like columns between the antae. One of them was the treasury of Cnidos, the other the treasury of Siphnos, whose place has been indicated by foundations found that touch at the east those of the chapel of the Cnidians. To that are attributed the two largest Caryatids: placed on bases whose fragments have been gathered in the rubbish, and that have been restored by pieces, they were about 11.5 ft. high with their caps, and accurately fitted in the space between the ground and the bottom of the architrave. What has been best preserved in this figure is the head (Pl. V, 11). Round and full, the face is formed within the locks of hair restrained by a broad band that holds it to the nape and passes above the brow. The temples were concealed under ample locks, frizzed with an iron, whose regularity recalls that of the ornaments of a rich architecture. These locks extend in long tresses that fall on the neck in front, while the tresses form a thick mass behind, striated

by parallel grooves, and descends as far as the beginning of the back, thus increasing the resistance of the neck. By raising the corners of the mouth, the sculptor had sought the grace of the smile and the large eyes flush with the head, with some awkwardness contributing to give an affable and easy expression to the features. Below the very plump chin, the neck is broken; but it is easy to fit the head on the trunk, that evidently exists as far as the tops of the thighs. The arms have disappeared; but at one side the breaks of the drapery show that the member hung along the side, and that its hand held the cloth away slightly, that it raised a little; this is a pose that archaic art affected. At the other side the arm was perhaps bent at the elbow and was held farther from the body. One shoulder is less inclined than the other (Fig. 178). Some fragments of the lower parts of the legs have been collected; the feet are wanting. Men are working and perhaps will succeed in almost entirely restoring one of these statues with the ancient fragments. The partial restoration presented by us suffices to show that the artist had a clear knowledge of the conditions of the problem, that he proposed, when he resolved to substitute bodies of women for columns as supports of the entablature. He endeavored and not without success, to give the statues invested with that function a robustness, that did not exclude ease. The arrangement of the drapery happily concurred in the effect of the whole. Cast in front below the chest into two unequal but symmetrical masses; it there outlined very marked planes whose direction recalls the flutes, that made the rise of the column more evident; but the sculptor did not know, like that of the virgins of the Erechtheion, how to prolong those vertical folds to the ground. Here the tunic is drawn around the legs and the figures diminish downwards, which does not have a happy effect.

What is no less curious to study is the mode taken to connect the statue to the architrave. There is first in the head itself, encroached on by the curve of the band that holds the waves of the hair, an entire ogee moulding. Above, the cylinder recalls the headdress given to certain female deities, the polos. That terminates in two mouldings, one flat and the other slightly convex, over which expands an

echinus, ornamented in high relief by the image of a combat between a lion and a stag. Quite at the top is a thin abacus on which rests the stone beam. There are superpositions that betray some embarrassment. The mode of junction adopted for the celebrated caryatids of the Erechtheion of Athens is simpler and happier. Finally, the young girls, to give them the name by which the accounts of the temple designate them, appear to have living persons, the foot set on the ground represented by the top of the wall, that isolates the portico on three sides. A very thin plinth is inserted under each statue, only serving to give a firmer bearing and does not detach them from the ground. I like the Cnidian caryatids less, set, and one might almost say perched on high pedestals; one asks how they mounted there and how they keep in equilibrium. This arrangement does not satisfy the mind so well; it is less inclined to accept the convention by which statues of women have taken the places of columns here.

With the given complication of the capital, one cannot be surprised that the sculptor believed it necessary to decorate the surface of the polos. This ornamentation is now very much broken. Going from right to left after vague traces of a dancing figure, one notes a group of two Silenuses with long hair and great beards, who execute the steps with a quite Bacchic gaiety (Fig. 179). Another Silenus carries a woman in his arms, while before him flees a terrified woman. (Fig. 180).

There is nothing in these caryatids of their ornamentation, that does not accord with the style of the other sculptures of the edifice. Was the artist that executed them also the author of the reliefs of the frieze? We do not know; but he belonged to the same school.¹ Here is found in the arrangement of the drapery and that of the hair that care for elegance, which we have mentioned as one of the characteristics of Ionian art. The sculptor is very skilful. He has understood well, that in images thus raised on a pedestal, the face must be modeled for effect, as said in terms of the studio. The eyeball is enclosed by eyelids of strong projection. The cheek bones are very marked and cast their shadows above the mouth, just as the lower lip throws its own on the chin. The opening of the lips is indicated by a line of

frankly incised in the marble. Here again is what concerns in proving the Ionian origin of the sculptures in question. Even by the choice of theme as well as by the violence of the movements executed by the figures, the decoration of the polos recalls the orgiastic dance, that is represented on a marble slab found near the temple of Apollo Didymus. (Fig. 115).

Note 1. p. 388. Furtwängler inclines to attribute the caryatids to a sculptor of Chios. (Berl. phil. woch. 1894, p. 1278).

If we laid so much stress on the treasury of Cnidos, it is because for the historian of architecture as well as that of sculpture, among all the monuments of Ionian genius not destroyed by time, it is the only one that can be restored in its entirety with some details. It has been said to be the Parthenon of Ionia. The word is correct in a certain sense. We can accept the comparison, provided that we do not forget how great was the difference in the dimensions of the two edifices.

The little and charming edifice, as shown in the restoration that has been attempted, must have been greatly admired when it was seen standing on the sacred way in the whiteness of its marble, with the rich ornamentation of its reliefs in vivid colors and with the still novel originality of the two female figures, elegantly draped, that supported the entablature. This last arrangement appears to have been reproduced after a brief delay by the construction of the treasury of the Silphians, a treasury adjoining that of the Cnidians and of Ionic architecture like that.¹ To this treasury of the Silphians is attributed the second pair of caryatids, which did not find its place in the treasury of the Cnidians; but here according to his habit, the Grecian artist has imitated without seeking to accurately copy his model. Between that and the replica made of it are sensible differences. The difference is already in the capital, lower and simpler than on the Cnidian pillar, as well as in the ornamentation of the polos (Fig. 131). Instead of the oblique and stressed lines presented by the figures on the polos of the Cnidian caryatids, what is found here in the same place is firm and calm lines formed by erect and symmetrical figures, in which have been recognized Apollo and

Hermes, accompanied by nymphs or graces. These figures repeat the vertical and thus associate themselves with the general direction of the architectural member (Pl. VIII). Further, instead of forming a frieze entirely around the polos, they occupy here only the front part. Limited by two lateral fillets, they fill a panel that recalls that of a metope of the Doric frieze. Progress is still more marked in the rendering of the face and in that of the drapery. The face is here dryer and leaner. The mouth is more arched by a franker smile, and raises more the flesh of the cheeks and the outer angle of the eye. Also here the eyeball was made of an inserted piece, that has been lost. One may assume that it projected less from the eyelids, and that by the contrast of the materials, it gave to that organ more life and effect. In the manner in which the hair is treated is greater variety. The chisel has cut holes filled by shadows, and that color the masses of the hair. In what remains of the trunk, the draperies are more adherent and the folds are deeper; one feels research and severer accuracy. The technical procedures are otherwise quite similar on both. The same method of joining the different parts; the same metal attachments, ear rings and band on the brow. It is proposed to attribute the paternity of these caryatids to a Parian master. Siphnos is sufficiently near Paros for the conjecture to seem quite justified. As for the date of the erection, all that can be said is, that the treasury of Siphnos was built after that of Cnidos.

NOTE 1. p. 389. ROMOLLE. Les caryatides du trésor de Siphnos. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900. p. 586-611; Pls. v-vii).

The last excavations made at Delphi have also brought to light the remains of a third edifice of the same kind, for which the discoverer proposes with all reserves the name of treasury of the Phocéans.¹ This edifice was found outside the sacred enclosure, in the eastern suburb and on the terrace on which the temples of Athena Pronaia and of Athena Ergane were surrounded by other buildings, in the district now called Marmaria, "the marbles." This treasury presented the same arrangement as that of Cnidos. The mouldings are the same, similarly decorated by eggs, radials and palm leaves (Fig. 182). By all that one can see of its architecton-

the monument depends on Ionic art, and the little remaining from the sculptures ornamenting it confirms that impression. A statue of Nike conforms to the type created by Arctermos and served as an acroteria (Fig. 183). Around the entablature seems to have extended a sculptured frieze, analogous to that of the Cnidians. It represented combats with which were mingled horses, either mounted or harnessed to chariots. Unfortunately here as in the other edifices on the terrace, savage hands were intent with exceptional brutality in reducing statues and reliefs to little bits. What remains most interesting is a warrior's head with proud and haughty bearing (Fig. 184). The appearance of the moustache is but very rarely found in the sculptures of the 6th century.

note 1. p. 391. Homolle. Les dernières fouilles de Delphes. Temple of Athena pronata. (Rev. de l'art ancien et moderne, vol. x. p. 361-367).

The temple of Athena Ergane was the largest of the edifices grouped on this terrace; by the proportion of the entasis of its column as by the profile of its capital, it is believed that it dated at latest in the first years of the 5th century. It seems to have had reliefs in its metopes and statues on its pediments; but all that sculpture was broken into such small pieces, that it is impossible to judge of its style. There are slightly more important remains of the terra cotta ornamentation, which after the ancient custom furnished the material of the gutters, the corona on the rakes of the pediment, the antefixas, cresting tiles and acroterias; it was very carefully executed. One will judge of it by the fragment preserving the top of a woman's head (vignette at end of this chapter).

With the votive column of the Naxians one returns within the enclosure; he returns to the sacred way and again finds himself in the presence of a monument of Ionian art.¹ We have stated elsewhere the archaic character presented by the shaft and capital.² What interests us here is the sphynx surmounting the column. Several fragments of it had been discovered in 1861 by Foucart and Wascher. Homolle completed the image by finding the head, paws and wings (Fig. 185). Today this sphynx is entirely restored, and has in depth and length dimensions equal to those of the capital; it rests

on the plinth that fits accurately in the hole arranged in the top of the latter. The column was 29.5 to 32.8 ft. high and served it as a pedestal. It stood 6.6 ft. before the polygonal wall that supported the terrace of the temple of Apollo.

note 1.p.292. *Publ. Corr. Hell.* 1897.p.585-588. Homolle proves that the attribution of the monument to the Maxians does not admit of any doubt.

note 2.p.292. *Histoire de l'art.* vol. VII.p.381-382; pl. LIV.

It may appear singular that Pausanias made no mention of this monument. Had the column fallen when he came to Delphi, or must the reason of that silence be sought in forgetfulness? However that may be, it has been believed that a memorial of this monument is found in the paintings of certain vases on which is represented the meeting of Oedipus and the sphynx. This is a cup in the Gregorian museum, that while reducing the height of the shaft to the dimensions of the panel, appears most directly inspired by the model. (Fig. 136). It reproduces the principal features, the column set directly on a plain circular base, the sharp edges of the flutes, the broad Ionic capital, the pose of the animal and the still archaic style.

It is not difficult to explain this impression produced by the monument on visitors to Delphi. Boldly planted on the top of the high column, on a capital with curves and ornaments enhanced by vivid colors, the sphynx, to the type of which was attached the undefined idea of a mysterious and fatal power, spoke to the imagination of the pilgrims. On its head, which the sculptor had broadly modeled to be seen afar, the mouth alone was expressive. This mouth was not a mere straight division with an abrupt ending, as on other archaic works of the same time. The artist made an effort to indicate the bend by which at the ends the opening of the lips is joined to the flesh of the cheeks. This mouth is open as if to formulate those enigmas, that cost the lives of so many unfortunates; but what particularly struck the eyes was the entire attitude, which was that of force in repose, which is defined so well by the picturesque brevity of a verse of Dante. "Like a resting lion."

In the entire hind limbs and the folded wings, one feels

the relaxation of rest, while one divines a formidable vigor in the ribs, finely indicated beneath the abdomen, and especially in the front limbs, erect and tense as for an approaching spring, and in the claws of the monster, that contract on the edge of the plinth.

Like the treasury of Cnidos, the column of Naxos depends on the Ionic style in all the forms of its architecture; but if it be proved that the architect who constructed the edifice was an Ionian, how could it be supposed that he would associate himself with a sculptor, who would not be attached to the same traditions of a school? All doubt is further removed from the sphynx, even by the fact of its attribution to the Naxians. The archaic sculpture of the Cyclades is only the prolongation of an art born in Ionia, in the workshops of the masters of Miletus and of Samos, particularly in those of the statuary of Chios.¹

note 1. p. 294. Partmangler, while admitting that the sphynx was executed at Naxos, finds a great resemblance to the works that men are agreed in regarding as coming from Samian workshops. (Berl. Phil. Woch. 1894, p. 1274-1275).

In the absence of all historical or epigraphic data, for estimating the age of the monument, one has only the character of its execution: now that gives the impression of an art less advanced than the frieze of the treasury of Cnidos. It is then in the vicinity of the year 550 that will be sought the date properly assigned to the column and to the sphynx borne on its summit.

It was not alone in Thessaly and Beotia, in Attica and Boeotia, that the influence of Ionian sculptors made itself felt by the models that they distributed there. Although the Peloponessus had workshops in which sculpture was developed under a different influence, that of Cretan masters, the reputation of the artists of oriental Greece was too well established, that even there men should be forbidden to ask their aid. Theodoros of Samos had been employed at Sparta as architect in the first half of the century.² A little later, it was still an Asian Greek that the same city called for the execution of a work of different importance, the construction and decoration of the throne of Apollo of Amyclea. In the village with which were connected the earliest

inhabitants of Laconia, Apollo was represented by an enormous column of bronze, that with its pedestal had a height of about 42.7 ft.³ To the plates of metal composing the shaft that formed the body was fitted a head, feet and two arms, one brandishing a spear, while the other held the bow. When Sparta had become the most powerful city of Greece, it did not replace by an image of more modern appearance the colossal and barbarous figure to which so many generations had brought their homage; but it desired that the Laconian sanctuary should not be the only one, in which the eye would seek in vain the statues and reliefs by which all the temples of Greece were then decorated. It was then resolved to give to the old idol an enclosure which by its magnificence should attest that Sparta did not regard the expense, when it was to honor her divine protector, and there was charged with the work Bathycles of Magnesia, a sculptor to whom the city of Magnesia on the Meander owed the statue which was worshipped in its temple of Artemis Leucophryne, one of the most beautiful edifices of Asia Minora¹

Note 2.p.394. Pausanias. III, 12-10.

Note 3.p.394. The same. III, 18, 9 16; 19, 1-5.

Note 1.p.396. The same. III, 18-9; Strabo. XIV, 1, 40.

Located in the interior of the country, Magnesia was certainly one of the first cities that the Persians placed under their laws. That was the time when this conquest disturbed and impoverished Ionia, and decided many of its sons to exile themselves. When Bathycles received the order by which his name has come to us, had he already left his native city? We do not know. He certainly brought his workmen with him into Laconia. Above the throne were represented Magnes, the workmen that had been the collaborators of Bathycles, says Pausanias.² By the attitude given to them, they expressed the joy that they felt at having been associated in the great enterprise.

Note 2.p.396. Pausanias. III, 18-14.

Recent excavations appear to have fixed the site of the monument;³ but all that has been found of it is the semicircular mass of masonry on which rested the altar of Hyacinthos, that served as the base of the statue. It is then almost solely from the description of Pausanias that one can seek

to form an idea of the principal arrangement of that work; now that description is very confused and the places occupied by the different elements of that entirety are not clearly indicated. It has been stated, that "the restoration of the throne of Apollo of Amyclea is not so chimerical an undertaking as that of the chest of Cypselus, but is only a little less so."⁴ Many archaeologists from Quatremere de Quincy have attempted the enterprise; the latest in date^{is} of Furtwängler and Homolle.⁵ These had over their predecessors the advantage of a better knowledge of archaic art, its methods of composition and its favorite themes. Their restorations are very ingenious; but in spite of their merits, they are subject to objections not without force;¹ thus we shall not stop here either to explain or to discuss them, so much is conjecture necessarily in place, Pausanias having not even thought of specifying the material of which the throne was made. We shall content ourselves with calling attention to a detail that has importance. The platform was supported in front and in rear by four female figures, two Graces and two Hours; at the sides by artificial monsters, such as Echidna, Typhon and Tritons.¹ Those Graces and Hours were caryatids, that in pose and costume must have been very similar to those just discovered at Delphi. It was then an eccentricity, the method taken at the foot of Parnassus by the constructor of the treasury of Cnidos; before him, others of his compatriots had already given the example of using the living form for that purpose. It is possible that the sculptresses of the treasury of Cnidos were executed either by Bathycles himself or by one of the artists trained in his school, and who had worked at Amyclea under his supreme direction.²

note 3.p.396. These excavations were made by Tsountas. (ephe. meris. 1892. p.1).

note 4.p.396. Lechat, in Rev. Etud. Hell. 1898, p.147.

note 5.p.396. Furtwängler. Meisterwerke etc. 1893. p.689-732, vignettes and 1 plate; Homolle. Le Tresor de Cnide et Bathycles de Magnésie. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1900, p.427-445).

note 1.p.397. See the criticism on the restoration by Furtwängler presented by J.G. Milne. (Throne of Apollo of Amyclea, in Class. Rev. X. 1898, p.215-220). Lechat shares

certain of the doubts expressed by Milne. Likewise Ridder, for the restoration of Homolle (Rev. Etud. Grecs. 1902, p. 384).

note 1. p. 398. Pausanias. III, 18-19.

note 2. p. 398. This is what Homolle supposes. (Bull. Corr. H. Hell. 1900. p. 428-429).

note 3. p. 398. Mitthofer, in Arch. Zeit. 1881, p. 54-55).

note 1. p. 399. On this subject, see Pottier, Catalogue etc. II, p. 417-419. About the same time we find an Athenian potter, Cleomenes, established at Corinth, where he made of the local clay the curious vase in the form of a double head of a man and a woman, possessed by the Louvre. (Collignon, Monuments grecs, etc. 1895-1897. p. 52-67, pls. XVI, XVII,; also Pottier. (Rev. Arch. 1900.² p. 181-203, pl. XIII).

The face is a very regular oval and is enclosed by the hair, rounded from one temple to the other in helicoidal locks, falling on the shoulders in two masses crossed by horizontal grooves. The brow recedes, the nose is projecting and pointed (Figs. 137, 133). The eyes are almond shaped and flush with the head; but the eyelids enclosing them are chiseled in a clear and fine line; the lachrymal gland is precisely drawn. The ears are large and well placed, but are a little too flat. The chin, in which is hollowed a visible dimple, is broad and full. On the mouth is laid the principal effort of the chisel. The thin lips open; they rise at the corners to sketch a smile. That has something slightly formal; but it no less illumines the entire face with a ray of intelligence.

The defects are more apparent in the trunk, where the shoulders are sloping, and the back is without any modeling. The front of the trunk is more careful. If the ribs and intercostal muscles are not even indicated, if the abdomen is depressed and recedes too much at bottom, the collar bone and the bones of the haunches make themselves well felt beneath the skin; the pectoral muscles have the form and relief that suit the chest of a man. The nipples are indicated there, a detail found on no other figure of the same series. This search for anatomical accuracy appears with still more success in the rendering of the members. The arms are more detached from the body than in the Apollo of Thera; they are only joined to it by the hands; there is a sort of marble

pad is interposed between the fingers of the hand and the top of the thigh, not without some awkwardness. The muscles of the arms, the deltoid, biceps and triceps, are properly decomposed and well accented. In spite of the apparent stiffness of the pose, one divines the supple articulation of the elbow. Yet there also the effort has its defects. The sculptor has not even attempted to model the wrist; but the hands interested him. One distinguishes the phalanges and the finger nails.

However, what has best succeeded is the leg, and especially the leg from the knee; the knee-c.p is cut with freedom; it is the happy contrast between the dryness of the edge of the tibia and the roundness of the calf; the accurate indication of the ankle bones. The feet are turned in a little too much; but the tendons that move them are well placed. The fingers are clearly separated and their lengths are graduated with much accuracy. In this double piece, the execution is of a delicacy that causes no surprise.

In the course of this examination, we have studied more than one inaccuracy; we could add another concerning the entire pose. The left leg being brought forward, the entire weight of the body rests on the right leg. The right hip must then be a little higher than the other, and make a more marked projection at the side; the sculptor does not seem to have had a suspicion of this. He is not yet sufficiently wise and sure of hand to realize his ideal in all points; but he has one, already expressed clearly in his work. That ideal is an agile and nervous body, from which gymnastics has removed all fat without developing the muscles to excess, a body whose vigor is concealed under the appearance of slenderness and elegance; there are also traits that illustrate the joy of living, of feeling himself the son of an elect people, of a valiant and free nation. This type will be inherited by the artists of the 5th century; they will labor from generation to generation to perfect it in their statues of ephebes, athletes, of young and triumphant gods, such as an Apollon and a Hermes; the idea of the feeling that gave rise to them will end in finding their full expression in some of the more accomplished works of the genius of sculpture in Greece.

There is another example of the same type, another work of the same school that we recognize in a nude male figure recently found at Kalyria-Kouvara in Attica, between Athens and Laurium.¹ The funerary designation of the figure is here without doubt; it was uncovered in a cemetery entirely similar to those of Velanidezza and of Vourvas.² The statue also has nothing Attic. It is in Parian marble and dates from the time when the sculptors of Athens only wrought in calcareous tufa. From some workshop on Paros or Naxos, a rich Athenian ordered it for the tomb of a member of his family. (Fig. 139).

note 1. p. 400. Cavadias. *Ephemera*. 1902. p. 43-50, Pls. III, IV.

note 2. p. 400. See above, p. 72-87. A marble statuette of the same type was found on Cyprus in the cemetery of Marion, in the domos of a tomb of the 16th century. (*Rev. crit.* 1889, p. 285. note 1).

This statue is well preserved; only the hands and feet are wanting. The nose is intact. What it particularly recalls is the Apollo of Melos (Fig. 134) and that of Tenea (Fig. 137). It must have been nearly contemporaneous with the latter; but it is the work of an artist less sincerely inspired by nature, and who applied himself less to make felt the solidity of the skeleton beneath the flesh. If one can reproach the shoulders as being too effaced in the marble of Tenea, for the rest of the body the execution is carried farther, than in the Attic marble. The pectoral muscles are more frankly marked; the projection of the hips is more accentuated; the calf has more vigor. The sculptor made a meritorious effort there to render the appearance of the joints of the knee and that of the feet. On the marble discovered in Attica is nothing of the kind. Like the arms, the legs are of very correct proportions; but all is rather lank, soft and delicate.

The faces of both statues much resemble each other. There is the same straight forehead, the same nose long and large at the end, but in the Apollo of Tenea the smile affects the cheeks more, and in that of Kalyria-Kouvara the eyes are more oblique and more elevated at the outer angles. (Fig. 190). The expression given by the two sculptors to the two faces is the same in general; but what distinguishes

the Attic marble is the arrangement of the hair. Here instead of falling on the brow in wavy and symmetrical masses, it rises like so many rays toward the top of the head. One would call it leaves or petals of flowers. Quite awkward and very conventional, this arrangement does not seem to have found imitators.

Of marble from Naxos with very coarse grains was made a statue discovered near the temple of Apollo Ptoos on Beotia, which represents the type already known to us by a number of examples.¹ It is earlier than the figures just described; the face is still dull and inexpressive. With their marble of brilliant grain, the two trunks from Actium might have the same origin as the statue of the Ptoion.

Note 1. p. 404. Collignon. *Gaz. Arch.* 1886, p. 235-243; pl. XXIX. Braun-Bruckmann, pl. LXXVI. Also of the marble of Naxos was made the trunk of the same type larger than nature, that came from Megara. (Cassadas. *Catalogue*. no. 13)

If there were still a need for proving that the so-called theme of the archaic Apollo was in the 6th century, one of those treated and repeated most freely in Ionian and insular art, it would suffice to recall that this type was largely represented in the entirely Ionian colony of Naucratis. The British Museum possesses several replicas of statuettes in alabaster and in marble from that origin.²

Note 2. p. 402. An alabaster statuette of this type, purchased at Cairo as coming from Naucratis, is described and figured in the *Janroux* (1892, p. 173, pl. VI). Also see *Hodart's Annual of British School at Athens*. vol. V, p. 65-68.

In following Ionian art in its many migrations, in enumerating the works that it has scattered not only in the Cyclades, the Peloponessus and central Greece, but also in Thessaly, Thrace and the islands of the northern basin of the Egean sea, we have implicitly avoided and refuted a theory that has made some noise in the science, that of a school of northern Greece, which had its own originality and that was distinguished both from the Ionian and Dorian schools.³ We shall not stop to discuss here the characteristics by which men have claimed to define the style. We believe that we have proved, that in all the monuments scattered as well on the coasts of the Euxine and Propontis as on those of the

gulf of Corinth and of Egina, what one finds and recognizes, are types created by the sculptors of Ionia, developed and perfected by their pupils, the sculptors of Paros and of Naxos, is the interpretation of the living form that nature has suggested to their artists, and which from generation to generation has assumed under their chisels more freedom, decision and mobility.

Note 3.p.404. It is in a Memoir entitled *Palaios und die nordgriechische Kunst*, that Henri Brunn spoke for the first time of an art of northern Greece, and attempted to define its characteristics. (*Sitz.ber. bay. Akad. der Wiss.* 1876, p.342). In spite of objections, he maintained his theory. (*Nord. S. Sculp. in Athen. Mitt.* 1888.p.81-100), while admitting that in this art it was necessary to assign a large part to the influence of Asian Greece. See in another sense Henzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p.417, pl. XXIII; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884, p. 336-338, and Collignon, *Histoire*, vol.I, p.278 279.

7. Monuments of Ionian Art in Museums of Europe.

Before taking leave of the Ionian sculptors, we proceed to mention some monuments, that although of unknown origin or found in the West, appear to bear the mark of the style by which are distinguished the works collected on the soil of Ionia, and those that we have had to place to the credit of the Ionian schools, although discovered in other districts of Greece.

We have already had occasion to cite one of these monuments, a stele of the museum in Naples (Fig.73), that we have compared to many reliefs to which we could assign a place justified either by the place of discovery or by an artist's signature. Hesitation was little greater in placing another relief in which Winckelmann believed, that he recognized Leucothea holding the infant Dionysus on her knees, and whose funerary destination is no longer doubted by anyone (Fig. 75); it recalls in so many respects both the sculptors of the tomb of the Harpies and the stele of Pharsalus, that one would not be surprised by seeing us reproduce it after either of those monuments. There is a sensible analogy in the character of the forms. One will note in the two principal figures the very marked projection of the slightly drooping neck, the ample roundness of the shoulder divined

beneath the transparency of the tunic, and in the young woman standing, the suppleness of the forearm and the curve described by it, the elongation and slenderness of the hand. These are traits that we have already found in the works of Ionian statuary. Where the resemblance is still more marked is in the arrangement of the hair and of the double band retaining it; it is also in the entire arrangement of the drape, in the contrast that a very skilful chisel has already managed between the fine goffers of the under garment and the great folds of the mantle thrown over the back, that envelops the lower part of the body to the knees. Even in the armchair with the two abutting volutes in which each leg ends at top, that its Ionianism is felt.

The composition is not only clear and well arranged; one finds there that elegance which characterizes its design. The deceased is seated, a mother and a family, whose beauty was unchanged by age. She holds a child at arm's length, as if to better see it all, perhaps one that cost her life, and the child by a gesture true and graceful, extends its little hand playfully towards its mother's mouth. Opposite this group, that occupies two-thirds of the space, is that of three figures facing it, standing and of unequal height, the larger being a relative or maid, appearing ready to pass a wide ribbon around the neck of the infant. Before her and immovable with their eyes fixed on the dear departed, are her two older daughters. All that scene expresses sadness without bitterness, that melancholy charm which we shall later experience at leisure, when we visit that hall of the national museum of Athens in which are gathered the funerary Attic steles of the classical age. If the relief of the Villa Albani came from the same workshops as the works to which we have compared it, it is certainly later than them. One also notes there certain traces of archaism, for example in the too rigorous symmetry of the locks of the hair and the folds of the mantle; but the pose has a correctness, that evidences an art already very free.

The museum of Lyons possesses another monument that archaeologists agree in also placing to the account of the Ionian schools; it is that known under the name of Aphrodite with the dove (Figs. 191, 192).¹ It was exhumed at Marseilles

in the course of the 17th century; now Massalia (Marseilles) was founded by the Phœceans. The image appears to be of Greek marble, and it is very natural to suppose that from that metropolis it was brought to the colony. What confirms this hypothesis is even the appearance of the statue; the character of its entire fabrication. It lacks the left arm and all the lower part of the body from the haunches; but there is not a scratch on the remainder. The end of the nose alone is slightly injured.

Note 1. p. 407. Fr. Lenormant. *Gaz. arch.* 1876. p. 133 134. Pl. XXXI. H. Bazin. *L'Aphrodite marseillaise du musée de Lyon.* 1886. Collignon. *Histoire etc.* Vol. I, p. 190.

This roundness and covering of the forms that pleased the Ionian sculptors, we find again here, if not in the chest that is scarcely indicated, at least in the broad and fleshy face, as well as in the size of the arm, that is truly exaggerated. The clothing is what we have found everywhere on female figures, the closely adherent tunic and the mantle; but here the tunic appears to be a shift with seams; it has a sleeve extended to the waist; there are not seen those *goffers* that are so carefully indicated on other figures. The mantle rests only on the left shoulder; it crosses the trunk obliquely in front. In the entire execution some softness is betrayed, and in the modeling of the face and the rendering of the hair. As for the name given to the statue, it is also that which appears best suited to it. The dove that she holds in her hand is indeed a symbol of the worship of Aphrodite, and that gives a reason to think that the image represents the goddess and not one of the worshippers, is the cap that rises on the head. Deities alone wear this headdress. One will also note the expression that the artist desired to give to the face. It is that of a smile. Does not one feel there an effort more meritorious than happy to give Aphrodite the appearance that the poets attribute to her?

Marseilles has also furnished quite a number of little monuments not having the same art value as the statue of Lyons, but which offer a certain interest. They were found in 1863 to the number of 40, lying near each other in one of the trenches excavated in the opening of what was called Rue impériale. The type is nearly the same in all. A woman

sits on a bench within a little structure covered by a roof with two slopes. The height of the whole varies from 1.3 to 2.0 ft. These monuments thus collected at one place could only be votive, that represent the goddess to which were offered these images. On the knees of one woman is distinguished a resting lion (Fig. 193). The same excavation yielded one figure of a different type; this is also a woman seated in a niche of the same form, clothed in a long robe opened in front to allow the bottom of the abdomen to be seen. (Fig. 194).

The work is there so rude, that men at first asked if it was not necessary to see in it the work of a Gallo-Roman chisel.¹ What makes that hypothesis inadmissible is, that one of the two types, that of the woman seated and holding the lion on her knees, is represented by quite numerous examples in the same country where originated the founders of Massalia (Marseilles). It was found at Chios sculptured in the rock, at the place known as Daskalo Petra or school of Homer; it has been recognized at Mye in several figures in limestone, some of which by their entire pose and drapery recall the statues of the Branchides, while others as at Marseilles appear enclosed within a heavy niche.² The Louvre possesses a seated figure of the same kind, that came from Clazomene (Fig. 139); it only lacks the lion. All these images seem to be relics of an old oriental type, that of Cybele.³ It had become popular on the Ionian coast, from which the Phocæan colonists brought them into Gaul. The steles of Marseilles are cut in the local stone.⁴

Note 1. p. 409. That was the impression of Conze. (Arch. Zeit. Anzeiger. 1866. p. 303-306).

Note 2. p. 409. 3. Reinach. Statues archaïques de Cybele découvertes à Cyne en Éolide. (Bull. Corr-Mell. 1889, p. 543-560. Plate VIII).

Note 3. p. 409. Heuzey first compared the steles of Marseilles to the monuments of Asian Greece. (Catalogue etc. p. 239).

Note 4. p. 409. This results from researches made on this subject by Blancard. (Compt. rend. de l'Acad. des Inscri. 1896. p. 123, 124).

Men came to the same conclusions as in the case of the Apollodite of Lyons, for the bronze reliefs taken in 1312 from

a tomb in Perugia in Etruria.⁵ They appear to have served to ornament two chariots for parade or war. They are executed in raised work, but the point of the graver intervened to indicate by finely engraved lines the details, that could not be required from the use of the hammer and chisel. Men began by admitting that these bronzes were of Etruscan work, but now to archaic Grecian work is referred the execution of these curious antiques.

Note 5, p. 409. Petersen. *Bronzen von Perugia*. (Röm. Mitt. vol. IX. 1894, p. 253-313). *Antike Denkmäler*. Vol. II, pls. XIV, XV.

In all scenes whose sense is understood, have been recognized themes borrowed from Greek myths and types created by Grecian sculpture in all the personages, which it is possible to name. There are monsters like the Minotaur and the Gorgon, crowded between two lions clasped in their arms, a centaur in combat with men, a marine god and a sort of hippocampus. There is the hunt of the wild boar; there is a series of passing animals, a motive dear to Ionian painters of vases. There is Zeus shown under two forms, here armed with the thunderbolt and conqueror of a giant, that he holds by the hair (Fig. 195), there in the attitude of repose, sceptre in hand, having his son Hercules before him. (Fig. 196). Of the decoration of the other chariot remain several pieces of a relief, that appears to represent Hercules in combat with Pyknos supported by his father Ares. (Fig. 197). To separate the combatants, Zeus has launched his thunderbolt, here represented by a bundle of vertical lines crossing the field; this was related by one of the versions of this myth current among the poets. Behind Ares is a goddess, probably Aphrodite, and behind Hercules is Athena. At the left of the central group is a quadriga, whose horses rear, frightened by the lightning. At the right are Amazons on horseback; these daughters of Ares were reputed to hasten to the aid of their father.

If these reliefs are the work of a Grecian artist, there is every reason to believe that they came from an Ionian workshop to be imported into the West. Since there have been more closely studied the painted vases, that have been preserved to us by the Etruscan cemeteries and particularly by the tombs of Caere, men have become convinced that until

the last years of the 6th century, before Athenian fabrication had taken its great flight, it was especially the industry and commerce of Ionia that supplied Tuscan nobles with the part of their luxury, which they prided themselves on borrowing from Grecian civilization. It must have been with bronzes as with pottery: they were obtained from the same merchants. Numerous analogies could be indicated between these metal overlays and monuments of incontestable Ionian origin, such as fragments of vases collected either at Kyme in Asia Minor, or at Naucratis and at Tell-el-Defenen in Egypt, and especially the sarcophaguses of Clazomene. In both are the same motives, a marked taste for the same types and the same movements, like conventions. We shall find again here more complete than we have ever found before, that armor of the Ionian hoplite, that in Egypt caused the first Grecian mercenaries enrolled by Psamtik to be taken for men of bronze. The helmet is the same as on the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidos; but there are more greaves of metal that protect the leg than at the knee.¹

Note 1. p. 411. It has been desired to assign the same Ionian origin to another monument, that also came from an Etruscan city, a marble statuette that seems to have occupied the place of honor in a sort of chapel arranged in the middle of one of the cemeteries of Volturnum, now Orvietto. The reasons alleged in support of this hypothesis are far from appearing decisive to us; they have been stated by Körte, *Über eine altetruskische Statuette der Aphrodite aus der Nekropole von Volturnum*. (Arch. Studien, Heinrich Brunn gewidmet. 1898). The trunk of the statuette measures 1.84 ft. The figure must have had a height of about 2.35 ft.

One could also indicate in the public and private collections of Europe and America several others of these monuments, whose original source and history are unknown, but which one is inclined to refer to the Ionian schools, according to the characteristics of the theme and of the execution. For example, such is the trunk of Apollo with a cithara possessed by the museum of the Louvre, that was erroneously taken for the trunk of a woman.¹ Finally, perhaps I will have opportunity to follow and recover the influence of Ionian art even in Spain, in those curious monuments of Greco-Iberian

sculpture, whose masterpiece is the lady of Elche as familiarly named, at the Louvre; but we cannot undertake that study, which would carry us too far.² As the discoveries of statues are multiplied, the archaeologist will have a surer criterion for having these comparisons; he will risk less of straying into adventurous hypotheses, that will not resist criticism.

Note 1. p. 412. Collignon in Bull. Corr.-Hell. 1900. p. 532-544, pl. XI.

Note 2. p. 412. On the discoveries of Cerro de los Santos and of Elche, see Heuzey, Compt. Rend. de l'Acad. 1897, p. 505; Statues espagnoles de style greco-Phénicien, in Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. orient. Vol. III, p. 98, pls. III, IV; Bull. Corr.-Hell. 1891. p. 608, pl. 18; Pierre Paris. Buste espagnol de style greco-espagnol trouvé à Elche (Monts. et Mem. Vol. IV, p. 137-168, pls. XII, XIV).

3. General Characteristics of Ionian Sculpture.

It was an Ionian sculptor, who in the course of the happy and fruitful period closed for Ionia by the Persian conquest, first thought to employ marble for statuary, and thus led this into new paths, which should guide it to full and sovereign mastery in the 5th and 4th centuries. We cannot take leave of this brilliant initiator without attempting to define his taste and style; we can only hope to succeed in this by reminding ourselves of the traits observed in passing, while there filed before our eyes the monuments wherein we sought the traces of the influence of Ionian genius. Among these traits are some that we have found in all the works issuing from the workshops of oriental Greece; but this art had too long and intense a life, at the same time too scattered, and the effort was divided among too many centres of production, for its work to present a uniform appearance everywhere. In the series that we have formed, there are sensible differences in treatment of each marble. What is proper to select first is especially to place in the light, are the common characteristics, those more or less marked, which persist and manifest themselves in the entire series. After this work is done, it will remain to note certain methods of execution, certain shades of style observed only in certain monuments that we have described, and that

distinguish them from their congeners. These peculiarities would be used by the historian to classify all these monuments and place them in homogeneous groups, if all or nearly all of the rich whole had not perished, that these precursors created in the edifices and the cemeteries in whose decoration they concurred. In these conditions, he divines that the interpretation of the living form comprises a certain diversity in the Ionian world; but he does not come to recognize whether at Cnidos rather than at Miletus, at Samos or in the Cyclades, was first manifested a tendency or a mode of expression prevailed, that is revealed to him on some work of unknown origin. He states this diversity; but without documents he feels himself greatly embarrassed to assign its part to each of the three or four schools, that carried so high the fame and credit of Ionian sculpture in those centuries in which all commenced and all was prepared.

Here is first the merit that cannot be denied to these artists; they first animated the form; they brought to life the human body. The seated figures of primitive art are known to us by the most ancient statues of the avenue of the Branchides. On the other hand, among the Greeks was preserved the memory of the old statues of wood, that were regarded as preceding Dedalus, and of which some wormeaten examples still existed in certain temples. Standing erect, their legs were attached. Their arms hung along their sides; the hands were fixed to their thighs. The Ionians were not satisfied to separate the legs and to bend the arms, as done nearly everywhere in Greece at about the same time. They did not restrict themselves to represent walking in this manner, a walk accompanied by a grave and tranquil pose. They dared more; they did not fear to attempt to reproduce less simple movements, where as in running or flying, the members break the lines of the body and project in opposite directions. They doubtless succeeded in rendering these violent movements with entire success at the first attempt. In an image like the Nike of Archermos (Fig. 122), the part of convention is very great and the appearance remains awkward; but the example is no less given. To appropriate truth sufficed the labor of one or two generations of artists. In the orgiastic dance of the relief of Miletus (Fig. 115),

the advance is sensible and it is still more marked in the best parts of the friezes of the treasury of Cnidos. Battles are there represented in which the various incidents of the combat impose very different attitudes on the combatants. Now however likely and bold may be the movements suggested by such a theme, there is scarcely one that the sculptor has not rendered with singular accuracy. He has inserted in composition horses and lions, horses that snort and rear, lions that rush on the enemies of the gods, and in these figures of animals the pose has no less freedom and truth than in the figures of men and women. Later a more knowing art will pride itself on varying scenes of this sort, while making them more complex; but it will not succeed in better expressing the beauty in the play of the form in action, in abrupt and passionate display of muscular energy.

Whether archermos or some other of his compatriots was the first to free thus the members of the statue previously fixed in the attitude of repose, Ionia was predestined to claim the honor of that innovation of genius, of that emancipation of marble. When the Ionian colonists on board the ships of Miletus and of Phocæa crossed the Euxine to the mouths of the Tanais and to the foot of Caucasus, or by the Mediterranean routes landed on the coasts of Egypt and passed the columns of Hercules, the figures representing valiant men and their gods could not be dull images of immobility. The day could not fail to come, when they should also move and soar in order to place themselves in harmony with the society, whose eyes they must charm, with that young and active world in which movement was everywhere, in which ambition and curiosity cast men into the depths of unknown spaces, and opened to their minds unlimited views of discovery and of progress.

Another character of this art is the importance attached to seeking costume and the charms of ornaments. There is scarcely a work of the Ionian schools in which is not accentuated the care for these effects. It is naturally in the arrangements adopted for the clothing of women that this taste finds most to satisfy itself; but one also feels that it presides over the entire arrangement of the male clothing and the grouping of the pieces composing it. The needs

and chests of women are ornamented by jewels such as diadems, eardrops and necklaces; but something of these elegances is even found on figures of men in the very careful arrangement of the hair and beard, in the care with which are treated various accessories, such as the sceptres of the gods and kings, or the shields, helmets and cuirasses of warriors. If this character is so marked there, this is because it corresponds to one of the traits, which at least in the 6th century characterise the customs and life of Ionian society. In contact with Phoenicians, Egyptians and especially the wealthy Lydians, their near neighbors, the Ionians had contracted a passion for luxury, sumptuous and trailing vestments, complicated headdresses and perfumes of great cost. With this they are reproached by their contemporary poet, such as Xenophanes and Asios. See how the former speaks of the citizens of Colophon, his compatriots:--

"Before being subject to the odious tyranny,
Then had learned from the Lydoans all vain effeminacies;
They went to the agora clothed in mantles dyed purple.
They were in all a thousand that showed themselves thus,
All proud, decorated by hair artistically dressed,
Dripping with perfumes that scented the air."¹
Likewise Asios says concerning the Samians:--

"Thus after having well combed the locks of their hair,
They went to the temple of Hera, clothed in beautiful
garments.

Their snow white tunics sweep the surface of the broad
earth.

On their heads shone jewels of gold, that resembled
grasshoppers.

From behind, mingled with golden chains, their hair
floats in the wind.

Bracelets of exquisite work enclose their wrists."²

Note 1. p. 416. Athenæus. XII. p. 528.

Note 2. p. 416. The same. XII, p. 525.

These habits being introduced among the Ionians could not fail to enervate their souls and render them less able to repulse the assaults that the Persians, after the Lydians, made on the independence of Ionia; but meanwhile, they contributed to the progress of sculpture. The woolen mantles and linen tunics fitted by skilful hands to the beautiful

bodies of youths and virgins produced folds well calculated to charm the curious eye, some by the vigor of their projection and by the contrast in the depth of their grooves with the smooth surfaces, others by their light fineness and by the parallelism without stiffness, of their sinuous and close lines. After the artist took pleasure in following with the eye those inflexions and drops of the fabric, he felt the temptation to reproduce them, and thus came to take into account resources that he found there to emphasize by contrast the consistency of the flesh and the firmness of its contours. This is what the sculptor of Xanthos endeavored to indicate; but the work is carried much farther in the friezes of the treasury of Cnidos. Thenceforth the statuary disposes of an entire order of truly novel effects, that oriental art had not known. It had faithfully copied the form of the costume, and often tried to transcribe with patient accuracy the ornaments that decided it; it had clothed its figures, but had not draped them; it had not known how to place in the rendering of the vestment that modeling, which by the play of light and shade communicates a sort of life to the fabric. The Ionian artist is the first in the ancient world, who perceived the part that sculpture could derive from drapery. From him the sculptors of the rest of Greece learned this secret, which had never been suspected by Egyptians, Chaldeans or Assyrians. However rapidly its pupils with their intelligence had profited by the lesson, at the time of the construction of the treasury of Cnidos, none of them would have been capable of obtaining from the fabric the effects derived from by the master to whom we owe the charming groups of the assembly of the gods.

The forms of the body in this sculpture have the same character of amplitude as the drapeery which they support. The faces are there full, the breasts of the women project strongly, and their arms are very strong. In the male figures, where the nude shows itself more uncovered, the muscles are freely emphasized. Everywhere else, whatever the sex of the image, the flesh is too hard not to conceal the bony skeleton. Under that envelope, the solidity of the framework is less divined than it would be from the beginning in the works of the schools of Delo and Siphnos. These adhere on that side

more closely to nature; but during the entire duration of the archaic age, they will obtain this result only at the cost of some dryness and of some hardness. On the contrary, what one will sometimes be tempted to reproach the Ionian artist with is a certain softness in execution, one that recalls the fluidity of the language and the metre of the Homeric epic, a daughter of the same genius.¹ On the other hand, one cannot contest the merit of having sooner and better than his contemporaries and rivals, felt and endeavored to make understood what there is of beauty in the rounds and flats of the flesh, in its living suppleness.

Note 1. p. 418. There are certain Ionian sculptures on which this defect is really very apparent. "The Aphrodite of Clazomenae" (Fig. 137), says Lechat, a heavy sculpture, very fleshy and small boned, is a good example of that native heaviness, that under the hands of mediocre workmen must end in puffy and flabby softness, already entirely Levantine, for example, on the tomb of the Harpies." (Rev. Etud. grecs. 1901).

If the fabrication is almost constantly characterized in the works that have been studied, by the traits that we have just indicated, the proportions of the figures there are not everywhere the same. In that respect the sculptors seem to have ^{been} divided between two opposite tendencies, without being able to state in what workshops either one of the two prevailed.² There are works whose authors arrived at elegance and slenderness; such as the Samian Hera of the Louvre and certain female statues of the Acropolis of Athens that are related to it; such also are the reliefs of the sculptured column of Ephesus and the Apollo of Tenos; but more frequently in works of sculpture as in the paintings of an entire series of vases, that it is now believed right to assign to Ionia, the proportions of the body are rather short with large heads and massive thighs; the height is apparently not high. Even in the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidus, the general appearance is not exempt from some heaviness in place

Note 2. p. 418. On this subject see the observations of Potier. (Catalogue etc. II, p. 503). On the different schools of Ionian sculpture, also see Ridder, (Catalogue, etc. p. 12, 13). There are correct observations; but the hypothesis of a Rhodian school is not surprising. The only monuments of statu-

statuary whose Rhodian origin is duly attested, are statues of limestone that have no style. (Figs. 138, 140, 141).

From all these observations results this; much before the 7th century, attempts had been made already among the Greeks of Europe, as among those of the islands of the Asian & Greeks, to model in clay and to carve in wood or stone the image of the human figure; but Grecian statuary was actually born only on the day that the chisels of the artists of Miletus and of Chios attacked the marble of the Cyclades, and when the melted metal was poured into moulds fashioned by the hands of the bronze-workers of Samos. From that moment this statuary commenced to show its originality, to allow to appear that it could give an expression of the form very superior to that presented by its predecessors, Egyptian and Chaldeo-Assyrian sculpture. Unfortunately this movement, that was accelerated from year to year and seemed almost ready to attain its aim, was abruptly interrupted by the disasters of Ionia. In poetry, whose development preceded that of sculpture, Ionian genius produced works that must remain as classic models, the Homeric epics, the iambuses of Archilocus, the odes of Alceus and Sappho, the elegies of Callinos and of Minnermes; but time was lacking to give all its compass in the arts of design. There it scarcely bore only the spring flowers, which promised beautiful fruits; it never attained complete maturity.

Chapter XI. Sculpture from 776 to 480. Dorian Schools.

1. The most ancient Bronzes from Olympia.

Before an art worthy of the name arises in any country, there is a time in which the desire innate in man to imitate the living form is manifested only by rude sketches. For Ionia the excavations have yielded nothing permitting one to ascend to that initial period; but the case is not the same for those districts of Greece where later flourished the schools of sculpture, that we call Dorian. There in Crete, in Peloponessus and central Greece, thanks to the deposits formed around the sanctuaries where the devotion of multitudes heaped votive offerings, the sculpture of what we have termed the mediaeval Grecian age is represented by figurines of terra cotta, stone, and bronze; there are also overlays of metal, that were formerly fixed either on great vases or tripods of the same material, or on wooden furniture, such as seats, coffers or chariots. In the cave of Zeus of Ida as at Olympia, Delphi and Dodona, these little monuments come in great number from the lowest layers of earth; their fabrication was pursued for centuries.¹ There is much among them that bears the mark of the geometric style, whose stiffness lends itself badly to follow and to render the supple inflexions of the contours of organized bodies. Then comes an entire series of pieces that date from even the beginning of the period that we are studying. One finds there the vivid trace of that influence of oriental arts, which has so efficiently contributed to favor in Greece the renaissance of an original art.

Note 1. p. 420. Halberg. Scott etc.; P. Orsi, Studi etc.; Museo Italiano etc. by D. Campitelli-Vol. II, 1888. p. 329-304) Olympia. Vol. IV. Die Bronzen, by Furtenauer. 1890. 71 plates.

As specimens of lean and angular design, that recalls that of the figures painted on the so-called vases of the Dionysos, one can cite for Crete fragments of overlays representing warriors, two of which are mounted on a chariot (Fig. 148). This horse with attenuated body and legs like sticks, those soldiers whose entire bodies disappeared behind the orb of the shield, have we not met with them on the most ancient ceramic monuments of Athens? ¹ The progress is sensible in another fragment, a remnant of a scene of pastoral life,

where one sees a woman milking a cow. If the back and belly of the animal are also very thin, the breast and head present a contour that more nearly approaches nature; but where there is a certain accuracy is in the attitude of the person seated between the legs of the beast. A dog forms a part of the same group; its general form is the same (Fig. 199).

Note 1.p.421 *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, Plgs. 42, 48, 58, 63, 66, 67, 98, 99.

The goetto in which were found these products of local industry mixed with shields and pateras of Phoenician work was of difficult access; even in Crete it was scarcely visited except by the inhabitants of the slopes of Ida and of the plains that it dominates. It was entirely otherwise with the sanctuaries of Olympia. Those had a patronage quite otherwise numerous, even before all Greece had commenced to assemble there. They were situated in that spacious valley of the Alpheus, that comprised the whole of Elis and Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia. There of all routes of penetration that led into the interior of the peninsula, the most direct and easiest was that opened by the trafficking Phoenicians, and which every five years was followed by the multitude of pilgrims attracted by the great national festival. These visitors left the traces of their acts of faith in the beds of cinders and coals, remains of innumerable sacrifices, which extend beneath the foundations of the temple of Zeus and the old temple of Hera. Nearly every stroke of the pick there in the excavations brought to light these little images of horses and bulls, rams and swine, that the piety of the poor people substituted for the victims in flesh and bone. There are also statuettes of men, though in lesser quantity. These originated from another idea, elsewhere expressed by the erection of statues.¹ In consecrating these, the faithful believed that so long as the image lasted, he remained present in person in the sacred place and thus prolonged the effect of his prayers.

Note 1.p.422. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, p.257, 258.

Nothing has been found at Olympia in these deposits, which would recall near or far Mycenaean art. What is most ancient in these bronzes and the figurines, of which one cannot say that they any style whatever. They cause him to think of

the first attempts in drawing and modeling by which children amuse themselves, when they daub a sheet of paper or mould a bit of bread in their fingers (Figs. 200, 201). We cannot state when this fabrication either began or ended; a number of these statuettes are of pure copper, which indicates a very remote antiquity. On the contrary, one can assign an approximate date to other pieces impressed by a style, that whatever its defects, at least had its clearly defined originality. This style is that introduced into European Greece with the tribes that invaded it from the north about the 11th century; in the 9th it had completed its evolution. As types of bronzes executed at this epoch, here are two of those images of horses that abound in the collection. One of them is particularly curious. In the thickness and the roundness of the belly of the animal, there is something repugnant to the method of the geometric style. The belly was then reduced to the proportions of a cylinder of very small diameter; while the workman has rendered quite faithfully the attachment of the legs to the trunk, and the dryness of their lines as well as the curve of the long neck. (Fig. 202). Similar characteristics in the other bronze (Fig. 203); but also one notes here concentric circles with a point at the centre, engraved on the body of the animal. No motive was more employed to decorate clay or bronze after the Dorian invasion.

The same observations apply to the statuettes of men and women that were found in this rubbish. Formless dolls were picked up, where there is no indication of sex or age; the members are only stumps. A very long time must have elapsed before were cast bronzes in which we recognize contemporaries of the personages, that the brush scattered over the oldest ceramics of Athens. Such is a certain statue of a woman whose tunic is ornamented by motives in current use in curvilinear geometric decoration (Fig. 204). These motives are found elsewhere engraved on fragments of bronze tripods, that excavations have brought to light in the entire Altis.

These images are solid castings. Among the pieces of this kind that have been collected in the Altis, there were found a certain number that are defective or unfinished.¹ These

wasters cannot have been brought from outside. Thrown out of the door of the workshop by the founder, they are mingled in the rubbish with the remains of offerings. There were artisans, then established in the vicinity of the sanctuary, who fabricated at the place the images that the pilgrims came to purchase from them.

Note 1. p. 424. Olympia. Die Bronzen. p. 29.

On the other hand, this field of bronzes has furnished many overlays, whose ornamentation by the choice of motives recalls the art of Egypt and that of western Asia. Were the monuments that present that characteristic also the product of local manufacture? There is every reason to believe the contrary. The influence of the Orient must have made itself felt in the ports of the Egean sea and on the coasts of Ionia much earlier and more forcibly than on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus, in rustic Elis, which does not seem ever to have had either its own art or an industry of some activity. By the fact of the colonial expansion in the 8th century, the Grecian world was enlarged from year to year; at the same time the patronage of the temples of Olympia did not cease to increase. It was no longer merely the Peloponnesians which frequented them as neighbors. Among the Hellenes that undertook this journey, more than one would have desired to bring with him the gifts, that he destined for Zeus and Hera, objects of value that he had demanded from the most skilful artists of his country.

Among the pieces of this kind, whose remains we have, are many that must have come from the workshops in such cities as Corinth and Samos, Ephesus or Miletus. To give an idea of types reproduced by the artisans that executed these works, it suffices to present two, which one often meets among these fragments, that of a bird with human head, the prototype of the Harpy or Siren (Figs. 205, 206), and that of the head of a griffin (Fig. 91). We have seen the first of these types employed in Assyria in the same manner as here, both as ornamentation of the great metal basins and as supports of the ears.¹ As for the bust of the griffin, it especially served to decorate the circle in which the bronze tripods terminated at top; now we know by the numerous reliefs the part played in Assyrian ornamentation by t

the fabulous tribe of griffins.² To complete the characteristics of this style, there would also be cited the embellished plates in raised work with details executed with the graver; nearly all the motives are borrowed from the repertory of oriental artists: they fill the intervals left between the legs of the tripod. Other plates were perforated, with figures in outline.

Note 1.p.425. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, p.588; Figs 280, 302, 343, 399, 444, 448, 447.

Note 2.p.425. The same. Vol. II, p.584. Figs. 281, 337.

We likewise mention under the same title a bronze statuette found at Amyclaea in Laconia (Fig. 207); it served as the handle of a mirror.³ This is a nude woman with legs pressed against each other and the elbows against the body, who plays the cymbals. Two projections on the shoulders permit one to divine that two lions at the sides separated the disk. We have already found that arrangement in Cyprus in a figurine of the same metal, intended for the same purpose, but which is of more recent date; the same entire nudity, the same playing of the cymbals and the same addition of lions.¹ The representation of female nudity was not in the customs of the most ancient Greek art. Here again one feels the influence of a foreign model; from the repertory of the artisans of Syria was derived this theme. We shall have occasion to indicate many other borrowings of this sort, when we study the industrial work of the archaic age.

Note 1.p.425. *de Ridder. Catalogue etc.* No. 150 On these excavations at Amyclaea made by Saountas, see *Ephemeris*. 1892. Plates I - IV.

Note 1.p.428. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, p.802, Fig. 629.

2. Sculpture in Crete, and Cretan Sculptors in Peloponessus

It appears that from Crete, the Peloponessus received the first models, which disseminated there the taste and practice of statuary. All the discoveries made by archaeologists in the domain of Mycenaean civilization have tended to confirm the idea, which for the historian is disengaged from the entirety of the traditions. These were in accord in attributing to Crete at an indeterminate time, but which preceded the war of Troy, wealth and power personified under the mythical figure of king Minos. One is then inclined to

seek in that island the cradle of the industry and arts, that are especially known from the excavations in the Argolis. All recent finds have brought new reasons to support this hypothesis. On the site itself of that Cnossos, that passed for the residence of Minos, were uncovered among the remains of the palace, similar to the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns, ruins of mural paintings that by their ample development and their qualities of execution, would be superior to all those whose fragments have been collected in the edifices uncovered by Schliemann and Dörpfeld. After that epoch, men imported and utilized statuary marble; from it were derived images that have an entirely different character and merit, that the formless idols of the Cyclades. We have presented a beautiful specimen of that Cretan sculpture. (Fig. 87).

Perhaps by the Dorians, who came to establish themselves in the island, there was kindled the fire in which perished the ancient castle of Minos and of Idomeneus; but the arrival of these immigrants could not on the morrow cause to disappear from the island the taste for the arts and to desert all the workshops. There were found at various points of the island and particularly at Praesos, terra cotta figurines which are represented from the age of the Dionian to the Hellenistic period, by examples, that do not appear derived from moulds imported from outside, the principal types that the industry of the coroplasts has created in the rest of the Grecian world.¹ The ancients attributed to Crete a large part in the beginning and early progress of sculpture. If they made an Athenian of Dedalus, that fabulous artist, who is said to have opened the eyes and separated the legs of statues, they desired that he should have produced in Crete his most celebrated works; they represented him as established and married at Gortyna, where he gave birth to an entire line of sculptors called Dedalides. Thus is it proper to interpret the tradition that made of Dipoeos and Skyllis placed in the 6th century, the actual sons of that Dedalus, who passed as contemporary of Minos.¹ This was to take chronology very easily; but one was not stopped by that difficulty, because he found there a very simple means of marking well an artistic relationship, of showing the only

Cretan masters, whose names belong to history as the last representatives of a school, that had behind it a long practice in statuary.

Note 1.p.427. On a very rich series of figurines, for the most part very ancient, that came from Praesos, see Halbherr, *Researches at Praesos*. (Am. Journ. of Arch. Vol. V.p.371-392, pls. X-XII; Figs. in text). He compares these images that he describes and other very similar statuettes, which have been collected in other districts of Crete.

Note 1.p.428. Pausanias. II. 15-1.

The Dedalides of Crete were equally well placed as their Ionian rivals for benefiting from the examples of Egypt. The Cretans do not appear to have taken part in the foundation of Grecian establishments, that were founded in the Delta under the Saitic princes; but Crete of all Grecian lands is nearest Egypt, and Egyptian documents give reason to think, that from the time of the great Pharaohs of the 1st and 19th dynasties, the island was connected to the Egyptian empire by a bond of vassalage. In the decoration of the palace of Chossos one finds certain traits, that recall the themes and procedures of Egyptian art; but one has a still more striking proof of these relations. In the east-~~ern~~ court of the edifice was found a little statue of alabaster, of which the lower part is alone preserved. It represents a seated man with the two hands placed flat against the thighs. On three sides of the seat are engraved hieroglyphic inscriptions, that give the name of the personage, An-nub-meswazet-user. According to Egyptologists, there is reason to place this monument back as far as the 12th dynasty. A statuette of Amon-ra in bronze, for which only the feet are lacking, was also found in the lower sanctuary of the grotto of Dicte.² After having commenced so early, why were these relations interrupted at the moment when under the 2nd dynasty, Egypt opened all its great ports to Greeks? It is affirmed that Dedalus had worked in Egypt; in a temple of Ptah at Memphis, of which he was the architect, was shown a statue of wood that was said to be his work.¹ That was the invention of some Grecian guide, a predecessor of the dragomans of Cairo, who desired to flatter the vanity of compatriotic travelers. Whatever may be these tales,

more than one Cretan image-maker must have had occasion to visit Egypt, as the Samians Theodoros and Rhoecos had done, when they produced under philhellenic princes a brilliant renaissance of art. These artists further had not even a need to pass the sea to be inspired by Egyptian statuary. The two Egyptian figurines that the chances of excavations caused to be found in Crete, could not have been the only ones introduced there.

Note 2. p. 428. A. J. Evans. The Palace of Cnossos in its Egyptian Relations. Evans also discovered an alabaster lid on which were engraved the name and titles of a Riknos king, Knoss. (Journ. Hell. Studies. 1901. p. 885.

Egyptian scarabs of the 12th dynasty have been found in sepulchres at Hagios Onuphrios, very near the site of Phaestos. Finally, the form of certain Cretan seals is copied from that of certain Egyptian scarabs. (Evans: Primitive pictographs. p. 325-327) u

One is tempted to recognize the influence of these Egyptian models in the only monument of which we can form an idea of what was the style of the Cretan sculptors at about the 7th century. It relates to a fragment of a statue that came from the ancient city of Eleutherna, situated midway between Ritomyra and Cnossos (Figs. 208, 209). The material is a very coarse-grained tufa of a light yellow color. It is the same stone that served to construct the enclosing walls of the edifices, whose ruins exist at Eleutherna. There is then no doubt that this image was executed at the place by an artist of the country.

Note 2. p. 429. P. Joubin. Une statue cretoise archaïque: (Rev. Arch. 1903. p. 10-20; pls. III, IV). E. Le Roy. Sur une antichissima opera etc. Rendiconto Acc. d. Lincei. VIII. 1901. p. 599-602) u

Of the statue, a little larger than nature, there remains only the head and upper part of the body. The arms are broken off above the elbow. The person is clothed in a tight tunic, that is held at the waist by a belt and leaves only the neck nude. Is this a man or woman? Was it seated or standing? It is difficult to reply to either question. Archaic art usually gave to the woman this clothing which conceals all the forms of the body. One further believes that the per-

perceive in the original a very slight swelling of the surface, where should be marked the roundness of the bosom. As for the entire pose, one can derive some indication only from what remains of the arms; now these appear to have been placed slightly before than pendant to the hips. Then we believe more freely in a seated statue, whose altitude must have been that of the royal statues of Egypt and the statues of the Branchides. (Figs. 109, 110, 111). What confirms this conjecture is the close resemblance existing between this monument and another work, no less archaic in appearance, discovered near Tegea in Arcadia, where was preserved the memory of works executed there by a Cretan master.¹ The Arcadian statue is also mutilated; but it lacks only the lower part of the legs; the figure was seated on a chair without a back, the hands placed on the knees.²

Note 1. p. 430. Pausanias. VIII. 53-7.

Note 2. p. 430. V. Perard. Statue archaïque de Tegea. (Publ. Corr. Hell. 1890. n. 382-384).

Between both images, the sole differences are slight variations in the treatment of the costume; the Arcadian statue had a mantle thrown over the tunic (Figs. 210, 211). Nearly with that, all is alike. There is at the top of the head the same flattening of the skull, the same breadth of the face and shoulders; it is the same arrangement of the hair, which is all distributed in plaited tresses ending in triangular points at their lower ends. This headdress is divided in front into two thick masses, each of which is made of four tresses; these masses descend to the chest and spread at both sides of the face in a plane perpendicular to the sides of the skull. This arrangement is entirely conventional, and one divines where the Greek sculptor found the idea. He has borrowed it from the state headdress given to its kings by Egyptian art, and that since Campollion is known under the name of kluft.³ The material represented by the chisel is not the same in both places, but the effect is the same. The hair here gives to the face a frame entirely similar to that made by heavily starched linen in Egypt. There is perhaps also a memory of Egyptian statuary in the very marked contrast between the width of the shoulders and the reduction of the trunk at the height of the circle.

Note 2, p. 480. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I, p. 674, 687.; Pls. 41, 56, 480, etc. This same arrangement of the hair was indicated by a head covered by a polos, that decorates the neck of a Cretan pithos. (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 2nd Series. Vol. V. Pl. XIV, 9).

If the vicinity of Egypt and the power acquired by the princes representing the name of Minos had formerly favored in Crete the birth ~~of~~ and progress of the arts of design, conditions found themselves changed there by the Dorian invasion. From the 10th century the area of the island was divided among a number of cities, which formed as many independent states, almost always fighting with each other. None of them succeeded in conquering sufficient importance for life there to have some movement and some splendor. After the fall of the maritime empire of the first age, Crete was never interested or engaged in any of the great struggles of the Grecian world, neither in the Median wars, the war of Peloponessus, nor in the defense of the national liberties against the Macedonian supremacy. During that entire time, it gave to Greece neither a captain, statesman, writer or poet; all Cretan literature is contained in a soldier's song, the scolia of Hybrias, one of those mercenaries, robust sons of its mountains, that Crete furnished to all armies. Such was the existence without grandeur and without glory, that the Cretan Greeks led until the Roman conquest.

There was an atmosphere in which artists could not feel very much at ease, who had retained the traditions of the workshops in which they had formerly worked for Minos and his successors. One understands that about the first years of the 6th century, their ears were open to what they heard related of the taste shown for the arts on the mainland by Sparta and Corinth, Sicyon and Megara, Sparta under its hereditary kings, the other cities under rich and lavish tyrants. There was then a sort of exodus of Cretan sculptors, and from the moment that they had resolved to leave their country, they must seek their fortune in Peloponessus.

If Crete had its southern side turned toward Egypt, Peloponessus was opposite its northern shores, the only ones that offered safe anchorage for ships. To go from there to land at Gythion at the bottom of the gulf of Laconia was

only sport for the Cretan sailor. When he began to lose sight of his white mountains, he saw rocky Cythera rise from the waves, and the peaks of Taygetus appeared on the horizon.

The ancients mentioned four of those island sculptors, who came to seek fortune on the continent. Of one of them, Cheirisophos, nothing is known, except that he was a Cretan and the author of two statues contained in the temple of Apollo at Tegea.¹ Aristocles of Cydonia was the author of a statue of Hercules in a combat with an Amazon, a statue that Pausanias saw at Olympia, and that he said had a most archaic appearance;² but the most celebrated of these Cretan sculptors were Dipoinos and Skyllis. They are constantly named together, like associates that always worked in company. From Laconia, where they must have landed, these artists were transported into the rest of the peninsula. Their works are shown in Arcadia,³ in Argolis,⁴ Sicyon,⁵ and in Etolia.⁶ Evidence of less value even attributes to them statues preserved at Rhodes and in Asia Minor.⁷ Their activity they particularly exerted in Peloponessus. Dipoinos and Skyllis formed a school there, especially at Sparta, where they had as pupils Hegylos and Theocles, Dantas and Dorykleidos.⁸ There are still referred to that group Clearchos of Rægion⁹ and two sculptors, who had worked particularly at Delos, Tectaios and Angezion, whose native land is not indicated to us.¹⁰

note 1.p.488. Pausanias. VIII, 58-7.

note 2.p.488. Pausanias. V, 25-11.

note 3.p.488. Pausanias. VIII, 58-7.

note 4.p.488. Pliny. H.N.XXXVI, 14, Pausanias. II, 15-1, 22-5.

note 5.p.488. Pliny. H.N.XXXVI., 9; Clem. Alex. Protrepticon IV, p.42. (Edit Pott).

note 6.p.488. Pliny. H.N.XXXVI, 9, 14.

note 7.p.488. Moses of Chorché. Hist. d'Arménie. II, 2, p.108. (Edit. Whiston, London 1738); Cedrenus. Comp. Hist. p.322. P. (Edit. Paris. 1647).

note 8.p.488. Pausanias. V, 17-1, 2; VI, 18-8, 12.

note 9.p.488. Pausanias. III, 17-6.

note 10.p.488. Pausanias. II, 32-5.

It seems that in the first half of the 6th century Dipoi-

Dipoinos and Skyllis began to pass over the Peloponessus, going from city to city with their workmen, materials and tools; according to Pliny, they were in the full course of production about the 50 th Olympiad (580). What indirectly confirms this statement is the fact, that the more important works of these masters were executed at Sicyon; now Sicyon was then governed by Clisthenes, the most brilliant of the Orthagoride princes. Clisthenes had built marble porticos and temples; he must have been happy to entrust the decoration to these foreign sculptors, whose reputations rapidly extended throughout the entire Peloponessus.

Not a monument has been found that can be referred to the Cretan artists. Nothing is easier than to explain the total disappearance of their work. Pliny ranges Dipoinos and Skyllis among sculptors, who became illustrious in cutting marble, but there must be one of those confusions habitual to Pliny. All the works of these artists and their pupils that Pausanias mentions were in cedar or ebony woods; these woods were gilded in places; some parts of the figures were executed in metal or ivory.¹ Those images were the predecessors of the great composite representations of Hera, Athena and Zeus erected by Polycletes at Argos and by Pheidias at Athens and Olympia. If the Ionian schools had the merit of inaugurating in Greece the technics of Marble, to the sculptors of Crete and of Peloponessus returns the honor of having created that of chryselephantine statuary.

note 1.p.484. The sole mention made of a statue attributed to the Cretan sculptors is that found in Cedrenus..he speaks of a statue of Athena Lindia that was exhibited in the palace of Lausus at Constantinople, and that was the work of those artists; but according to him it was in green jasper. One is right to doubt very strongly the origin and the date assigned to the monument in question by this monk of the 11 th century, who could scarcely be a connoisseur in the matter of antiquities. The emerald of Cedrenus was perhaps only verd antique, a material employed much, rather in the late than in the archaic period.

Tradition makes the Cretan sculptors leave Peloponessus, and takes them by the gulf of Corinth to the opposite coast, that of Etolia. At the same time it compares to them a sculptor

originally from Magna Grecia, Clearchos of Rhegion. The monuments accord with the texts and confirm the inferences that can be derived from these tales. Leaving Athens aside, one compares together the archaic sculptures that come from Peloponessus and Egina, central Greece, Magna Grecia and Sicily, and he observes resemblances that cannot escape the eye of the connoisseur. If there be a reason to collect under a single generic name the various groups of artists, who worked and produced in the regions of Greece indicated above, this is then not alone because that in all the Dorian element was predominant. What especially justifies this classification is even the examination of the works and the impression produced by them; they all present certain common characteristics.

As for clearly distinguishing the various schools that compose this entirety, and defining precisely the originality of each of them, the enterprise is still more difficult than for the schools of Asian Greece and the islands. Here tradition is more vague; signatures of artists are more rare. Their entire series of monuments, like those of Sicily, for which neither literary nor epigraphic texts furnish one name. For lack of historical documents, one is then compelled to ask from geography the divisions to be adopted in classifying the works, and here are the four lists in which they will be found arranged:-- 1, Peloponessus; 2, Magna Grecia and Sicily; 3, central Greece; 4, Egina.

4. Dorian Sculpture in Peloponessus and at Delphi.

The first movement of whoever desires to study Peloponessian art is to turn toward Olympia and to go there to take for classing them, the monuments coming from the German excavations; but it is proper to protect one's self from this temptation. When after the 3th century the scattered sons of Greece were accustomed to assemble every five years in the valley of the Alpheus, Olympia became a deposit of art works from the most diverse sources, a national museum. It then does not suffice for a monument to have been discovered at Olympia for one to recognize in it a work produced in the peloponessus; there is only a reason to attribute to it that origin, when to do so one has some reason derived from the material or destination of the monument.

If in the booty of Olympia there be one work that in all these ways can pass for having been executed at the place by an artist of the country, this is indeed the head, more than twice the natural size, in which men are agreed to see a fragment of the statue of Hera, that was erected in the rear of the nave of the old temple of that goddess (Fig. 212). This colossal image was not fashioned in some distant workshop; transportation would have presented too many difficulties. It is further not cut in that marble from the islands for which all Ionian sculptors had such a marked preference; it is in the shelly limestone found very near the Altis in the subsoil of the valley.²

note 1. p. 436. On this head, see the notice of G. Treue in Olympia, Textband III, p. 1-8 (Pl. I). He gives the best reasons for thinking that this head indeed belonged to the statue, that was the object of the worship.

note 2. p. 436. From the same rock was made the plinth that must have supported the two statues of Hera and of Zeus that Pausanias saw there, a plinth that was found in place.

What is first striking in that head is its form. The bottom of the face is almost as wide as the top; in a rectangle is inscribed the contour of the face. Another peculiarity is the vigor with which is indicated the bony framework, in the arches of the eyebrows, the border of the frontal bone, the strong relief of the malar bones below the eyes, and the strongly accented relief of the chin. The cheeks are hollowed; one would say that no flesh is beneath the skin. The eyes are unusually wide. The only one of the ears remaining is attached to a remnant of the veil falling on the back is too much detached from the skull and is shown awkwardly. The nose is broken; by the appearance of the fracture, one divines that it was large and heavy. As for the mouth, the upper lip is not even indicated, while the lower one is thick and pendant. In spite of these defects, there is a powerful solidity in the structure of the head.

From the same school proceeds a monument of less dimensions, that was also discovered at Olympia, a statuette which represents a woman standing, the arms pendant and applied against the sides. Her head-dress is nearly the same as on the head of Hera. For clothing is a long and close tunic.

(Figs. 213, 214). The mantle was indicated by color; the chisel intervened only to model the lower ends; these are held between the fingers of the hands, which raise them with a gesture in which the sculptor desired to put grace. The face is almost square. Of little importance is the awkwardness shown in the entire design by the lines, the unskilful attachment of the ears, roundness of the eyes, heaviness of the nose and dryness of the mouth; in the entire pose as in the design of the head, there is something that gives to the work of the sculptor somewhat the appearance of that of the architect.¹

note 1.p.43+. Treue believes that this figure was one of the supports of a marble basin, that he restored with the remains of another similar statuette and fragments of lions found in the same place. Its restoration is quite probable. (Olympia. Textband III, p. 27-29, fig. 2A).

If Laconia has been found the quarry from which was taken the marble of which was made the figurine;¹ this is then of Laconian fabrication. Sparta does not appear to have awaited the arrival of the foreign masters to model clay and cast bronze. Before their coming and about the beginning of the 7th century lived the sculptor Gitiadas, who ornamented with reliefs in hammered bronze the temple of Athena Chalkiecos; tradition established no connection between him and the Dedalides.² The arrival and intervention of Cretan artists could only render this production still more active, and to concur in giving it the character that distinguishes their works. We have from Laconia a certain number of reliefs, for the most part funerary, that are cut in the grayish blue marble of Vresthena;³ now between them and the steles of oriental Greece is no analogy. The themes are similar because they are the expression of the most ancient beliefs of the Grecian soul; but the execution and taste are very different.

note 1.p.438. Lepsius. Griechische Marmorstudien. n. 121. no. 206. This is the quarry of Vresthena.

note 2.p.438. Men have much discussed the age of Gitiadas; but it seems to result from the assertions of Pausanias (III, 14-7; IV, 18-2) that Gitiadas was the principal author of statues supported by bronze tripods, that were executed with

the product of the tenth of the booty made in the second Messenian war; now that ended in 668. What is no less significant is that tradition established a direct or indirect relation between all other Laconian sculptors of the archaic age and the Cretan: it says nothing similar of Attiadas.

Note 3.p.438. Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung beschrieben von H. Dressel und A. Milchöfer. (Athen. Mitt. 1877, p.298-474). The most ancient of these monuments appears to be the singular group that represents a nude woman to be confined, between two Geniuses who preside over her delivery. It is too mutilated for us to reproduce it here. (Fr. Mark. Marmorgruppe aus Sparta; Athen. Mitt. 1885. p.177-179. Plate VI).

If this product of the Laconian chisel, nothing can better afford an idea than the stele of Chrysaona, a slab of very irregular form and not enclosed in any border (Fig. 215).¹ The lower part is scarcely roughed and was sunk in the ground. On a throne with a high back are seated two persons, one of whom is seen in front and the other in profile. The first is a man clothed in a long tunic on which is cast a mantle, that leaves free at the right the shoulder and arm.¹ His hair is so arranged in the brow in a row of little curls from which are detached long tresses that hang like snailshells of beads on the back of the throat. The feet are shod with sandals. The two arms are extended. The left hand is opened widely and seems to make a gesture of calling and greeting. The right hand holds the cantarus. Behind is a woman, recognizable by the breadth of her chest. Her hair is shorter and more simply arranged than that of her companion. Shod in shoes with recurved points, she has for her sole clothing a tunic that falls to her feet. Her right hand is laid on her knee and holds a pomegranate, while with the other she lifts her veil: this as the awkward sketch of a movement that we shall find again on the Parthenon in the frieze of the cella, where the sculptor has assigned it to Hera. Before this couple, not only smaller than it, but so small that at the first moment one scarcely perceives them, are two persons, a young man and a young girl, which the workman has distinguished by a slight difference in costume and in height. Both make the gesture of offering; the first one

presents an egg and a cock; the second, a fruit and a flower.

note 1.p.440. By the manner in which is dressed the surface of the chin, it is believed to be recognized that the beard was represented by an application of color.

What it is necessary to see here are two dead heroes, to which their children bring the foods that maintain and the perfumes that cheer the posthumous life;² there is even an allusion to this life beyond the tomb in the cantharus and pomegranate, held in the hands of the two principal persons. Finally, to the deities of the subterranean world is consecrated the serpent that unrolls its coils behind the throne; as if it would take its part of the offerings, and thrusts its head over the back. Popular imagination has assigned this part to the serpent, because it inhabits the crevices of the rocks; when it shows itself suddenly, it seems to come from beneath the ground. All the lines of this scene then concur in indicating its signification, and in Laconia even as in Arcadia, there have been found several other steles³ that express the same ideas by similar images: but in none of them is the representation as complete and as clear as on the stele of Chrysaoha.

note 2.p.440. On the different interpretations proposed for this relief, see Collignon. Histoire. t.p.232, note A.

note 3.p.440. Athen. Mitt. 1877. pls. XXII-XXV and nos. 9, 11, 13, 17, 21 of the catalogue. see the same. 1879. p. 122 and pl. VIII; Arch.Zeit. 1881.p.281-289 By its theme and mode of execution, the funerary relief of Ibrahim effendi in the plain of Tegea is connected with the series of Laconian reliefs. (Athen.Mitt. 1879.p.135-136, pl. VIII). It will not be forgotten that Tegea, whose territory touched Laconia, for several centuries was under the influence of sparta and closely connected with its fortunes.

What farther especially causes the interest in this monument and other reliefs from the same workshops (Fig. 74) is less the subject than the mode of execution. That is very peculiar. I scarcely see only the right shoulder of the seated man, where the sculptor has allowed to appear the desire to recall the roundness of the living form, even by a very slight indication. Everywhere else the eye finds only

surfaces parallel to the ground and nearly flat, that overlap each other, superposed in the order in which the figures present themselves in perspective to the eye of the spectator. By distinct sections perpendicular to these vertical planes, they are connected together and to the ground. The appearance of the scene is that of a work executed by means of the use of small and very thin plates fastened on each other, each of them giving one of the outlines that together create the image.

note 1.p.441. It is the same in the best preserved of the other reliefs of Chrysaor. (Purtscheller. Altakakonischen Relief); Athen. Mitt. 1882. p. 160-173, pl. VII).

This kind of work was not imposed on the workmen by the properties of the material. Marble lends itself very well to the rounding of contours and to modeling in planes. Entirely the contrary for wood; when one attacks it with the chisel and saw, what is obtained everywhere are straight and rough edges, the uniform faces presented by this relief. Thus here under the stone is divined the wood. This stele and those resembling it were executed by workmen, that had made their apprenticeship in the workshops in which the Laconian sculptors, pupils of the Dedalides, Hegylos, Paeonides, Dantas and Dorykleidas wrought olive, cedar and ebony woods.

The use of this technique establishes a primary connection between the anonymous sculptors, who in the valley of the Eurotas chiseled the tombstones of the cemeteries, and the famous artists that in the 6th century executed the sumptuous works that Pausanias saw preserved in several temples of the Peloponessus. There is also another trait by which these humble funerary monuments are work of the masters of those schools, that is now lost. The taste that controlled the arrangement of the figures in the relief of Chrysaor is indeed that, which we have seen manifested by other indications in the fragments of the statues of Eleutherna, Tegea and Olympia. This is the same seeking for effect that gives a clearly symmetrical structure. All concurs here to produce those effects, the importance attributed to this wide throne, whose feet have the form of lions' paws, and especially in the actors in the scene, the solemnity of the attitude and pose, as well as the contrast arranged of

the sculptor of these mortal worshippers, whose height, compared to that of the ancestral couple, is not even that of young infants, and the two persons to whom the offering is made, magnified beyond measure by death that has deified them.

As a last specimen of those Laconian reliefs, we also cite another, that with a different purpose presents the same character in fabrication. (Fig. 216).¹ This is the stele with pediment, where one sees the Dioscures standing and facing each other, the chalmys on the shoulder and spear in hand; between them is one of their ordinary symbols, the two great covered amphoras with pointed covers. In the tympanum is an egg, the egg of Leda, toward which crawl two serpents. No dedication. The stele has no plinth. This is because it was built into the wall of an enclosure and not planted in the ground.

Note 1. p. 442. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1899. p. 599-6004.

The relief is absolutely flat and places these figures in the same plane as the frame of the tablet. After the sculptor had drawn on the stone the outline of the two persons and the vases, he sunk the ground. Some lines traced with the point and particularly color completed the work of the chisel. It is always this sculpture by sinking and outlining, many other examples of which are easily taken from the local museum.

In the stele of Chrysapha and its congeners, the form is understood rather otherwise than in the colossal head and the statuette from Olympia. The oval of the face is more elongated. The proportions of the body appear to show a certain elegance; but in seeking to create a type peculiar to it, the sculptor could not avoid certain faults that came from his inexperience. Thus he has made the arms too thin and too long and has indicated neither the joint of the elbow nor that of the wrist. It is also a forced movement that places a front view of the head on a body seen entirely in profile.

The type presented to us by the stele of Chrysapha is found again in two bronzes that came from Sparta, a statuette of Aphrodite, that must have served to ornament the standard of a lamo (Fig. 217), and a bronze head, a fragment of a

little male statue (Fig. 92). We have no reason to doubt that these bronzes were cast at Sparta itself. It is known that relations existed between Samos and Sparta, and Theodore, the celebrated Samian founder, made a sojourn at Sparta; in the course of the works that he executed, for the Skias, he might open a workshop and train workmen there.

What causes one to see an Aphrodite here is the grace of the attitude and the pomegranate flower held in the right hand.¹ The flat body is enveloped in a long and closely fitting tunic with short sleeves and a notched border, over which is cast a nimation, that the left hand slightly raises. The face is elongated and is half smiling, with outer edges of the eyes raised toward the temples. The hair in little curls above the brow falls in plaits on the shoulders and the chest. It forms behind a long and flat mass, that becomes smaller as it descends and only stops at the girdle.

note 1.p.448. collection Julien Greau. Bronzes antiques. no. 326. 1885.

The male head has more importance. It is cast hollow; now of all Grecian bronzes that have come to us, it is perhaps that furnishing the most ancient example of the skilful use of that technique. The bronze has been finely retouched with the file, chisel and graver. The top of the head is plain; there are distinguished the traces of the nails, which implies the addition of a supported piece, doubtless a helmet of small height. This work must have been executed about the middle of the 6th century. What leads us to place it at that date and perhaps earlier is the manner in which the eye is constructed. The sculptor has placed it out so far that its ball and upper eyelid project beyond the vertical of the eyebrow. In this unusual projection of the eye can be seen only the convention, and which passed out of fashion at a very early date.

The character of the traits is sensibly the same here as on the stele of Chrysapha, with the difference that the stele and the other funerary reliefs of the same sort came from the workshop of a contractor who made them by the dozen, while the bronze must be the work of one of the best artists of the time. The work on it is very free, but with inaccuracies by which is also betrayed the inexperience of the

sculptor. There is no modeling in the cartilage of the ear and the eyes are not alike. The right eye is larger and is placed lower than the left eye. What has best succeeded is the mouth and its surroundings, the skin of the face being so stretched over the cheek bones that the face seems to smile, although the lips are closed. Like that of the chin, the arch of the eyebrow is indicated with a firmness almost hard. There is always the same care to strongly establish what is beneath the curtain of the muscles.

Nowhere is this tendency manifested with more exaggeration than in a mask of the Gorgon, that must have served as acroteria on some edifice of Sparta (Fig. 218).¹ Of the grinning face, there is only the skeleton of bones scarcely covered with skin. One would even say that the hair itself is ossified. It forms a chaplet of great curls along the ears and cheeks, it rises like horns above the brow. The mouth is filled by teeth, some of which at the sides resemble the tusks of the wild boar.

Note 1. p. 444. Another Gorgon is quite similar in terra cotta, and was found at Olympia; it was likewise a facing tile. (Olympio. vol. III, pl. VIII, 8).

The Laconian monuments are not all distinguished by such a sharp originality; but one always finds there some of the traits that we have indicated. Such is the case for a base that must have supported a tripod or a votive statue.¹ It is quadrangular with four unequal sides (Figs. 219-221). On the two smaller sides a serpent unfolds its coils; on each larger one is a group composed of two persons, a man and a woman standing and facing each other. In both reliefs the man has passed the left arm around the neck of the woman; but here with his right hand he tenders a crown to his companion who receives it, an emblem of respect and love, while there he menaces her with his sword. The appearance of the two groups is almost similar; but a single change in details has sufficed to make a frank contrast between the two subjects. It has been desired to see here Zeus seducing Almena under the appearance of Amphitryon on the one hand, on the other being Menelaus after the fall of Troy, preparing to slay Helen.¹ Other explanations might be proposed, but considering the simplicity of the action, they also remain

conjectural. All that can be affirmed is, that the two themes have nothing funereal;² they may have been borrowed only from a rich treasury of these myths, which thenceforth epic and lyric poetry had disseminated and popularized in all Greece.

note 1.p.445. Dressel and Wilchofer. (Athen. Mitt. 1877. p. 301 303).

note 1.p.446. Löschke. "concerning a certain base found near Sparta." programme of Dorpat. 1878.

note 2.p.446. The sole reason that one could invoke for supposing a funereal destination is the presence of the serpent on the smaller sides; but the serpent may very well have been employed here only as an ornamental motive, so as to fill faces too narrow, that there could be represented any scene whatever.

It further is of little importance whether there is given to these personages one name rather than another; what especially merits attention here is the technique. But the bases of the funerary steles are resemblances, which attest the original relationship; Thus in the double relief, there is scarcely more modeling within the contour, than on the stele of Chrysapha.

The forms here are scarcely less strongly recessed to the ground. Where this method is particularly sensible is in the image of the serpent, which extends like a broad ribbon on the face that it decorates; but it is also very frankly emphasized in the figures of woman, the rendering of the drapery, and for the male figures in that of the trunk and thighs. The same spirit governed the design of the reliefs and that of the steles of the cemetery. In both groups of the base is the same ratio of height in persons of both sexes and an almost absolute similarity of attitudes.

Yet the fabrication is not absolutely the same in the funerary monument and in the votive monument. The projection of the figures from the ground is indeed more marked in the sculptures of the base, ^{and} the contours there are sufficiently rounded to recall the natural curvatures of the form. The bodies there are of proportions more thickset than in the relief of the tombstone.

We find this same type again in a fragment of a statuette,

a marble head discovered at Meligon in the ancient Thyreatide, a district of Cymaria, long disputed between Argos and Sparta (Fig. 222).¹ It is more accented than in the relief of Sparta; the rounding more frankly emphasizes the character of the forms. The dome of the skull is elliptical at the base, and the face is very broad. Beneath the eyebrows the arch is vigorously drawn, the eyeball is entirely round and is enclosed by very projecting eyelids. The nose is large, short and slightly arched. The lips are thick and over their opening fall the points of two long pendant moustaches. The beard is indicated on the cheeks by a line corresponding to a slight elevation of the surface, and its thickness conceals the roundness of the chin; it certainly had received a color that distinguished it from the flesh of the face. The ears are placed much too high, and the work on them is very careless. The hair forms a compact mass behind, that terminates on the nape in a nearly horizontal line.

Sufficiently free, the execution here remains quite summary; but there is a vague sketch of a smile, that would appear. The entirety of the features has something open and friendly. By its squat proportions and by their arrangement of the hair, the head recalls the reliefs of the Laconian pedestal (Fig. 220).

On the other hand, particularly of tomstones from the same source, must one think of a funerary statue, that was found between Tripolitza and Megalopolis in Arcadia.¹ The head and neck are wanting, as well as the forearms and hands. The image is in marble from Doliana, which gives reason to think that one has there the work of a Peloponnesian artist. This presumption is confirmed even by the appearance of the statue. The latter is clad in a close tunic and represents a seated woman, whose name Agemo or Ageso is written from right to left in very archaic letters on the part of the marble below the feet. Were it not for this inscription, one would hesitate concerning the sex properly attributed to the personage. The arms are as strong as those of a man, and the chest does not raise the drapery. The feet are shod with sandals.¹ The hands must have been placed on the knees; but they have left no traces. A sphynx terminates the leg of

the throne at the right.

note 1.p.448. Cavvadias. Catalogue du musée national. 1890. 1892. no. 8.

note 1.p.449. De Ridder. Catalogue etc. no. 860.

The workman had only one intention, to impress on his work the character that impressed us on the stele of Chrysaona. That is what is particularly felt when one sees the statue in profile; its contour is then summarized in a series of very distinct planes, that intersect at almost a right angle the front of the bust, the tops of the thighs, and the bottoms of the legs. The instep with its very marked slope is joined by a more open angle to the vertical line descending from the knee, and that seems to represent a sort of inclined plinth; the figure thus has more base. Parallel to each other, the two arms are bent at the elbows and accompany the movement of the trunk and lower members.

To give another example of the types of Dorian sculpture, of the very emphatic symmetry and severe stiffness that distinguishes them, we shall also cite a bronze found between Sparta and Megalopolis (Fig. 224). This is a rider whose mount has disappeared. He is nude with the legs apart, hands resting on the thighs, closed and almost joined. The shoulders are broad and sloping, the collar bone clearly indicated, the recesses of the epigastrium being very well marked. On the head, the eyes are open and projecting; the mouth is raised at the ends and the chin is very square.

In upper Arcadia near Kleitor have recently been made excavations, that have brought to light the foundations of an old temple, that of Artemis Hemerasia;¹ it belonged to a city, Loasoi, whose site was deserted in the time of Pausanias.² There were found archaic figurines of bronze, and of terra cotta, most of which so strongly resemble those collected at Olympia, that they are almost believed to have come from the same moulds. Yet here is a bronze statuette which presents a very peculiar appearance with its short hair and the sort of cape that covers the shoulders (Fig. 225). The cloth of that cape does not form a fold. One would speak of leather. The mode of fitting here must be peculiar to the women of certain districts of the peninsula. What is again more worthy of attention is the method taken by the sculptor.

Below the girdle, the body has the appearance of a pillar, that in front is flat like a plank, while at the sides and rear are deep vertical and parallel folds, like the flutes of a column, that groove the drapery. The result is here the same as in the Hera of the Louvre (Fig. 79); but how different is the execution! ¹ On the Samian marble the falling mass of the tunic expands below; an elegant curve joins it with the circular plinth. On the contrary, here this tunic descends stiffly and without the least bend of the little square plinth; it makes with that a right angle. By comparing the two arrangements, one feels how much finer taste the Ionian sculptor had than his Dorian imitator.

note 1.p.450. W. Reichel & A. Wilhelm. Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi. (Jahr.d.Oest.Arch.Inst.zu Wien. 1900, p.1-88).

note 2.p.450. Pausanias. VIII, 18-7.

note 1.p.451. It was mentioned and studied by Furtwängler. (Sitz.d.Phil.Klasse d.K.kayr. Akad. 1899. Vol. II, p.566 etc.

The excavations of Delphi have added much to the little that we knew of archaic art of the Peloponnesus. Before then, nothing so clearly represented their spirit and methods as did the two statues of island marble, a little larger than nature, found west of the treasury of the Athenians. ¹

note 1.p.452. Homolle. Deux statues archaïques de l'école argienne. (Publ.corr.Hell. 1900, p.445-462, pls. 18-21).

One of them is signed by the name of an Argive sculptor, Polymedes, otherwise unknown; ² the other is entirely similar but not so well preserved and must have come from the same workshop. Both represent a young man, entirely nude. (Pls. IK, X; Fig. 226).

note 2.p.452. The statue that we reproduce lacks only the feet and ankles, which are only modeled in plaster to show the eye the modern parts.

note 3.p.452. The inscription is written from right to left; it presents peculiarities in orthography already known from other texts. (Kirchhoff. Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets. 2nd edit, p. 149). Here is a signature of another Argive sculptor found at Olympia; (see text). Löwy. Inschriften, no. 30.

It has been asked whether it would not be proper to recognize in these two images, that stood near each other, the

two statues of Cleobis and of Biton that the Argives, according to Herodotus, consecrated at Delphi.⁴ The vigorous character that the artist has given to the bodies of these young men would suit well those persons, two athletes that died of fatigue, it is said, for having taken the places of the oxen that were to draw their mother from the city of Argos to the Heraion; this was a journey of about 5 miles.

note 4.p.457. Herodotus. 1-31; Howells, p. 450-451.

However it may be with this hypothesis, these statues have a separate appearance in the series termed "Apollons." What distinguishes them from the others is "the variety introduced in the lines of the figure by the curvature of the arms slightly bent backward and detached from the body; it is the rhythm resulting from this for the entire separate and animated trunk; it is the principle of life and of movement, that has its result in all the members and in the legs with such firm elasticity; it is the seeking for character and expression by the special traits of the modeling, which here personify the physical force; the attentive observation of nature and the faithful rendering that is its result."⁵

note 5.p.452. Howells. p. 451-452.

In spite of heaviness of the work, the face is not commonplace. With its low forehead, its great eyes flush with the head, its very full cheeks, its short and straight mouth and square chin, it has a certain air of calm assurance, that well accords with its entire pose. The left leg is strongly thrown forward; the upper part of the body is very slightly inclined in the same direction; the entire figure has the attitude of a professional combat or a pugilist, who awaited on a firm foot his adversary and defied him to advance. The nude is here treated in the spirit of that idea. The neck is thick above a well placed collarbone. The pectoral muscles and especially those of the arms and legs have a powerful relief. The modeling of the joint of the knee is no less accented. In the middle of a great cushion of flesh is detached and projects the disk of the kneecap.

The sculptor has been less happy where his attention was not attracted either by the members of the bony framework emphasized beneath the flesh, or by the very projecting masses of the muscles, clearly circumscribed. The soft parts,

such as the abdomen, embarrassed him greatly. By an entirely arbitrary trace, a line describing a curve in the form of an inverted anchor, he separated the thoracic cavity from the abdominal region. Of this he makes only a smooth surface with a simple vertical line to recall the median line; he has not even attempted to indicate the folds of the covering of muscles, that enclose the entire cavity. On the other hand, the artist has applied himself to render as accurately as possible the appearance of the pubis with those little tufts of hair. In statues of this type, the archaic chisel has usually abstained from reproducing them.

One notes the excessive luxury of the hair. "That conceals half the brow under a crown of kissing curls. Retained above the ears by a band of cloth or of metal, it escapes in reacting waves covering the shoulders and back. There are three ringlets at each side in front, and six or seven behind. Yet another band confines the hair anew at the nape to prevent its expanding over the entire width of the back. Finally, each tress is held at its end by three turns of a ribbon or a metallic spiral."¹

note 1.p.454. Howolles v.454

The signature that here attests the intervention of an active artist was lost, so that one was less able to divine the Peloponnesian origin of the two statues. They recall in many respects the Cretan trunk of Eleutheria (Fig. 211), that found near Tegea (Fig. 212), and the Arcadian statue of Ageso (Fig. 221).

This is the same broad and flat face. It is the same arrangement of the hair; the resemblance is here especially striking. The same short proportions for the body; in the two statues of Delphi, the entire figure counts less than seven heads. It is the bust that is massive. The form that it assumes with its nearly horizontal shoulders approximates a rectangle, or rather a trapezoid. The execution offers peculiarities that have already attracted our attention: here, as on the statue of Ageso and the stele of Chrysaona (Fig. 215), the rounds of the body are uniformly large planes, that intersect almost at a right angle. There is one for the back and another for the abdomen, which are connected together by the narrower planes of the sides.

If any authentic document attributed to a workshop of Argos the two statues of Delphi, this is for reasons of a different order, and which do not give a certainty as absolute, as that applied to a series of sculptures in soft stone referred to Sicyon, all more or less mutilated, that came from the same excavations. It appears to result from the text of Pausanias, that the little Doric edifice in the ruins of which were gathered those reliefs, was the treasury of the Sicyonians, and that sort which this traveler found to mention, when starting from the eastern gate, he commenced to ascend the sacred way.² This hypothesis offers a high degree of probability, and there is nothing to contradict it, either in the themes or in the style of these images. The edifice was built of limestone, and in slabs of the same stone the chisel carved the reliefs that decorated it.

Note 2. p. 454. Pausanias. X, 11-1; Romolle. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894. p. 187-188; 1896. p. 657-675.

Like the other buildings of the same kind, this treasury had the form of an ante temple. Its dimensions are estimated as 27.7 ft. deep by 20.8 ft. front. The sculptured slabs would be metopes that decorated the lateral facades; others have desired to see in them the remains of a frieze.¹ What would rather make them thought to be metopes, is that there does not seem to have been any connection between the subjects represented by the different slabs of tufa. On a frieze, as we have the proof of this at Delphi itself, the representation follows from one slab to another. Here, without mentioning the small fragments, is the list of pieces on which one can seize the sense of the scene that the sculptor desired to represent:--

Note 1. p. 455. What suggested to Furtwängler the idea of a frieze is the quite elongated form of the slabs. (Perl. Phil. Koch. p. 125). The metopes usually approach the square form; further, triglyphs are not mentioned among the ruins of the treasury recovered. On the other hand, Romolle states that the right and left ends of the slabs bear traces of the groove in which they were inserted.

1. The Dioscures and Idas, bringing from Messenia the herds of cattle carried off by them, that booty that should cause fighting and be fatal to Castor and Idas. Their names

are traced in oistre and are read over the slab. It was the same on the other slabs for all the persons. With a view to aid the intelligence of the spectator, the sculptor had recourse here to the procedure long employed by the maker of painted vases (Fig. 227).

2. A wild boar. As the Dioscures took part in the hunt of Calydon, it is permissible to suppose that the subject of this metope was also borrowed from the myths concerning them. (Fig. 228).

3. Two horsemen viewed in front, and behind the second plane contains a snio carrying warriors divined by their shields; in the middle two persons play on the cithara. It seems that the two riders may also be the Dioscures, and that the subject may be taken from the legend of the Argonauts, in which they also had their places marked. (Fig. 229).

4. A man, doubtless that of Helle, that must carry a person. This would likewise be an episode in the expedition of the Argonauts.

5. The abduction of Europa (Fig. 230).

Some other fragments cannot be referred to any determinate scene.

In all the sculptures, there is not a single head on which the face is sufficiently well preserved, that its features can be discerned. The observations can then only relate to the arrangement of the scenes and the procedures of execution. The three heroes that stole the cattle are alike. Clothed in a calamus cast over their nude trunks, they have the same attitudes; all advance the left foot; they step like soldiers on parade. Each one bears on the left shoulder a pair of short spears strongly ironed and holds another weapon in the right hand, that hangs beside the body.¹ All the spears are parallel to each other; the lower arms are perhaps swords and follow along the same line. Between the persons are seen in front view and at the same height the heads of three oxen, who march to the right with steps equal to those of the abductors. Shown in profile, the bodies of the animals all have the same outlines. As for the legs, they are detached from the ground with dry precision, the forelegs of the second ox joining those of the ox preceding him. Further, there are more legs than are possessed by the three

oxen turned toward the spectator; those appearing in excess belong to animals in the second plane, whose heads are slightly sketched and presented sidewise, outlined on the ground above those of the oxen in the ^{first} plane. One sees this arrangement only by closely examining the scene. At first one is tempted to believe that the workman was mistaken in his count. There is an interesting effort to give depth to the relief and to place perspective in it.

Note 1.p.456. It is not easy to determine the arm in the right hand, the surface of the image having suffered much at that place. Romolle believes it a spear; but it would have been difficult to carry it without the support of the shoulder, this arm with a long shaft. I should prefer to think of a very short sword, whose hilt seems to me to be distinguished in the scratches on the ground.

The work of the tool is here freer than on the reliefs of Laconia; but here as there, the artist has not aimed at elegance; what he seems to have sought especially is a sort of effects that produce exact symmetry. The movements of the persons are correct, but little varied and always lightly proportioned; this is also the case for the horseman viewed in front as well as for the players on lyres, and for the leaders of the herd. One will note in this last relief the regularity of the angles formed by the legs of the oxen combined in groups, and the exact parallelism of the lines in each group. Further here, as in many archaic works, the form of the animal is better rendered than that of the man. The bull that bears Europa and especially the wild boar running with lowered head are of firm design and fine action; but there as well as for the principal actors, there is very little modeling within the outlines, and these are connected to the ground only by a drily cut contour and by straight sections. The figures scarcely turn. It is the same for the drapery. It presents arrangements quite correct and clear; but it lacks suppleness. The cloth is scarcely grooved in places, with some great folds and the stiffness of leather. By the character of the execution as by that of the composition, these reliefs at Delphi also seem to come from that school of Sicyon, that had the Cretan sculptors for its first masters.

It is then natural to attribute to a Sicyonian sculptor the reliefs that decorate the edifice. It is true that one finds in the names traced by the brush on these slabs some characters, that appear peculiar to the archaic alphabet of Sicyon; but it is probable that these explanatory inscriptions were painted or engraved on the stone only after the slabs were set in place, and that one had at Delphi itself other occasions to give them; men ordinarily employed in such a case the alphabet in use in the sacred city; the workmen there charged themselves with this need.¹

note 1. p. 458. *Howolle. Pull. Corr. Gell.* 1898. p. 658.

There remains only one question to solve; that of the date that it is proper to assign to these sculptures. Men have desired to solve this problem by instituting a minute comparison between the metopes of Sicyon and those of Selinonte, not without introducing in the discussion the architraves of Assos;² but we do not believe that from those remarks can be derived anything decisive. When it has been established by ingenious comparisons, that the metopes of Sicyon seem to be later than the reliefs of Assos, and at the same time than those of a certain Sicilian temple, what conclusions are deduced from the synchronism so established? This effort only succeeds if in the chronologic series so formed, one succeeds in finding somewhere a fixed point. Unfortunately there is none. Neither the temple of Assos nor the temples of Selinonte are dated; how are they to serve in determining the date of the monument compared to them?

note 2. p. 458. *Howolle. Pull. Corr. Gell.* 1898. p. 668-674.

With a lack of precise information, perhaps history will supply indications of value for the solution of the problem. It is known how Clisthenes, the most powerful and last of the Orthagorides freed Delphi and its sacerdotal aristocracy from their embarrassment caused by the hostility of Crisa and of Cirra; now as conqueror of those two cities after a war lasting ten years (600-590), he reorganized the Pythian games, and soon afterwards his team triumphed in the chariot race (582). Clisthenes was then in intimate relations with Delphi. The part that he had played in the recent struggle and in the reform of the games placed him in favor and in view. Would it then not be between 582 and 566, the probable

date of his death, that to perpetuate the memory of the glorious part that he had taken in these memorable events, he erected and decorated by sculptures the edifice that occupies us? There is nothing in the style of the reliefs in question, that clashes with that conjecture: when one compares them to that frieze of Cnidos, which we have attributed to the last quarter of the 6th century, one has an impression that they are possibly earlier than it, and on the other hand, would explain less that the treasury was constructed after the fall of the dynasty of the Orthagorides. When Sicyon, a very small city and without a harbor or commerce, no longer had at its command provinces, whose enterprising spirit and wealth gave it an artificial importance, it almost disappeared from history.

Also from this middle of the century dates the group in high relief, which at Olympia fill the pediment of a treasury in which an indication by Pausanias has permitted us to recognize the treasury of the Megarans;¹ they represent the combat of the gods against the giants. We have only fragments of these groups; we reproduce that which gives best the idea of the arrangement and style of the work, Zeus overthrowing a giant that wears the heavy armor of the Grecian hoplite (Fig. 231). Megaris was at the north of the isthmus: one of its ports looked toward the Cyclades and might have been open to Ionian artists; but there are reasons for believing it rather necessary to seek here the work of a Peloponnesian artist. This is first that Megara was a Dorian city, like Argos, Sicyon and Sparta; there is also information furnished by Pausanias. There were preserved in the treasury of Megara figurines of cedar wood overlaid with gold, a Hercules in combat with the river Achelous under the eyes of Zeus, Athena and Ares, figurines that passed as the work of the Laconian sculptor Dantas, pupil of Dipoinos and of Skyllis. We are thus informed of the relations that existed in that epoch between Megara and the masters of the Peloponnesian school;² but it is especially by the study of the sculptures that the problem must be solved. The material of these is not the marble of the islands; it is limestone of lacustrine formation, whose quarry has been found in the valley of the Alpheus itself. There are further; not only

were these figures cut in the local stone, but they were cut after the hoisting and placing of the blocks that support them.³ The use of this material and this mode of execution accords badly with the hypothesis of the intervention of foreign workmen; they employ rather the aid of workers attached to the workyards of Olympia.

note 1.p.460. Pausanias.VI, 19-12, 13. On the age of these sculptures, see Treue in Olympia. vol. II of text. He believes them more ancient than those of the old temple of Athena constructed by Pisistratos on the acropolis of Athens.

note 2.p.460. The Laconian steles recall by their execution a curious relief discovered at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, a colony of Megara. However fragmentary it may be today, one recognizes Zeus between the Ilithyies at the instant preceding the birth of Athena. (S. Reinach. Un bas-relief inédit du musée de Constantinople, in Rev. des etud. grecs. 1901 p.127-135. Pl. I).

note 3.p.460. G. Treue in Olympia. Text. vol.III, p. 11.

Finally, the style of these reliefs is indeed that which we must expect to find in the work of one of those Laconian or Argive sculptors that worked around Olympia, as the Ionian artists did around Delos. There are gaps of conjectural parts in the restorations that have presented the entirety of the decoration of this pediment;¹ yet one divines a wisely weighed composition, one of those rhythmic arrangements for which the masters of these schools had a taste and an aim from the first hour. As for the execution, it allows itself to be appreciated and defined with more certainty. The sculptor did not seek the refinement of a minute rendering. The character that he wished to give to his short figures modeled in large planes is that of a vigor expressed by energy of movement. The effect was again enhanced by a violent polychromy. The figures rose in red from a blue ground.

note 1.p.461. Olympia. Plates. vol. III, pl. III.

There have been found very recently in Argolis some remains of another of these decorative entireties, in which the sculptor made himself the assistant of the architect.² These are the metopes of the frieze of the temple at Mycenae erected in honor of Athena on the ruins of the palace of t

the ancient kings.³ The slabs have been broken into pieces too small for one to divine the subjects of the sculptures. The proportions of the figures appear to have been made quite slender, that indicates a work at least contemporary with the metopes of the treasury of Sicyon; but on a well preserved head of a woman is found that rectangular form of face noted on the oldest monuments of Dorian art, and that face is enclosed between the two pyramidal masses of hair that accompany it on the old statue of Tegea (Fig. 232).

note 2.p.461. Kourois. porosculpturen aus Mykenae. (Jahrb.d.K.d.Arch.Inst.1901.p.18-22, 5 figs. in text).

note 2.p.461. Histoire de l'art. vol. v. p.346.

The monuments that we have just studied nearly all have a more or less correct birth certificate, if one can so speak. Here the inscription reveals the origin. There almost certain indications are furnished by what we know of the material employed or of the edifice to which belonged the relief or the statue. Also sometimes it is the style itself of the piece that removes all doubts. The case is no longer entirely the same for some works of the bronze-worker. Bronze lends itself to transportation for great distances, and these monuments no longer have a character as decided as those in which we have believed that we recognized the mark of the art of the Cretan masters and of their first pupils; the question is proposed of knowing whether there is not some trace there of other lessons received and of other influences.

For example, see a little bronze head that is assured to have come from Cythera (Fig. 233). It was at first described as a male head;¹ but it seems more probable that it belonged to a female statue. Compare it to other nearly contemporaneous works, such as the head of Meligou (Fig. 227) and a bearded head found at Olympia (Fig. 235); you cannot fail to be struck by the difference. This is not only in the absence of the moustache or beard; the artist has desired to place here more flesh on the bones, flesh more tender and plump, like female flesh. Perhaps we have there a fragment of a statuette of Aphrodite, who was adored at Cythera. What would justify this conjecture is the resemblance noted between this head from Cythera and that which decorates the

archaic coins of another city, Caidos, where the same goddess had one of her most venerated sanctuaries (Fig. 234).²

note 1.p.408. This was at first the feeling of Brunn in the remarkable study that he devoted to this head. (Arch. Zeit. 1870.p.20-28); but he changed his opinion on this subject. (Athen. Mitt. 1882, p.118).

note 2.p.468. von Sallet, in Numism. Zeit. vol. IX, p. 141.

The head from Olympia is the product of an art that expressed its thought with more ease and freedom (Figs. 235, 236). By the happy arrangement of the hair and beard as by a certain air of mild gravity diffused in the entire features, one divines the effort made by the artist to render an ideal type, that of Zeus, the great god of Olympia. This artist has a truly adroit and assured hand. One notes here the two rows of spiral curls that enclose the temples and brow, the work on the hair, the fine chiseling that indicates the waves on the top of the head, and the suppleness of the double band that holds the mass in its complex knots where it falls behind. The moustache and beard are treated with no less care and precision. Such a work cannot be earlier than the last years of the 6th century, if it does not belong to the first ones of the 5th.

In that head to a higher degree than in the preceding one are qualities of mastery, that we have not found again in the authentic works of the sculpture of Peloponessus. Does this mean that between these and our two bronzes may be any resemblance, and that one cannot establish between them any relationship? We do not think so. Doubtless on these heads the face is less heavy and massive than it was at the beginning; but the artists that modeled the cheek bones are indeed the pupils and successors of the rude workmen, that chiseled in tufa the colossal head of Hera. This is especially apparent in the bronze from Olympia. The sculptor has there given everywhere to the forms the slightly dry firmness, that they have on the face of a man not fatty. See the brow and cheek bones where the skin is stretched over the bones; also see the contour of the eyelids and that of the mouth, that is straight with thin lips. One even divines under the short beard the structure of the jaw and that of the chin.

In the female head from Cythera, however different may be the appearance of the whole, one finds something of the same mode of interpretation. Observe the width of the chin and the breadth of the lateral plane of the cheeks, such as you will perceive when you look at the side of the figure; there again beneath the roundness of the flesh one views the complex apparatus of the malar and maxillary bones.

One is then right to attach these two bronzes to the series of too rare works, that represent the efforts and taste of the ancient schools of Peloponessus. Yet one remark is to be made; these two heads are lighted as if by a first ray and commencing gleam of grace and beauty; now we have not found the like in the figures that issued from the workshops of the peninsula. Is it proper to explain this difference alone by the progress, that could not fail to be realized in the work pursued during two centuries by each generation of artists, heirs advised of the procedures introduced and the results obtained by their predecessors? It appears to manifest itself here at the same time that is affirmed the persistence of the methods transmitted in the workshops of Sparta and of Argos, certain tendencies that until then remained foreign to the Dorian schools. To give a reason for this new element, it is perhaps necessary to recollect that Ionian artists, like Theodore of Samos and later Bathyacles of Magnesia, came to produce at Sparta works, that were much admired there. Then to the examples which they had given in those surroundings might be attributed that seeking of those elegancies in execution, that in the two heads from Cythera and from Olympia doubtless did not succeed in effacing the originality of Dorian sculpture, but still displayed some charm and tempered its austere severity in a certain measure.¹

NOTE 1. p. 465. Thus in a statuette of bronze of the so-called type of the archaic Apollo, found at Olympia, furthermore sees a work executed by a Peloponnesian sculptor, who was inspired by an Ionian model. (Neue Denkmäler antiken Kunst. 1897. p. 118-122, pl. II).

What results from the enumeration of the works that we have found mentioned in the authors, and of all those with scarcely an exception, that have come to us without the ar-

artist's name, during the archaic age of Sparta, Argos and Sicyon were in the Peloponnesus the three cities in which the arts of sculpture were most in honor; but in the second half of the century Sparta passed entirely to the second place as a centre of production. Power had not been exercised there, as at Samos and Megara, at Sicyon and Athens, by one of those families of tyrants, that sought in the luxury of buildings and their decoration the most advantageous use of extraordinary couleuce, and a sure method of dazzling and charming the people, whose rights they had usurped. On the other hand, about that time all ambitions at Sparta were turned to conquest and the maintenance of a political supremacy, that should last till the foundation of the maritime empire of Athens. Sparta continued then to attract to herself foreign artists to build and ornament her principal edifices; but it is particularly thus that she contributes to the progress of art. If there remain the workshops there in which were cast their images in relief in the local marble, to honor the burial of the chiefs of her aristocracy, no school worthy of the title was founded. The name of no Laconian sculptor has been preserved in the inscriptions or has left a trace in the history of statuary.

It is not the same with Argos. The excavations of Delphi have revealed the name of an Argive sculptor, Polymedes, and it is also believe, the hand and signature of another sculptor of the same origin on one of the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidos; but it is particularly by the ancient writers that we are informed of the importance, that the school of Argos assumed about the end of the century with Ageladas. He acquired sufficient fame that tradition gave him as pupils the three greatest sculptors of the succeeding age, Polykletos of Argos, Myron of Eleutheres and Pheidias of Athens.¹ We do not have to discuss the value of that tradition here; but from the fact even of the relations supposed between the masters in question and Ageladas, it is permissible to infer, that the latter had attained to a high degree of reputation and of authority in particular in the first quarter of the 5th century. Yet already in the last years of the preceding century Ageladas was in full activity, though doubtless very young. This we know by the dates of his victories obtained at the Olympic games, at the Pythian games, at the Isthmian games, and at the Nemean games.

which he was charmed with commemorating. Those dates range between 520 and 511.¹ No original work of Ageladas is preserved, there has been indicated no later work, that there is reason to regard as a copy of the statues attributed to him. There were by him at Olympia several statues of athletes and of victors in the chariot races; there is also cited two images of Zeus, probably larger than nature, one at Epidauria of Achaia and the other in Messenia on Mt. Ithome.¹ The latter is perhaps the sole work of Ageladas of which it is possible to form some idea; it is thought that a reduced image of it is on one of the Messenian tetradrachmas of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (Figs. 237, 238). Ageladas seems appears to have resumed only the type created earlier, adding to it his knowledge and his style. This type is found in a statuette of bronze that is thought should be attributed to the last years of the 7th century, because of the rudeness of its execution (Fig. 239).¹ The eagle has disappeared, but the hole pierced in the left hand indicates that at this hand bore an attribute. It is assured that this figurine was found in Pleoponessus, and what confirms the conjecture based on the source is the inscription in the Doric dialect read on the base; it is particularly the form of the head and the breadth of the bust. The anatomical details of the back, chest and abdomen were summarily traced with the graver after casting.

note 1.p.486. For Ptolemy and Myron, Pliny. H.N. XXIV. 55, 57. For Phidias, there is only the evidence of scholiasts and lexicographers. (Scholiast of Aristophanes on verse 504 of the Frogs; Suidas, see the work of Peladas; Tzetzes. Chyl. VII. 929; VIII, 325.

note 1.p.487. Pausanias. VI, 8-6; 10-6; 14, 11.

note 1.p.487. The same. VII, 24-1; IV, 33-2.

note 1.p.489. Fröhne. Collection d'antiquités du comte M. Tykiewitz. 1898. Pl. XIV.

It has been thought possible to attribute to Ageladas the creation of types whose originals have perished, but of which we have imitations in many works of the archaistic sculptors of the 1st century A.D., and especially those that recall the statue of an athlete, where is read the name of Stepanos, pupil of Pasiteles² on the trunk of a tree serving

as a support. Ageladas furnished the example of supporting on a single leg the entire weight of the nude and erect figure so as to show the body as at ease and in repose as it could be in the vertical position.³ It is believed that a variant of this same type, a little more recent, is found in a bronze statuette discovered at Ligourio in the middle of Argolis, not far from the Epidaurian Hieron of Asklepios. Before Polycleto's, Ageladas had already sought to determine the normal proportions that form manly beauty: he had sketched the first canon, that in certain respects would be like the canon of Polycleto's. We shall not stop to discuss here these Hypotheses, however probable they appear, nor to reproduce and describe the bronze of Ligourio. According to the statement of the critic that indicates its importance, this statuette and the lost model of the marble of Stephens would be later than the second Median war. We shall have occasion to return to Ageladas when we trace the picture of the progress made by Grecian sculpture between the years 480 and 450.

note 2. p. 469. Collignon. Histoire etc. vol. II. p. 660, 661; fig. 346.

note 3. p. 469. Wurtmüller. Eine archaische Bronze. (50th Program, zur Winkelmannsfeste. Berlin. 1890. p. 125-132).

An epigram of the Anthology celebrates a group of three muses, one of the figures being by Ageladas, while the two others were executed by the Sicyonian sculptors, Aristocles and Kanakhos.¹ These were then contemporaneous with the Argive master. They belonged to a family, a sort of dynasty of artists originally from Crete, who during the entire 6th century opened at Sicyon workshops for sculpture, from which soon issued works sought in all Greece. First Aristocles came from Cydonia to establish himself in that city, where his compatriots, Dipoinos and Skylis, had left some of their most esteemed statues. He had there as successors his son Cleoitas, then his two grandsons, one of which Aristocles, bore the name of his ancestor in accordance with a very common custom, while the other made the name of Kanakhos famous. By Aristocles the elder was shown at Olympia a group representing Hercules fighting with an Amazon on horseback.² By Cleoitas, there was in the Acropolis at Athens

a warrior putting on his helmet.³ In the Altis was preserved a group of Zeus and Ganymede, whose author was Aristocles Jr. note 1.p.470. *Anthologie Græca*. II. 15-35.
 note 2.p.470. *Pausanias*. V. 23-11.
 note 3.p.470. The same. VI. 20-14.
 note 4.p.470. The same. VI. 24-5.

All these works were bronze statues, that bearing the signature of Cleocitas had its nails covered by silver. On the contrary, we are told that certain statues by Kanakhos were in marble.⁵ Thebes possessed by him an image of Apollo carved in cedar, and Sicyon a seated Aphrodite of gold, i.e., doubtless of gilded bronze and ivory.⁶ He was an artist of very varied abilities, to whom the procedure of chryselephantine statuary introduced in Peloponessus by Cretan masters was no less familiar than the technics of Marble, and which the honor belonged to the island sculptors. Yet bronze seems to have been preferred by Kanakhos; he used bronze when he had to execute for one of the most venerable temples of Greece, that of Didyma near Miletus, the statue of Apollo Philesios, that statue which had such a strange fortune. A few years after the time that it was placed in the sanctuary, at the capture and sack of Miletus, it was carried off by Darius to Susa with the rest of the booty; it only returned two centuries later, sent by Seleucos Nicator to the descendants of those, that had formerly ordered it from the old Sicyonian master.¹

note 5.p.470. *Pliny*. N.Y. XXXVII. 41.

note 6.p.470. *Pausanias*. IX.10-2; II, 10-4.

note 1.p.471. The same. I,16-3; VIII,46-3.

By the texts and the coins of Miletus on which seen to have been represented that statue so venerable by its antiquity as by its singular adventures, one can form an idea sufficiently accurate of the Apollo Philesios. It is known from Pliny, that it was nude and that one of its hands supported the image of a fawn.¹ As indicated by an autonomous coin of Miletus, that was the right hand, open and extended much in front; the left hand held the bow (Fig. 240). It is the same on a coin of Miletus struck under Marcus Aurelius. (Vignette at end of Chapter). The statue must have been sensibly larger than nature. This results from the proportion

attributed to it by the engraver of the coin, in a medallion of bronze struck in the time of the Gordians: the head of the god there seemed nearly to touch the vault of the small edifice in which the image was placed at the back of the cella. (Fig. 241).

note 1.p.472. We do not attempt to explain the phrase in which Pliny describes the mechanism, that according to him ensured the equilibrium of the fawn. perhaps there is both an error made by Pliny, as suspected by E. Sellers and an alteration in the text. Pliny did not well understand the author that he copied, and a copyist being embarrassed by this confused description, attempted to clear it by introducing into his manuscript a correction, that only served to make the passage more obscure.

Several figures have been indicated, two of which came from the vicinity of Miletus, on which men have relied as reductions of the celebrated statue, otherwise very mediocre.² This is again what is found in a statuette that came from Etruria (Fig. 242). It is of very careless work; but the fawn still remains in the right hand and the left is pierced by a hole in which is placed the bow.

note 2.p.472. Rayet. *Etudes d'archaeologie et d'art.* 1828.p.164.

It is particularly due to that intermediate, that one has been able to recognize a copy of the same original in a bronze possessed by the museum of the Louvre, the Apollo called of Piombino (Plate XI).³ The attributes have disappeared; but one divines them by the pose of the hands. There, as in the rest of the figure, the pose is entirely similar to that defining the presence of the fawn. The difference is that the execution is here very careful. There is the work of a founder not contented to reproduce the general attitude of his model; he appears to have preserved to the virile form the character that it presented in the sanctuary of Miletus. "Nude and erect, the god advances the left leg and carries the head and body slightly forward in a slow walk. On the top of the head the hair is short, combed toward the brow, on which they terminate in two rows of small curls. They fall on the nape behind in an abundant mass, and end in form of a queue ending in a rosette. The chest is project-

projecting and broadly modeled. The abdomen is lean and flat; the legs are dry and nervous; their muscles are vigorously indicated. The arms are attached high and remain close to the body. The eyes are vacant; they were fitted by eyeballs and pupils, or a dark metal may have been inlaid in ivory or silver. The eyelids, lips and nipples of the breast are inlaid in red copper."¹ An unskilful restoration of the left foot dates back in antiquity, and destroyed the beginning of an inscription inlaid in letters of silver on the instep; one can only read the two last lines, which attest that this bronze formed a part of the tenth of the booty consecrated to the goddess Athena.²

note 2.p.472. For the history of this statue and the list of ancient works that have been devoted to it, see De Longperier. *Notice des bronzes antiques*. etc. 1858.no. 69.

note 1.p.473. Rayet. *Etudes arch. et art.* p. 166.

note 2.p.473. *Athenatal Dekatan*.

This inscription is written in the dialect spoken and written at Sicyon. Those letters in silver detached from the back of the bronze make one recall that silvering of the nails noted on the figure of a warrior, which Cleotas, the father of Kanakhos, had furnished to the Acropolis of Athens. There must have been refinement in the method taken by the artist to enliven the image by the white of the precious metal and by the clear tones of the copper, at the same time that the inlaid eyes gave more life to the face: in the work on the hair is a true virtuosity with the tool. Such a work could only be from a workshop in which the technics of bronze had been carried to the last perfection. On the other hand, in the presentation of the whole as in the rendering of the details, there is that just proportion, that the solidity of the construction and that care for anatomical truth, which has appeared to us to characterize the style of the sculptors of the Peloponessus; but here the severity of this precision is illumined by a ray of elegance: this youthful and healthy body has its grace, one wanting in the preceding works. Everything thus concurs in causing it to be believed, that in the Apollo of Piombino we have a replica of the Apollo Philesios executed at Sicyon by some one of the artists, that Kanakhos and Aristocles had trained in the practice of

the profession in which they excelled. Tradition gave to the two brothers an entire posterity of pupils,² all especially celebrated for bronze statues.

note 1.p.474. Pausanias. VI, 9-1.

note 2.p.474. The same. VI, 8-11; 9-8.

However, probable may be this hypothesis, one has some trouble to harmonize it with the judgment given by Cicero on the statues of Kanakhos. They are too stiff, he says, to faithfully render the appearance of the body.³ This stiffness is not traced in the bronze of the Louvre; one scarcely feels there a last remnant of archaic awkwardness in the slightly restricted movement of the arms and in the entirely symmetrical arrangement of the hair; but the interpretation of that form is here very wise and free. If one accepts like the words of a gospel the estimate of the Roman orator, there is only one means of escaping embarrassment, which is to admit that the bronze ^{was} cast at Sicyon only 20 or 30 years after Kanakhos had created his Apollo Phileios for Miletus and his Apollo Ismenios for Thebes. One statue would indeed be a copy of the original, that one could believe lost to Greece, but a copy slightly rejuvenated in the taste of the day. The work then executed would have benefited by the progress that sculpture had realized during the first quarter of the 5th century.

note 3.p.474. Cicero. Brutus. XVIII, 70.

Whatever may be in this conjecture, what is certain is, that about the time of the Median wars, Sicyon like Argos had a school of sculptors, whose fame extended in all Greece. The school of Argos with Polykletes, and that of Sicyon with the pupils trained by Kanakhos and Aristocles, continued especially to employ metal for expressing and popularizing their conceptions; but it was Sicyon, that about the end of the 4th century will give to the Grecian world the most fertile and most illustrious of its bronze-workers, Lysippos, the sculptor of Alexander.

One may be astonished to not see Corinth mentioned beside Argos and Sicyon, as one of the promoters of progress in sculpture, especially when he recalls the vogue enjoyed by Corinthian bronze in antiquity. This is because if the ancients attributed to Corinthians the invention of certain

procedures, for example, that of modeling clay,¹ they do not cite the name of a single celebrated sculptor to which that gave birth. The activity of Corinthians appears to have been turned rather to what we term the industrial arts than toward great art, and there is not a single figure or even a single fragment by which one can judge of the style and skill of its workmen. One is even ignorant if there was a Corinthian artist, that had executed the sole archaic monument of some importance, whose memory is attached to Corinth; we wish to mention the coffer of Gypselos. It was so called because it passed as having concealed from the blows of murderers, who sought the future tyrant, then a child of little age.² It was a cedar chest: the Gypselides had consecrated it in the temple of Hera at Olympos, where Pausanias again saw it.³ The surfaces were covered by very numerous figures, some of which were carved in the wood itself and others were inlaid in ivory and gold. Distributed in long bands analogous to the zones of the most ancient ceramics, these figures represented scenes borrowed from the most different myths. As on the painted vases, the names of the personages were inscribed over their heads.

note 1. p. 475. Pliny. H.N. XXXIV. 151, 152.

note 2. p. 475. Herodotus. V, 92.

note 3. p. 475. Pausanias. V, XVII-XIX.

This work was certainly earlier than the year 582, that saw the fall of the Gypselides; but did it date from the first years of the 7th century as the exegetes of the temple pretended, or as modern criticism is inclined to believe, only from the reign of Periander (629-585)? One cannot say, no more than he can arrive at determining with certainty from the description of Pausanias, the order in which were distributed on the panels offered by the surfaces of the chest, the different scenes enumerated by that author. Archaeologists have frequently undertaken to restore the decoration of the coffer of Gypselos; but this is a sport of the mind, which serves to illumine the erudition and ingenuity of learned men, rather than to furnish the historian of the arts of Greece with data, from which he can derive a real and durable benefit.¹

Note 1. p. 475. In 1892, Chlilienon gave a list of such studies

devoted to this monument, that appeared to him most worthy of attention. (*Histoire de la sculpture grecque*. Vol. I, p. 94, note 2). We add thereto the indication of the most recent work in which the subject has been treated in its entirety: R. Stuart Jones. The chest of Cypselos, with a plate on which is shown the restoration. (*Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1894. n. 30-80, pl. I). Also see Furtwängler. Der Kypseloskasten. (*Meisterwerke*, p. 723-739. 1893), and an article of Studniczka, Heracles bei den Leichenspielen des Pelias auf den Kypselos-Lade. (Jahrb. 1894. p. 51-54).

4. General Characteristics of Dorian Sculpture.

If we have chosen well our examples, and have known how to place in the light the most prominent characteristics of the works, that we have reviewed, some idea must already have been formed of the technique and of the special genius of the art that Crete gave to the Peloponessus. Yet perhaps there will be profit in returning to that idea, in grasping it as closely as possible. All sculpture of central Greece is anonymous, and it is the same for the Grecian colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, without history informing us that there ever was in those countries a school of sculptors, that lived an independent life and had some splendor. What is known by the texts and what the examination of the monuments has confirmed is that foreign artists were often called there by cities and by princes. We have more than once believed that by certain signs is recognized the aid of Ionian masters in European Greece. It remains to seek where were found the models of those local sculptors, that do not seem inspired by examples from Ionia. We have applied ourselves to define the taste and execution of the sculptures of eastern Greece and of the Cyclades. In order that the search in which we are now engaged may end, it is necessary for us to present a definition no less clear, of the characteristics of the style of the Dorian schools of Peloponessus.

What from the first seems to have attracted the attention of the Dorian sculptor, when he began to measure with the eye the human body, are the relations of position and of proportion perceived between the different parts of the figure; he understood that the constancy of these relations was particularly emphasized by the firmness of the under parts

forming the skeleton. He did not then attempt to render the superficial accidents of the flesh, that vary with individuals and often in the same person in a year, and almost from one day to another. His principal care was to cause to be vividly felt beneath the covering muscles and skin, the framework whose strong members and connections are divided under the covering that conceals them from the eye that seeks them. This body that he sought to show under different aspects, he conceived as an edifice whose skeleton he must emphasize in the image presented, that rigid skeleton whose arrangement is nearly the same in all human beings of the same sex and race.

Here are the results deduced from this conception by an instinctive logic. In the work of this sculptor, the proportions of the figure never aim at slenderness; they are rather short and squat. In rather thickset men is best marked the strength of the bony system by the breadth of the shoulders and that of the thorax. Likewise for the head. This artist does not seek, as others attempted after this epoch, to render the flexure and the movable suppleness of the flesh. What he has applied himself to reproduce is the structure of the skull and of the various bones of the face. Preoccupied in establishing the internal layers of this structure, he almost forgot to extend over these solid elements the soft covering by which they are clothed in nature: see the colossal head of Hera, found at Olympia (Fig. 212). In these conditions the sculptor could not fail to be inclined to exaggerate the importance of the malar and maxillary bones; he gave to the cheek bones a very marked projection, and much amplitude to the chin. Thus the face became broad and full; its oval tended to the square (Figs. 212, 213), while by the effect of the same tendency the bust presented in front and back, surfaces approaching the rectangular form (Figs. 210, 211).

One divines what attitudes would be preferred by the sculptor animated by that spirit. These would be such that best accord with the simplicity of the almost general formula, according to which he arranges his figures, and that will make sensible the balance and equal correspondence of similar parts. We have forgotten those very ancient statues of

which we ascended to the very beginning of this art, those seated statues whose first models came from Crete. The chisel did not attempt to arouse the face into life and expression; it did not even think to indicate the sex under the drapery, as done in Ionia on several images of the avenue of the Branchides. What the sculptor seems to have proposed is to build a sort of monument whose masses and main lines are given by those of the human body reduced to essentials, to what first caught the eyes. The Argive athletes of Delphi are standing; but their bodies present themselves in front in their entire development and between the two arms in equilibrium. These statues came from an art more advanced than the image of Ageso; but they are no less constructed after the same principle and on the same plan.

At the same time that he fashioned the statue in the round, the sculptor endeavored to combine several figures in the reliefs required from him for the decoration of funerary steles and for the temples. The images thus engaged in a common action, he could not fail to subject to the laws of that symmetry so dear to him. This is evidenced by the compositions, that we have thought could be attributed to the Dorian sculptor, the reliefs of the treasuries of Sicyon and of Megara as well as the Laconian steles. In all those images are much less of the unexpected and of freedom than in the Ionian reliefs; one feels there very frequently that the artist has seized the first opportunity, or better stated, the first pretext offered to him to reproduce an attitude or gesture, that his eye had seized and been amused by at the moment. On the contrary, here in the entire series of tombstones, the same theme is repeated with slight variations. In the funerary reliefs as in the mythological scenes that ornament the frieze or pediment of the treasuries, there reigns everywhere a severe rhythm, which recalls that of the architectural orders: this rhythm controls the arrangement of the personages and regulates their attitudes. The lines always retain a certain rigidity.

The fabrication is manifest from the initial step. The Dorian sculptor, instead of modeling his statue in the flat and endeavoring in reliefs to round his figures on the background, tends to flatten the body and to represent it on a

series of smooth planes superposed on each other. Doubtless this mode of execution is explained by the habits that work in wood has caused the workman to contract; but the chisel seems to have remained faithful here longer than elsewhere, even when it treated tufa and marble. Why was this sort of routine freed more slow: in Peloponessus than in Ionia or in Attica? Was not the persistence favored by a very careful interpretation of the living form, adopted from its first beginnings by the school in question? As soon as the artist renounced the rendering of the delicacy of the flesh, he entirely profited by simplifying his task in employing acidged procedures. Due to the elimination of the detail, each plane cut by the tool represents and summarizes one of the surfaces of the body by characterizing it by its points of support, and on its surfaces whose indefinable curves, uneasily modified by voluntary or reflex movements, reveal the thickness and indicate the direction of the different parts of this muscular structure by which are executed the extension and flexure of the members. Those broad planes of the principal fronts and sides intersect each other and the ground at almost a right angle, which gives each of those fields as a limit of dry and hard contour. Nowhere is that hardness carried so far as on the stele of Cnysaona; but something of it remains in the works of a less remote date and of freer labors.

Between the art of Asian Greece and that of Peloponessus is then a difference, not entirely in the degree of professional skill and in the diversity of the materials employed. When they are before nature, the two sculptors have not seen with the same eyes. While having a just feeling for the fixed relations that connect all parts of the organism, the Ionian sculptor has particularly interested himself in the variety of the movements by which life is manifested, in the grace of the flesh and the richness of its blossoming. What especially struck the Dorian sculptor is the order of number that the Divine architect has placed in his creations. Thus he created a tradition to which the Peloponessian schools remained faithful until the classical age. Polymedes of Argos, the author of the two Apollos of Delphi (Pls. XI, XII), Fig. 226), is the precursor of Polyctetes at the distance

of a century. The latter, whether born at Sicyon or Argos, will be the first with his square statues, as they were called, to undertake the systematic study of the human body.¹ Forst of all Greek artists, he will determine the proportions that the body must present to give an impression of beauty; he will attempt to establish a canon, as it is termed, a rule for forms.

note 1.p.480. Pliny. H.N.XXIV, 56.

5. Italy and Magna Grecia.

The fable of Alpheus and Arethusa is well known. The waters of the Arcadian river and of the Syracusan spring, it is said, sought each other across the extent and in the depths of the sea; before losing themselves they met and mingled as in a kiss of love. In that charming myth is an entire part of historical truth. With the Peloponessus,, Magna Grecia and Sicily have ever had the most active and intimate relations. From one shore of the Adriatic to the other, they face each other and the ports see each other. If in Magna Grecia were flourishing Achaian cities, such as Sybaris and Crotona, other cities of equal importance like Tarente were Dorian; it was the same with the three most powerful States of Sicily, Syracuse, Agrigente and Selinonte. On the other hand, the language, institutions and customs of the Dorians dominated in the Peloponessus, where Sparta, a Dorian city in particular, possessed an uncontested supremacy. The groups connected together by these affinities of race and of idiom tended to approach each other and to agree in spite of distance, and thus the Greeks of the colonies in the West appear to have adopted as their preferred place of assembly that Olympia, where the Eleans presided over the games under the high protection of Sparta. Doubtless they were not forbidden to be present at the Nemean and Pythian festivals; but we have the proof of their preference for Olympia. The treasures are known, that sort of emblems that cities desirous of glory held it an honor to erect in the vicinity of one of the illustrious sanctuaries, around which gathered every fourth year the scattered sons of the Hellenic nation.¹ Now at Delphi all treasures mentioned by Pausanias were built by the Greeks of continental Greece, of the islands of the Aegean sea, or of the coast of Asia.

On the contrary, of the eight edifices of this kind mentioned for Olympia, four belonged to the cities of Italy or Sicily, Metaponte and Sybaris, Syracuse and Gela. The monuments by which they are surrounded are all of Dorian cities, Sicyon, Epidauros, Cyrene and Megara.

note 1.p.481. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, p.401-412. Pl. xy.

For the first archaic age, there is known the name of but a single sculptor born on the Italian coast of the Adriatic, Clearchos of Rhegion. Tradition makes that artist the pupil either of Dipoinos and Skyllis or of Dedalus himself,² perhaps of a Corinthian, Encherios, who was trained in the school of two Spartan sculptors, Sydras and Gartas.³ Men showed at Sparta a statue of Zeus attributed to Clearchos; it was made in the ancient manner of plates of bronze, hammered and fastened together by nails. Unfortunately, this statement remains isolated. Other sculptors that could have gone to the same source of technical instruction to benefit thereby their native cities, are unknown to us, either by history or by the monuments. For all the sculpture of the western Greeks is not one signature of an artist. Then there is only one means of penetrating the secret of its origins and its relations, which is to study them in itself, in its procedures of execution and in its style.

note 2.p.481. Pausanias. VI, 17-1.

note 3.p.481. The same. VI, 4-8.

Our observations are actually based only on Sicily. If we have placed under the same title Magna Grecia and Sicily, this is because that art being placed under like conditions must have the same fortune; but the sites of Metaponte, Sybaris and Crotona have not yet been excavated; that of Tarante is scarcely known by figures of the 5th and following centuries. It is quite different for Sicily than for Magna Grecia. We find there sculptures that made a part of the decoration of the principal temples of important cities. Thus these sculptures can pass for authorized representatives of archaic statuary, such as comprised and practised in the 6th century by the Greeks of the island.

What is perhaps most ancient in Sicily is a fragment of a statue, that came from Megara Hyblea (Fig. 243).¹ Only the lower part of the body was found. The image was bell-shaped,

although with a smaller base than the very old clay figures that came from Beotia.¹ The entire body is clothed in a close tunic on whose plinth projects the toes of the feet. At the height of the girdle, a place not marked otherwise by any inflexion, two stumps are reductions of the forearms and terminate in hands much too small, where the fingers are indicated by grooves with sharp angles, like the toes of the feet. One divines an exact copy of a xoanon of wood. By this rude idol we ascend to even the beginnings of colonization. Images of this kind must have been brought by the first Greek immigrants on their ships, when in the second half of the 8th century they landed on the coasts of Sicily.

note 1. p. 482. P. Orsi. Sur une tres antique statue de Melara Hyblea. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1895. p. 207-217^a). There have been found in the same place remains of great figures of terra cotta, that according to what remains of their clothing and hair, seem to be contemporaneous with the painted statues discovered in 1885 on the Acropolis of Athens.

note 2. p. 482. Histoire de l'art. vol. VII. pl. 28-31.

Another monument which must have nearly the same antiquity is the torso of a statue discovered in the territory of Acrae, a colony of Syracuse (Fig. 244).³ The head is wanting; out one would call it almost a replica of the statues of Eleutheria (Fig. 209) and of Tegea (Fig. 211). The same very summary work and the same breadth of the bust; on the back is the same layer of hair with horizontal grooves and terminated by tufts in the form of fringes. The swells of the chest are more marked than those on the Cretan and Arcadian statues. This was a statue of a woman, and probably was seated. The right hand presented the offering, a small animal as it appears. Thus we find again in Sicily one of the most current types of the Dorian art of the continent.

note 3. p. 482. P. Orsi. Sculture greche del real museo archeologico di Siracusa. n. 308-310. (Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei. 1897. p. 301-312).

From the moment when the workman was content to recall to thus the spirit of the human form, by way of allusion, to that when he tried to reproduce it with the variety of its contours and the free play of its forces, many years must

have flown for the cities that boldness had thus seated in the midst of barbarians. Before dreaming of giving themselves the luxury of art, it was first necessary to protect the growing city from attacks. Only when men still struggled with the difficulties of the first settlement, could the sculptor model in Sicily works, that have their marked place in the history of statuary. The most ancient among the monuments that this history is required to study are the high reliefs in the temple at Selinonte known by the name of temple C, which decorate the three metopes on the eastern facade. Now there also, it was not on the morrow of the day when men set foot on that distant coast, in contact with Phoenicians and Elymeans, that they could construct such a grand edifice. This was an enterprise that required a well filled treasury in addition to well guaranteed safety, to pay the tradesmen called to the workyard. It does not seem possible that the edifice was completed before 530 or 570.

The ground of one of the metopes now kept in the museum of Palermo is occupied by a quadriga bearing its driver; two other personages are near the chariot (Fig. 245). Persons and horses are seen in front. Some small fragments found at the same place prove that the subject of the adjacent metope was similar; it must have then also the same mode of presentation. In the other metopes the figures are in profile. The front figures are stouter; they are broader. If the artist had undertaken to cause some to enter into the decoration, that is because he reserved for them a privileged place, where they would have their entire effect; this place could only be the middle part of the frieze. The two quadrigas surmounted the middle intercolumniation on the axis of the temple. Its proof is not only in these reasons of propriety and of taste. At the centre of the principal facade were collected the fragments of the metope with the chariot in 1822 by Harris and Angell. Those of the other slabs were found farther off, near the northeast corner.¹

Note 1. p. 484. For the history and detailed description of these sculptures, see Penndorf. *Die Metopen von Selinunt*, etc. 1878 Penndorf (p. 39) believes it possible to deduce an argument for the location of that metope from the fact that it was longer than the others; but Koldewey states th-

that also all the intercolumniations on the facade are equal, the slight variations of $3/8$ to $2/4$ inch in the lengths of the metopes having no importance. (Koldewey & Puchstein. *Die griechische Tempel etc.* 1899. vol. I, p. 100).

What caused the eyes to converge on this point was the choice of the theme, the vicinity of the two teams, whose horses seemed to leave the depths of the sanctuary to spring into space. Those groups doubtless recalled to the spirit of the faithful one of the myths having as hero the god of the temple. Certain coins of Selinonte represent Apollo mounted on a quadriga, an Apollo there confounded with the sun. It was perhaps the same image of Apollo-Helios, which was sculptured on the frieze, if the temple was consecrated to that god; in that case Artemis, an Artemis-Selene, might have occupied the adjacent chariot. The secondary persons were the Hours, charged with caring for and harnessing the horses of the sun; this function is given to them in poetry and the monuments of the art.

Figures placed above the heads of the horses only exist in very slight remains; one can then define by conjecture alone the subject or the more important of the reliefs of this frieze. It is not the same for the two other slabs. On one is recognized a myth frequently shown in archaic art. Perseus is assisted by Athena and slays the Gorgon; Pegasus is born from the blood of the victim (Fig. 246). On the third slab is the adventure of Hercules, that painters of vases often amused themselves by representing. The hero has seized the Cecropes, the two elves permitted to disturb his sleep. He carries them with heads downward as a hunter does the game taken in the chase, tied to a short curved piece of wood resting on his shoulders (Fig. 247).¹

Note 1. p. 485. Some fragments of other metopes of temple C are represented in Penndorf, Pl. IV, and in Prunn-Pruckmann, Denkmäler, Pl. 292.

I know no archaic sculptures more curious than these, or more profitable to study closely. Nowhere does one better feel the effort imposed on himself to create forms, that of their character and their mode of grouping, lend themselves to translate into images the most popular of all those beautiful tales by which was amused the infancy of Greece for

some centuries, thanks to its poets. Here by the choice of his subjects, the sculptor is already in full current of classical art. He further composes with a certain skill. His figures fill the ground well and are happily arranged on it: movements are indicated with a freedom, that one meaning is to be seized at first sight.

What is faulty is the detail in the execution. The chisel has freedom. It boldly detaches from the ground certain parts of the body, all the front hair, the legs of Hercules and those of Perseus and the Gorgon: but as in other archaic reliefs, the bust is presented in front in all the figures, on legs and feet shown in profile. Nothing is more dull than the faces with great projecting eyes and a straight and stiff mouth. The traits of Medusa had already been sketched by poetry and relief. The sculptor only had to follow tradition to give the mask of the Gorgon a broad round face with eyes opened wildly, squinting and wild, a great mouth from which the tongue hangs between the canine teeth. He desired to give there an impression of terror and he succeeded. As for the bodies, he makes them short and stout: he desires one to feel displayed there that superhuman strength characterizing heroes vanquishing monsters. Below the neck, at the knees and ankles, the bones appear beneath the flesh. The attachment and the play of the principal muscles are clearly marked, but not without heaviness. The execution is very unequal. Thus the left arm of Perseus is too long, while the legs are correct in drawing. For Hercules, the sole of the foot, instead of having its natural curvature, is as flat as the base on which it rests, when the fingers are well detached from each other. On the Gorgon, the movement is well rendered when the right foot bends and only the toes touch the ground: but the left leg seems constrained and as if constructed by the jam. On this one notes the exaggerated height of the plinth and the strong projection of the piers and lintel, which overshadows a part of the scene. By reason of its awkwardness, this arrangement was quickly abandoned. It here makes more singular the appearance of the whole: it still ages the metopes.

There have been recently discovered on the acropolis of Selinonte three other archaic metopes, remains of a temple,

probably destroyed in the disaster of 409.¹ The sculptured slabs had been again used as materials in the rebuilding of the walls. One of them represents Europa on the bull that carries her away (Fig. 248), and the other is a winged sonvix (Fig. 249). The reliefs on the third have been removed by the pick, to fit the stone better for the place intended for it by the mason; there remains only the outline, believed to represent Hercules subduing the bull of Mathon.

note 1.p.487. Salinas. Museo metope archaice seluntine. (Mon. ant. vol. 7, p.959-962).

Men have desired to see in those metopes the most ancient monumental sculptures of Sicily preserved to us.¹ I do not share that impression. These reliefs appear to me later than those of temple C. A single one of these slabs lends itself to comparison: this is that of Europa. Judging from that specimen, the proportions of this series of images are more graceful and slender; the movements are freer. There is accuracy and even grace in the pose of the young woman, who with one hand holds one horn of the bull, while she rests the other on the back of her strange mount. Similarly for the bull. He is felt to be full of vigor and spirit; his forelegs beat the water; two dolphins are placed beneath the belly of the quadruped and represent the sea. One can say as much of the sonvix. Its pose is very proud. The long falling hair, the tail passing beneath the belly, then rising and coiled on itself, all that is treated with an ease that already evidences a certain technical skill.

note 1.p.488. Homolle. Bull. corr. hell. 1886. n. 670.

Like temple C, temple F at Selinonte had sculptured metopes, but only on its eastern facade. The various episodes of the contest of the gods against the giants furnished to the sculptor the themes of the ten scenes comprised in that frieze; this is deduced from the little that remains from that entirety; in each of the two fragments that have been collected one of the deities of Olympus is in combat with a Titan.² Further, the two metopes are not entire. They are made of two slabs in height connected by dowels of bronze. Only the bottom slab of each metope has been found. The joint was concealed by stucco, that on those edifices of Selinonte everywhere covered the shelly limestone.

Save the loss of the upper part of the figures, these two reliefs are well preserved. The stone is of a closer grain than that of the metopes already described. On one of the metopes is seen a goddess, Artemis or Athena, who has just overthrown a giant. She has pierced him below the armpit with her sword, and she tramples with her right foot the thigh of the vanquished. He is supported on the left arm with head and bust thrown backward and has just breathed his last (Fig. 250). In the other relief the Titan is down, out with one knee on the earth, he tries to repulse the mortal stroke (Fig. 251). There the champion of Olympus seems to be a god, perhaps Dionysos. One can suspect this by the larger leg. Further, there has been discovered a fragment of this figure belonging to the upper slab, that corresponds to the bottom of the chest, but only shows vertical folds, which would not have been the case if the drapery had been raised by the swelling of the bosom.

The style is here sensibly more advanced than in the other Sicilian sculptures. The contour has not the same dryness: the figures are better turned. Attitudes are more varied; they even have the unforeseen and boldness. If the rendering does not extend to the refinement of details, the entirety of the form is well seized. The cuirass of the divine warrior allows one to divine the bony framework and the muscular masses of a powerful trunk. In the figure of the victorious goddess, the right leg is strongly projected forward, carrying with it the fabric of the tunic, that opening at the side reveals the leg from the haunch to the foot. The drawing of the member thus uncovered is very true, and the polish of the flesh forms a happy contrast to the waves of the drapery; that combines with suppleness in the movement of the body. Hands and feet are of very careful work; but where the sculptor has shown himself most skilful is in the execution of the head of the giant, the only one comprised in the field of the lower slab, due to the position given to the former passage. The wounded man is in agony. In the final spasm his mouth opens widely to inhale the air lacking in the lungs. The artist has succeeded in giving a pathetic expression to the entire body, that beats the ground, and especially to that convulsed face: we see this fat

beyond the inexpressive face of the Gorgon of temple C, which does not even have the air of suspecting, that Perseus is on the point of cutting the neck.

The archaic character of the sculpture is only betrayed here by some secondary traits. The forms of the figures still have a certain heaviness, especially in the metope of the kneeling giant. The folds of the drapery are too rigorously parallel; a fold detached in front terminates in a point with too geometrical regularity. Yet progress is sufficiently marked that it is impossible to attribute to the same generation of artists both the reliefs of temple C and those of temple F; one is inclined to believe that the second of these monuments was built about 30 or 40 years after the first.¹ The analysis of the types and fabrication leads us to assume an interval of the same extent as that supposed between the two series of images. Thus the frieze of temple F belongs to the third quarter of the 5th century.

Note 1. p. 492. Koldewey & Puchstein. *Die Griechischen Tempel* etc. Vol. I, p. 233; *Chronologie*. According to the table given by the authors, temple C was built between 581 and 570, and temple F about 540.

If for Sicily, archaic statuary has scarcely been represented before in histories of art, except for monumental sculpture, these in the isolated statues and reliefs dating in this period may be as rare, as one would be tempted to believe at first view; it is particularly because the museums of the island have not been studied so far with the care as those of Italy and of Greece. Only in the museum of Palermo have nearly all important pieces been photographed. More than one local collection still contains works or fragments very worthy of attention.

For example, such is the case for a marble of the museum of Agrigente, that reproduces the so-called type of the Archaic Apollos (Fig. 252).¹ The face is broad and almost square with ears placed too high. The shoulders are sloping and the right arm is half extended; but there are still sensible traces of archaism in the insufficient modeling of the chest and abdomen, particularly in that of the navel, whose projection is not sufficiently emphasized, and finally especially in a certain stiffness of the pose. Although the

right leg is slightly advanced, and the weight of the body rests equally on the two legs; the left remains adherent to the right. By the manner in which the hair is treated by fine parallel grooves is believed to be recognized the imitation of an original in bronze. Whatever may be in that conjecture, the treatment of the marble is soft and abrupt; it has a sort of air of negligence.

note 1.p.492. In 1881 Parnell complained of not having been able to obtain at Alerante photographs of this marble that attracted his attention. (*Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1881, p. 56). To the courtesy of Professor Hauser, who photographed it himself, I owe the representation. There exists a cast in Berlin. (*Friedrich Wolters. Die Gipsabgüsse*, no. 153).

To nearly the same time about the year 500 must date a bronze statue mentioned to me by Hauser. He describes it in these terms:— "The statue was discovered at Selinonte and was preserved in the museum of Castel-Vetro, when I visited there: it must have been sold. It could be completely restored. All its fragments were collected: but at my visit they had not been put together. I could only place the torso on the legs, one of which is broken (Fig. 253); but on examining the fragments, I recognized that the right arm was thrown forward. From the position of the fingers it must have held a patera; the left was lowered; it probably held an object such as a branch of foliage. One has there all the elements of a statue, that when restored would strongly resemble a young river god represented on certain coins of Selinonte, nearly contemporaneous with our bronze. A band doubtless surrounded the head: this is indicated by a hole made in the rear of the ephrylos or hair, a hole through which must pass that band of metal. It is possible that horns may have been fixed on that band. One is then tempted to inquire if this bronze is not the statue itself, whose image was placed by the engraver on the coins, a statue which would have occupied a place of honor in the city. The bronze was found inside a coffer of terra cotta: this it was concealed in antiquity, doubtless at the time when some danger menaced the city."

note 1.p.492. Letter of Feb. 12, 1884, accompanying the photo

The nose is more free here, the modeling more firm and

wiser than in the marble of Agrigente; but the head retains a very archaic air with its almost triangular shape. (Figs. 254, 255), with the width of its chin, its eyes and eyebrows incrustated by a white paste. What particularly ages it is the manner in which the hair is represented by a series of tufts in the form of snells, that rise separately as bells above the brow and form a sort of crown for it. This arrangement is not without analogy to that which we have found in a funerary statue found in Attica (Fig. 199).¹

note 1. p. 495. Petersen. *Verschiedene aus Süd-Italien*, p. 124-127. (Mitt. des K. Arch. Inst. Römische Abt. 1897).

To a male statue of the same kind must belong a head preserved in museum Biscari at Catania (Fig. 256). Its origin is unknown, and it is of Greek marble of coarse grain; but there is every reason to believe that it was collected in Sicily. The face is broad and of nearly rectangular form. The projection of the eyeball almost exceeds that of the eyebrow. The ear is enclosed in triple rows of round scrolls that surround the brow; this arrangement is not usual.

What is still more rare for this period in the island than statues of marble or of bronze are reliefs. So far as I know, not a single example of those steles with personages, that we have found erected everywhere on tombs from Asia Minor to European Greece. Perhaps it is from lack of marble in Sicily, which has diverted the piety of the survivors from resorting to that mode of commemoration.

There have to be mentioned two archaic reliefs, that came from the territory of ancient Gela. One of them extends on the outer face of a slab of limestone, which formerly made a part of the decoration of some edifice.¹ This front was divided in two parts. All that could be distinguished of the upper part is, that the artist had represented there 1 dancing satyrs. The lower portion is better preserved. There are seen two winged sphinxes, crouching back to back and separated by a double palmleaf. What by the subject is of the merit of the execution presents an entirely different interest is the fragment of a relief in terra cotta. This relief seems to have had a votive character (Fig. 257).² There remains of it the height of the body of a woman, who bears in her arms and holds with both hands a goat with long beard.

The image certainly was not stamped in a mould; it was entirely modeled in the solid with the roughing tool. In the rendering of the drapery and jewels as in the nude parts, there is much breadth and firmness; especially the hands are remarkable in execution. Archaism is scarcely felt here except in the too symmetrical arrangement of the hair, and in a certain awkward drawing of the lines of the face.

NOTE 1. p. 497. Pats has given a very mediocre reproduction in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*. 1895. p. 282. The slab is 2.78 ft. high and 2.02 ft. wide.

NOTE 2. p. 497. P. Gardner. Aphrodite with the goat. (Melon. des Perrot. c. 121-124).

In the richly dressed female figure that occupies the left of the field, one desires to see an Aphrodite; opposite her is a worshipping. Various monuments are mentioned on which the same motive is found, some of which came from the enclosure of a temple of Aphrodite; those monuments do not belong to the art truly and purely Greek; it is necessary to seek them at Cyprus and at Naukratis. Likewise it is also a motive borrowed from oriental art with the two sonvaxes back to back, at right and left of a palm-leaf, in another relief of Gela. This exoticism is perhaps explained by the origin of the city. Gela received its first colonists from Lindos, one of the cities of the island of Rhodes, and we have already had and shall have occasion to show that this island was one of the countries in which Greek art, that of the sculptor like that of the goldsmith and of the ceramist, has borrowed most from the artists of the Orient.

If Sicily has no funerary steles, statuettes of terra cotta are found there in the tombs in some abundance as in the other cemeteries of the Greek world; but neither here nor there can we engage in the study of those figurines. There are in too great number and present too great variety; in a general history of art, they can be scarcely mentioned but in case to seek terms of comparison. Among those collected in various points of the island, many reproduce types found on the coasts of the Mediterranean, for example, that represented by our Plate VI and Fig. 97.¹ In the multitude of clay sketches gathered in Sicily are still found some among those approaching most ancient, where the lines of the face

present a character sufficiently peculiar, that in it has been seen the creations of the native ceramist (Figs. 258, 259).

note 1.p.498. pages 204-208. for the presence of that type in Sicily, see P. Orsi. *D'una città greca*, etc. (Mon. ant. vol. VII, Pl. IV, p. 224). Orsi & Caballari. *Megara Hyalea*. Pls. V, VI-IX (Mon. ant. vol. I).

That nothing may be lacking in this statement, it only remains to recall the aid lent in Sicily by the ornamental sculptor to the architect in the execution of certain accessories, for example, such as the lions' heads that on the temples served as spouts for the water from the roofs. He produced in that way true masterpieces. Perhaps nowhere was better use made of the motive generally employed for that purpose, than in the beautiful gargoyles of the Doric temple of Himera.¹ It is not known whether the edifice from which they came was built a little before or a little after 480, the date of the memorable defeat under the walls of that city, that Gelon inflicted on the Carthaginians that besieged it with all their forces.

note 1.p.499. On these gargoyles of Sicilian temples, see *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p.501-502, and fig. 289.

When one has fully enumerated and described the principal works of Grecian statuary, that came from the soil of Sicily and the ruins of its buildings, he asks of himself two questions:- Among all these sculptures, which are those that we can say in all probability were executed in Sicily itself by Sicilian artists, and on the other hand, if any seem to have that origin, of what schools they recall the style, and where the island sculptors sought the models that inspired them, the interpretation of the form adopted by them?

There was not a single marble quarry in Sicily, and in the 6th as in the 7th centuries, the Greek cities of the island did not yet maintain relations with Struria, that allowed them to obtain cheaply the marble of Luna, as they did later. The little marble which then entered the island was that from the Cyclades, that Paros and Naxos sent in fully loaded ships in all directions: then was it not simpler to require from those workshops, celebrated for their skill in working marble, a statue entirely ready to set on

its pedestal, than a block of that hard and brittle stone, which the Sicilian workman would have risked the finding a somewhat embarrassing, when accustomed to cut soft limestone of his native hills? In fact, in the sole marble statue that we have found to cite (Fig. 252), there is nothing to distinguish it from the images where it has been agreed to recognize the mark of the Parian or Naxian chisel. It is the same for bronze. Lighter, the metal lends itself still better than marble to transportation and to distribution and to distant voyages. In the technics and manufacture of the bronze furnished to us by Selinonte, there is nothing that excludes the hypothesis of a statue purchased from some Eginetan or Sicyonian founder (Fig. 253). Finally, we have stated how and why that clay statuettes are the sculptured monuments to which one has least reason to refer, when he seeks to determine the original characteristics of a local art.

Monumental sculpture presents itself in very different conditions. Entirely executed in the stone of the country, it was certainly fabricated on the site itself where its remains were found, either on the yards where were cut the materials of the edifice, or perhaps even on blocks already set in place. Nowhere is it stated to us that any master of archaic sculpture passed over the sea to collaborate in the decoration of the most ancient temples of Agrigente or Selinonte: only in the 5th century did wealthy and ostentatious princes like Theron and Gelon commence to attract to their courts the poets and artists of Greece. There is then good reason to see in the reliefs, such as the metopes of Selinonte, the work of sculptors wherever born, who were permanently located in Sicily, and there found work for their talents in the assistance demanded from them by the architects attached to the works of all those rich and flourishing cities. By the precious remains of great structures destroyed by time, one can judge of the influences that the art of statuary has suffered in that region of the Greek world, during the course of the 7th and 6th centuries.

To the most ancient of those metopes, those of temple G, should first be devoted the examination. What is noted by the first glance is the rigor of the symmetry, that prevails

in those compositions. Here is first the metope of the quadriga. At the middle are two horses attached to the pole. Entirely similar to each other, they look toward the observer and are between the flying horses. Those have the breasts slightly before their neighbors and turn their heads with a like movement, one to the right and the other to the left. Each half of the slab is a faithful reproduction of the other. It is the same in the metope of Hercules. At both sides of the hero the torsos and the reversed heads of the two Gorgones form pendants, like two volutes of an Ionic capital. As for the metope of Perseus, it was impossible to establish there an exact balance of all parts of the group; yet there again is manifest the same tendency, but accommodating itself to the particular conditions of the theme. By the unusual breadth of her face and bust and also by the pose given to her, the Gorgon finds herself occupying almost half the field. She alone balances Perseus and Athena.

Where have we found something similar? Not in the works of Ionian and island sculptors. One feels there a certain rhythm; but this is scarcely more apparent than in the masterpieces of classical sculpture. On the contrary, what has struck us in Peloponnesian sculpture is the strict and regulated symmetry, that rather recalls the arrangements of architecture, subject to numerical laws, than the freedom of organic life and the indefinite variety of its movements.

This relationship of the two schools again reveals other traits. Observe the heads of Athena and of Perseus, especially that of Hercules. We recognize there the type with which we have been familiarized by the statues and reliefs of the Peloponnesus, that broad and nearly square face, where there is so little flesh on the internal skeleton. The sculptor has further started from the same principle to represent in this figure the rest of the body: in the torso as well as the members, we find everywhere the same solid and massive construction. There are finally no less curious resemblances in even the technics of the relief. As on the steles of Sôarta, here the edges of the figures are slightly rounded or not rounded at all. They rise by planes perpendicular to the background; see the right side of Perseus and the left leg of the Gorgon, and the Gorgones.

The artist in Peloponessus and in Sicily forms the same idea of the conditions to be fulfilled by a work of art. To take it into account, it suffices to compare the metopes of temple C with those of the treasury of Sicyon. In both are horses in high relief, facing to the front. The arrangement is as geometrical as in the group of cattle thieves (Fig. 227) as in that of Hercules and the Ceryneian. The modeling in both parts is simplified in the same fashion. The difference is that the execution at Delphi is freer and more skilful. By a singular chance, in one of the metopes of an unknown temple (Fig. 243) is found the theme of one of the scenes of the frieze of the treasury of Sicyon (Fig. 220). The group of Selinonte is better preserved than that of Delphi; but one no less detects curious resemblances in the two. Eurroa has the same vestment in both, a tunic that falls to the feet and a short mantle. She has the same attitude. The left arm of the figure at Delphi is broken above the wrist; but what remains affords reason to think that there also this hand grasps the horn, while the other arm lies behind. At Delphi as at Selinonte, the bull has the head with full face on a body entirely in profile. That is divined by a fracture in the slab of the treasury of Sicyon, that has removed the entire front of the muzzle. The two heads of the abductor of Eurroa must be quite similar: in both the dewlaps of the neck are indicated by the same parallel lines. Yet whatever the arrangement, the two sculptors have not taken the same methods everywhere. At Delphi, it is folded in four thicknesses and placed on her left arm. At Selinonte the bull is swimming. At Delphi he appears to rest on the ground and run. One cannot then speak here neither of the original nor of the copy; but the island sculptor and the Sicyonian master work in the same spirit on identical themes and after the same models; their hands have the same habits. See the figure of Eurroa and the flanks of the bull at Selinonte. The rounds of the actual forms are there brought without internal modeling to the abstract simplicity of the flat plane; they are almost as resolutely so on the steles of Sparta.

The study of the metopes of temple F suggests comparisons of the same kind (Figs. 250, 251). There are noted a certain

resemblance between these reliefs and those of the treasury of Megara (Fig. 231).¹ In both are the same methods of composition and the same system of proportions, the same violent movements, and the same robust and short figures. This similarity persists in even the detail of the poses and of the adjustment. One finds at Megara the warrior that falls to die, resting on his elbow, and him with one knee on the ground and continuing to fight; there is again found the fan-shaped beard on one combatant. Here is there the fabric of the jacket worn beneath the cuirass falls below it in close folds to the top of the thighs. It also appears very probable, from some traces left on the stone, that at Olympia as at Selinonte, the victorious goddess set her foot on the corpse of the vanquished.

note 1. p. 504. G. Frey in Olympia. vol. VII, p. 11. Frey also noticed these relations. (see text).

Until in the terra cottas, at least in those not ordinary replicas of types vulgarized by the commercial moulds, one does not find again certain traits that we have mentioned as forming the originality of the translation of the human form as given by the Peloponnessian sculptors. See the two fragments that we have reproduced, among many others that we could have chosen for the same purpose (Figs. 252, 152): we recognize there the very peculiar form of the face, that we have defined in regard to the colossal head of Hera discovered at Olympia (Fig. 212). This is the same breadth and heaviness of the face, the same purpose of drawing vigorously the bony framework beneath the skin.

These relations which we have established between the sculptors of Sicily and those of Peloponessus, we believe are fully justified by the analogies that we have noted. These have nothing surprising to us. Most of the immigrants that conquered Sicily for Hellenism came there from Dorian cities: the colonists had maintained relations with their capitals. From the shores of the island to those of Peloponessus was a constant movement of men and of exchanges. The Sicilian Greeks in multitudes attended the Olympic games: they felt themselves at home in that valley of the Alpheus, where like several cities of Magna Grecia such as Sparta and Metaponte, Syracuse and Selinonte had their treasures.

There in the images of the deity seen at the back of the sanctuaries, in the sculptures decorating the facades and friezes of temples and chapels, in the statues of athletes placed among the old trees of the sacred forest, what struck their eyes were especially the works sent from the workshops of Sparta and Argos, Corinth, Sicyon and Egina. Their minds retained the impression of the style of these schools, of the methods of composition and of fabrication that they had adopted: they found it entirely natural to follow these models when they returned to the country, those islanders that used modeling tool and chisel.

By the effect of the traditions thus collected as by habitually frequenting places dominated by Dorian genius, where it produced and exhibited its creations in sculpture, Sicilian art was born and developed under the influence of the art of Peloponessus. At least during the entire archaic age, it was only a lateral and secondary branch. One cannot be astonished under these conditions, that the pupils were not equal to their masters. They were what we term provincial artists. Their activity was exerted on the frontiers of the barbarous world: they had no judges other than the citizens of the cities that employed them. In these conditions, how could they have been able to rival the sculptors living at the centre of the Hellenic world, working for those great national museums where their works were seen, discussed and admired by the elite connoisseurs of all Greek cities of Europe and Asia? Thus at the beginning of the 5th century, when the Sicilian princes engaged in commemorating their triumphs by the erection of statues and by the consecration of many art works, they did not apply to their compatriots, but to the artists of Greece over the sea. The golden tripod ^{and} the Nike ^{that} Gelon offered at Delphi were ordered from Bion of Miletus.¹ The Eginetan Glaukias executed the chariot and statues of Gelon in memory of the victory obtained by him at the two Olympian games.¹ Onatas of Egina rendered the same service to Hiero in similar circumstances.² The beautiful statue of the Auriga is known, the remains of an entirety of the same period, recently discovered at Delphi or Hermione. On the base is inscribed the name of Polyzalos, younger brother of Gelon and Hiero: this is a work of masters of

Reina or Athens as agreed to recognize in this figure the only Sicilian artists of that time, whose names have been preserved by history, are Damophon and Gorgasos, that according to Pliny, were employed about 493 at Rome by Aulus Postumius, conqueror of the Latins near lake Regilla, to decorate the temple of Ceres that he built near the Circus Maximus.⁴ The two foreigners ornamented its entablature by figures of terra cotta and covered the walls by frescos. Both modelers and painters, it sufficed to be skilful and rapid workmen, to amaze the Romans, that previously had no other masters than the Etruscans.

note 1.p.505. Diodorus. XI. 26.

note 1.p.506. Pausanias. VI, 8-4; LXXV. *Inscr. Gr.-Roh.* 28.

note 2.p.506. Pausanias. VIII. 12-2.

note 3.p.506. Romolle. *L'Aurige de Delphes*. (Fond. Piot. *Monuments et Memoirs*. vol. X, p. 162-208).

note 4.p.506. Pliny. N.H. XXXV, 154.

6. Boeotia and remainder of central Greece.

To pass from Peloponessus into central Greece, we have gone by Sicily. This was the shortest way; but this detour will not be useless. One will thereby gain in better appreciating the importance of the part, that the Peloponnessian schools of sculpture played in the first start of Grecian art. If their ascendancy made itself imperiously felt then beyond the Adriatic and in all western Greece, with now a much greater result and force must that effect have been exerted on cities much nearer, that were only separated from the peninsula only by defiles of the isthmus or by the almost always calm waters of the gulf of Corinth!

The northern exits of these difiles are partly guarded by Megara, one of the cities in which the Dorian aristocracy founded by the conquest and longest preserved undisputed supremacy. No Megaran sculptor is mentioned, for that spoken by ancient authors, and there has been found at Megara but a single monument of archaic art.⁵ This is the headless torso of a nude male figure larger than nature, perhaps of a statue of Apollo placed in one of the temples of that god at Megara.¹ By the slenderness of its proportions, this would rather recall that of the Tenes than the heavier and more squat types of Dorian sculpture, and the material is

besides the Naxian marble.² On the other hand, proof is made of the relations that Megara maintained with the Peloponnesian artists. It applied to one of them when it desired to decorate its treasury.

note 5.p.506. This statue is in the museum of Athens. (No. 12 of Cavadias' catalogue. 1892).

note 1.p.507. There were at Megara several very ancient temples of Apollo. (Pausanias. I. 41-4; 42-5; 44-2).

note 2.p.507. R. Lepsius. Griechische Marmorstudien. No. 251. See No. 409.

Nothing has been found in the texts or monuments, whereby one could infer that about this time, there was a school of sculptors anywhere in Bœotia, distinguished by its initiative and originality. For this period, mention is made of but a single Theban artist, Ascaros, author of a statue of Zeus executed for the Thessalians, which Pausanias saw at Olympia. The text is changed, but it no less attests that this sculptor was the pupil of a Sicyonian master.³

note 3.p.507. Pausanias. V. 24. From the style of the statue and the accompanying inscription, Pausanias is inclined to believe that this image was consecrated in relation to an incident of the first sacred war, terminated by Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. On this subject, see the observations of Prunn, Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler. 2nd edition. Vol. I, pp 47-48.

Numerous works of archaic sculpture have been found in Bœotia. They are all anonymous. The most important is the statue of a nude man, perhaps a funerary statue, known under the name of Apollo Orchomenos (Fig. 260). It has the appearance of being the most ancient of the images of this kind; the eyes are scarcely sunken; the ears are placed too high; the mouth is merely a straight groove drawn by the chisel between the two projecting lips; the nose is broad and heavy; the entire face is of a dull plainness.

The figure was executed in place. Its material is a gray and hard limestone, half crystalline, in which have been cut many other Bœotian sculptures.⁴ The tool has not attempted here to imitate or even to recall the suppleness of the flesh. All its purpose was to make apparent the structure of the framework of the body, and to accent its great dimen-

divisions. To obtain this result, it caused the collarbone to project below the neck: it gave much size to the nuchal, separated the pectoral muscles from the abdomen by a hard edge, and marked vigorously the fold of the groin. It even tried to indicate by lighter grooves the ribs of the sides, the "white line" and the three aponeurotic intersections of the right anterior muscle of the abdomen (Fig. 261). Behind it caused to appear the outlines of the line of the vertebrae. Aside from these desired accents are nothing but planes between which no transition is arranged, the plane of the neck, those of the chest, of the abdomen, of the front of the thighs, that join this front of the image to the plane surface of the back. By the effect of the square shoulders and the slight reduction of the waist, the bust assumes the rectangular form.

Note A.p.507. Lebas. *Archaeologische Forschungen*. p. 89-90.

It is said that this execution is that attained by a workman that had long worked in wood. But here are peculiarities, that do not suffice to explain habits so contracted. We have already noted elsewhere in the monuments of Dorian sculpture this insistence in calling attention to the bony system, that constitutes the solid part of the body. We have met this same heaviness of the forms, this shape of the torso defined by the terms borrowed from geometry.

These characters that distinguish the Apollo of Orchomenos shall we find in other figures, works of a chisel already more free, but executed by artists following the same traditions. For example, here is a head made of the same limestone, that was discovered in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo Ptoos, situated in the north of Peotia and east of Lake Loois (Fig. 262). It is the remnant of a statue that must have been very near the Apollo of Orchomenos. The execution no less recalls the technique of wood: it is said that "this head seems to have been cut by abrupt and rapid strokes of the chisel." Besides there are between the two works resemblances not only of fabrication but also of type, which give them an air of evident relationship. The head of the Ptoion with its brutal energy, however seems to be of a little later date: in spite of all the awkwardness and the brutality of the rendering, one feels there a certain desire to

conv nature and to animate the lines of the face.

Progress is much more sensible in a statue, that came from the enclosure itself of the sanctuary, where have been gathered the fragments of many other figures of the same type; it is probable that this was an image of the god, of Apollo. (Fig. 263). While in the Apollos of Thera and of Tenea the line of the front inclines and recedes, the nose forming a quite a marked prominence, here the entire height of the face is on the same vertical: the face is broad and flat. As on the Apollo of Orchomenos, the eyes are too near together and the eyeball has not the same convexity as on the Ionian figures. On those the lips are raised at the ends and awkwardly sketch a smile; here is no seeking for expression. The entirety of the figure leaves the same impression: the appearance here as at Orchomenos, is more squat than at Thera and Tenea. The head almost seems placed on the torso. The line of the shoulders is nearly horizontal, and contributes to give to the bust that characteristic aspect, that we mentioned on a first specimen of Beotian sculpture. Finally, here again are the techniques that recall those of sculpture in wood. Everywhere are plane surfaces, broadly and abruptly cut as if with great strokes of the chisel, that are limited by edges almost sharp. This defect is particularly apparent in the lower and lateral parts of the statue: the back is scarcely more than roughed. From the shoulders to the loins tends a nearly smooth plane, only hollowed by a slight undulation at the passage of the vertical column."¹

note 1.p.510. In all these descriptions, we have followed Rolfeaux, from whom we have borrowed the text more than once. Rolfeaux executed from 1885 to 1888 on the site of Apollo Ptoos well conducted excavations, that profited epigraphy as well as the history of art; he has exhibited the results in numerous articles that he furnished to the Bulletin from 1886 to 1892.

To complete the definition of the style of those ancient Beotian sculptors, we shall cite only a single monument: it is a statue of bronze, that also came from the Ptoion (Fig. 264). Between the metal figurine and the statues cut in Beotian limestone is such a close resemblance, that one cannot hesitate to recognize the hands of the same workmen.

We shall find here, perhaps still more marked, all the traits which we noted in the two statues of Orchomenos and of the Ptoion. See this massive head, this heavy and nearly square face, with the strong relief of its breasts and chin, this short and thick neck, these straight shoulders, this squat torso not sensibly reduced at the height of the waist. The collarbone appears beneath the skin, that also allows the bone of the elbow to be defined; the skeleton of the pelvic basin forms a strong projection, the rotula is indicated by a boss circumscribed by a circle. The internal skeleton then makes itself frankly felt; but what is here in particular is, that the sculptor appears also to have been occupied in rendering the muscular system. The epigastrium is not depressed as in the other examples of this type, that have passed under our eyes: it is very full. On the arm the deltoid and biceps have a singular breadth; that of the muscles of the calf is almost deformed.

It is a novelty in the series of nude male figures, this effort to render the flesh, and one again further divines by other indications, that this statuette, however barbaric its appearance, must be more recent than the Apollo of Orchomenos and that of the Ptoion. If the arms still hang vertically along the sides, the left arm is bent at the elbow and the left hand is placed on the abdomen. One feels there the desire gradually aroused in the artist "to make it flexible and to vary the movements, to break the monotony of the sacred symmetry."¹ The bronze figurine then represents a more advanced state of the art than the two statues that we have compared to it;¹ but there are no less sufficient common traits in the three images, that there is reason to regard them as proceeding from the same interpretation of the form, of that interpretation is only that already known to us by what remains of the work of the sculptors of the Peloponessus. Certainly not from Peotia was this style brought into the adjacent peninsula. There then remains only a hypothesis which explains the resemblances that we have mentioned: the principal influence which the Peotian sculptors suffered was that of the Dorian schools, that were born from the movement aroused by the Cretan masters, flourished in the course of the 6th century at Sparta, Argos and Sicily.

there in particular did they seek their inspiration and models

note 1.p.511. Rolfeaux. *Publ. Corr. Hell.* 1887.p.355.

note 1.p.512. The British Museum possesses a statue of the same type that leads to interesting observations. (Furtwängler, *Pl.* 77). Furtwängler made it the subject of thorough study, and inclines to believe it of Ptoian origin, (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882.p.51-58, pl. IV); but this attribution remains entirely hypothetical.

What was important was to establish the existence of this connection and the fact of this dependence. The excavations of the Ptoion have brought to light other fragments of statues in which reappeared in the successive phases of its development the type that we have just studied.¹ Further, before these discoveries even occurred, a sufficiently long catalogue of figures in the round and of steles found in Bœotia could be drawn up.¹ It would doubtless be possible to note in more than one of those pieces, some characters to which we have called attention; but nowhere are they shown with the same entirety and as clearly emphasized as on the monuments described above. Regarding the proof as such, we shall drop the pursuit of this enumeration. Bœotia is also not the sole country of central Greece, where the sculptors required their inspiration from the masters of the Peloponnesus. The Louvre possesses two torsos of Archaic Apollo, found at Actium on the Gulf of Ambracia. Now one of these by its fabrication much recalls the Apollo of Ptoion.

note 1.p.513. *Publ. Corr. Hell.* 1886. pls. VI, VII, VIII; 1887, pls. VIII, IX, XIV.

note 2.p.513. G. Korte. *Die antiken Sculpturen aus Boetien* (Athen. Mitt. 1878. p.301-422; pls. XIV, XV).

We cannot be surprised to find this type again in this distant province of Greece, where art never had a strong and independent life; it was perhaps imported there very early. Diocles and Skylis introduced and accredited it in the Peloponnesus: now they having to complain of the Sicyonians withdrew into Etolia.¹ They returned to Sicyon only as the result of negotiations undertaken by order of the Ptoia; it is right to assume that they did not remain idle during the weeks or months spent on Etolian soil. Is this to say that one should seek in one or the other of the torsos

of Actium an original work of the two Cretan masters? We cannot think that one could dream of this. About the beginning of the 6th century the attitude of the figure became more regular and the representation of the form more conventional than it is here, where in spite of inaccuracies, it already evidences a certain progress accomplished, particularly in one of the figures in question. The authors of the two statues have behind them an entire past of labor and efforts. What is probable is that during the sojourn made on the north coast of the gulf of Corinth, Diocinos and Skyllis furnished to several temples of that country images, which then served as models. Acarnania was contiguous to Etolia. The tribes that peopled these two countries had nearly the same habits and customs.²

Note 1. p. 614. Pliny. N-H. XXXVI. 9-10.

Note 2. p. 514. Thucydides (I-5) places together the Locrians, Ozoles, Etolians and Acarnanians, when he wishes to cite Greek tribes, that remained faithful to "ancient customs." see III, 94.

At the end of the 5th century, Thucydides stated how very rude and bellicose those customs had remained. By comparison with the Athenians and other coastal peoples of the Aegean sea, the Etolians were accused of eating their meat raw, & giving the appearance of semi-barbarians. The differences which thus struck the historian were doubtless actual and profound; but to those retarded Greeks, the Etolians and their western neighbors were no less Greeks. If art did not play the same part in their lives as in that of the Milesians, Argives and Athenians, yet it held a certain place. Those tribes adored the same gods as the other Hellenes, & and to ensure their protection, they had built for them temples, each of which at least contained a statue, that of the deity assumed to inhabit it. They had not failed to seek to decorate this sanctuary with which the sculptor and painter could furnish them for that purpose. That has just been demonstrated for Etolia by the excavations executed by the Archaeological Society of Athens in 1887, 1893 and 1899, in the plain of Thermos, situated even in the heart of that rough country. When the Etolian tribes were established in this country, this location had been chosen to serve a col-

political and religious centre for the confederation: there assembled the delegates of the various clans and the gatherings in which were treated the general interests. They met around a temple of Apollo Thermios, which had been built and maintained at the cost of the entire people.¹ This is the very temple that seems to have been recently exhumed. The results of these excavations are finally known to us by a report, that however brief it may be, does not lack precision and is accompanied by accurate drawings.² Thus one can now form an idea of the original character of the edifice and of the style of the figures that decorated it.

note 1.p.515. This seems to result from the tale given by Polybius of the fortunate surprise by which Philip V made himself master of Thermos in 218.(V-8).

note 2.p.515. Ephemeris. 1900. p.161-212.

It is a regret for us that this edifice had not been discovered when we were studying the origins of Doric architecture. With its long and narrow cell that a middle row of columns divided in two aisles, its columns that could only have been of wood, its entablature merely of carpentry covered by painted terra cotta, this building would have furnished us with one of the most ancient types of the Greek temple. It would have been profitably compared with the temple of Hera at Olympia, the treasury of Gela and certain monuments of Paestum and Selinonte. The publication was delayed too long: but at least we cannot fail to utilize it for the history of sculpture.

Sculpture was represented at Thermos by an entire series of clay antefixes, and rose above the cornice on the facades of the edifice; numerous fragments of them have been found. According to the conjecture of the author of the excavations, female heads with caps (polos) alternated with heads of men. All these reliefs were obtained by the aid of moulds of which some remains have been gathered, then retouched with the tool; the colors were then applied before placing them in the oven. The faces of the women were painted white and those of the men were red, the beard and hair being dark brown. These images further do not appear to be all of the same date: some are certainly of the 6th century, while others can scarcely be earlier than the first half of the

5 th. There must have been repairs, broken tiles being replaced.

We only have to occupy ourselves here with the most archaic antefixas; now with traits more or less marked, all these present the reproduction of a type already known to us. One finds here the wide face, the round eye flush with the head, the great nose and the square chin; a solid and heavy construction with a total lack of expression. (Fig. 265). These fragments were scarcely disinterred before these resemblances were noted, relating to the least details.¹ Thus quite at first one of the most ancient of those heads was compared to that of a statue of Tegea (Fig. 210). On both were the same ears perpendicular to the cheek and extending in the form of wings; the same headdress, whose arrangement recalls that of the Egyptian "khaft" (Fig. 266).

note 1.p.516. Epheméris. 1900.p.184-185, 207.

note 2.p.516. The same. p. 189-190.

There is nothing very improbable in the hypothesis by which it is proposed to explain these affinities.² These tiles with colored reliefs were modeled and burned at the place.³ One recognizes in them by its color and quality the clay of the country; but the industry whose products we have here could not have originated among a people, that a century later only still inhabited villages without walls and had not a single city worthy of the name. This industry had been created by the Corinthians; among them a modeler in clay, Boutades, had commenced to fabricate these decorated tiles and these acroterias, that served to ornament the cornices and ridges of the temples.⁴ It is then probable that we have here works executed at Thermos in moulds imported from Corinth and perhaps by Corinthian workmen. From the time that its navy undertook those voyages toward the West, that ended in the founding of numerous and prosperous colonies, Corinth assured itself of points of relaxation on the Aeolian coast, as in a barbarous country. It had established there on the Antirrhion, a fortified post, Molycrion;⁵ two small adjoining ports of Chaikis and Makynia must also have been agencies frequented by their merchants, who exploited all that region of lower Achelous when voyaging toward the Ionian sea.

note 2.p.516. Epheméris. 1900. p.189-190.

note 2.p.516. Ephemeris. 1800. p.197-198.

note 4.p.516. Pliny. H.N.XXXV. 152.

note 5.p.516. Thucydides. III. 102.

One sees what paths were followed by the style and influence of Dorian art, to expand and prevail in all that country situated north of the gulf of Corinth. A Theban sculptor went to study at Sicyon. Cretan sculptors passed into Attolia. Perhaps they occupied their leisure in supplying the federal temple with the statue, that it could not lack; but in any case, one can scarcely doubt that the Attolians were tributary to Corinthian workshops, and that they derived thence all the decoration of their principal edifice.

Of all cities of European Greece, Corinth was then that with the most extended maritime commerce, and consequently the most active industry. The vases, terra cottas and bronzes exported by it in full cargoes to all the coastal peopled of its gulf and to the Adriatic must contribute much to subject all that portion of the Greek world to the prestige and ascendancy of this Dorian taste, which however eclectic were the indigenous artisans in that city open to every breath from outside, yet gave the tone to their works in sculpture. We should certainly have the direct proof of it if archaic art were less poorly represented in the little remaining to us of the monuments of all these Corinthian colonies. In the lack of stone sculptures, clay figurines instruct us. At Corfu the ancient Corovra, in the vicinity of a temple of Artemis was found a curious series of archaic votive statuettes, that had ^{been} hoarded by thousands in a pit dug for that purpose; there has been recognized one of those accumulations of exvotos, other examples of which have been noted. Here is how the author of the excavations describes the appearance of the heads of these images: - "Usually on these images the face is broad and strong, rather rectangular than oval; firm flesh covers a solid skeleton. The breasts are quite apparent; the chin is very pronounced. The mouth is straight with thick lips. The eyes are placed on the same line" (Fig. 267)*¹ The great majority of the statuettes discovered at Athens and in Ionia have eyes more or less oblique, and this obliquity of the eyes perhaps strikes us most in them, unless it be the silent

that enlarges the mouth and raises the cheeks. Now the terra cottas of Corcyra nearly always present a straight and severe mouth, as well as eyes in the normal position. likewise the nearly rectangular form, affected by the face is that found in the authentic works of Dorian art. These figurines are counted there by hundreds and were certainly made at Corcyra itself: one can divine from them the character of the types imported from the mother country, that colonial sculptors reproduced there in stone and bronze.

note 1. p. 518. Lechat. *Terres cuites de Corcyre*. (Publ. Corr. Hell. 1891. p. 1-112; pls. I-VIII).

The only other monument so far discovered in the island is a lioness believed to have been placed on the tomb of a citizen named Menecrates (Fig. 268). For the pose of the body and the rendering of the head, perhaps one feels there as in the lions of Miletus (Fig. 118) the imitation of Egyptian-Phenician images in different materials, which commerce with the Orient then scattered in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. Borrowed from Asian art, the type of the lion could not fail in Greece to remain more or less conventional; but under the firm and bold hand chisel of the artists accustomed to seize the great lines of their models, it no less retained much of its strength and savage severity. We could note that also concerning the temple of Thermos. There among the remains of the clay facing was found the head of a lion in beautiful work, which must have served at a spout of a gutter at an angle of the edifice (Fig. 269).²

note 2. p. 518. *ephemeris*. 1900. p. 199.

We are held to mention the works of sculpture, that although discovered in central Greece, lead whoever studies them to remember Sparta, Argos and Sicyon. But we should recall that particularly in Boeotia, which has ports on the Aegean sea and adjoins Attica, other influences have made themselves felt. We have found there at Orchomenos a stele signed by an Ionian sculptor, Alxenor of Naxos (Fig. 185) also that stele was cut in Pentellic marble and must have been sent from Athens to Thebes.¹ Still even in Boeotia it is especially due to the examples and as if under the patronage of Peloponnesian statuary, that sculpture was born and developed. We have seen at Delphi Dorian art represented over-

beside Ionian art. As at Olympia, each city that wished to erect there in that sacred enclosure a monument of its glory sent its architects and sculptors, who frequently brought with them from the quarries and workshops of their country the materials that they desired to place in the work.

note 1.p.519. Bruun-Bruckmann. pl. xxxvii.

Beside monuments in which is sometimes marked the influence of the insular art, and more frequently that of Dorian art, one also finds in Beotia and in the adjacent countries, works that properly speaking have no style, and in which one can only see the products of the independent effort of local image-makers, obscure workman that depend on no foreign control.

We can place in that category a fragment of a draped figure that came from the Ptoion; the statue had the form of a roughly squared beam.² There is finally a stele discovered at Tanagra. The inscription engraved on the base informs us that it was dedicated by Amonialkes to the memory of two friends, Dermys and Kitvlos. The sculptor has taken there a method, of which I know no other example. Two nude men stand near each other with their backs against a sort of pilaster terminated at top by a projecting slab; each personage has his name inscribed beside him on the face of the vertical, thus having a false air of atlantes (Fig. 230). Dermys has the right arm hanging along the body and Kitvlos the left one. Both mutually pass the other arm over the shoulder, an attitude not rarely found again in men in the popular festivals of modern Greece; but there is a complex movement, which the chisel could not render naturally. The two arms seizing Dermys and Kitvlos from behind appear to come from the slab surmounting the two statues. The sculptor is then still very inexperienced. There are in his work many other serious inaccuracies. The heads are too much shortened for one to judge of the lines of the face; but the bust lacks amplitude and the legs are too long. In these the muscles and the bones of the knees are so exaggerated, that it is necessary to look closely at them to be assured that the persons do not wear rings there. Yet with all its defects, this group gives the impression that the artist is superior to his work. "One divines in this the qualities that succeed-

succeeding generations will develop, simplicity in composition, search for elegant proportions, the desire to adhere to the entirety or only accenting some details, the gravity and calmness of the attitudes and the symmetry of the movements. The type which the sculptor had under his eyes and that he endeavored to reproduce is lean, slender and nervous, entirely Greek. Demos and Kitylos have slender waists, long necks, the chest prominent and strongly thrown forward, the extremities rather small than large. The firmness of the muscles and bones nowise alters the delicacy of the race."

note 1.p.522. A. Dumont. Gazette archéol. 1878.p.161.

Thus even where were lacking the instructions of those who then passed for masters of the art, one sees appearing a lively feeling for form and a firm intention to find ^{the} beautiful in seeking the true. By the same fact is made the proof, that the Boetians never merited the bad reputation that they owed to a verse of Horace. We shall ^{have} more than one occasion to show, that without having attained the power of invention and the high originality of their Athenian neighbors, particularly in the arts, they have taken a very honorable part in the movement and in the production of Greek sculpture.

7. Egina.

The island of Egina is located between Attica and Argolis, in the Saronic Gulf that opens on the Aegean sea and looks on the Cyclades. "The sea, that high road of the Greeks and had no others, unites Egina to all neighboring coasts. With a good wind, the ship from Egina will arrive at Piræus in two hours, at the isthmus of Corinth in four hours, and at Methana in less than an hour. By assigning to Egina that privileged location, nature seems to have reserved to it the monopoly of Greek commerce."² Its inhabitants were Dorians, who came to add themselves to an old foundation of the Achæians, and had no future except to resolutely engage in that course. The island is very small. Its area is only 32 sq. miles, and its soil is very poor. It scarcely produces barley alone, and can feed only flocks of goats and sheep. The vine succeeds there, but running water is lacking for irrigation and the olive gives but a small return. On the other hand, in the southwest of the island is a fine harbor, where it was easy to construct for the city that rose at the end

of that port and two of those narrow basins which sufficed for the light ships of the ancients. As for the barks that found no place in the ports, they were hauled up on the strand and sheltered from the waves, when a tempest threatened.

note 2.p.522. About. *Memoir sur l'île d'Égine*. (Archives des Missions. vol. III. 1854. p. 481).

The Egineians knew how to profit by the advantages of that location, and drew from outside all that could not be found on their rock: they sought fortune on the sea. Egina had formed a part of the Argive kingdom of Epidon: when that was dissolved, they freed themselves from the supremacy of Polidaurus, and having become independent, they soon had a very prosperous merchant navy protected by a military navy maintained with great care. By these efforts Egina rivaled powerful Corinth. It seized in the Archipelago the role that Delos played under the successors of Alexander, and even at the beginning of the 19th century of our era: it reaped in its magazines the wares which its merchants then placed on the neighboring continent and even sent to great distances, for example, to the remotest part of the Euxine sea, from whence they brought wheat.¹ Further, Egina was not satisfied with being richly supplied as an emporium: a flourishing industry was developed there, and in ancient Greece, industry was never separated from art. The egineians made and exported perfumes, clay vases and especially objects of metal.² They had commenced by fashioning furniture: their candelabras of bronze were sought for;³ these like the pieces of that sort found in great number, were ornamented by heads and busts, images of actual or fanciful animals. With these decorative figures the modeler and founder had made their apprenticeship: they did not delay to become soldier and to cast statues in bronze.

note 1.p.523. Herodotus. VIII. 147.

note 2.p.523. Athenæus. xv, 12, p. 626, *steon. Euz. under Aegina*

note 3 p.523. Pliny. p.v. xxxiv. 11.

Particularly after the second Median war was established by the works of Glaukias and especially of Onatas the reputation of the bronze-workers of Egina: but these would not have attained that mastery if they had not had predecessors already very skilful. Many attempts were necessary to arrive

at fixing the standard of the alloy, that gave the best casts. This result was finally obtained and the bronze of Leina was almost as highly esteemed as that of Delos by connoisseurs.¹

note 1.p.524. Pliny. N.W. XXXIV. 9-10.

If by this borrowed technique the school of sculptors of Leina was connected with Ionia, which gave to Greece the process of hollow casting, it seems to have taken from Peloponnesian statuary the principal elements of the style which formed its glory. The Dorians had contributed to the peopling of the island; that had at first merely a dependance on Argolis. Its earliest artists appear to have sought instructions in the peninsula. We do not speak of Smilis here. By error, Pausanias made him an Aeginetan;² as for Pliny, he is a compatriot and collaborator of the Samians Theodoros and Rhoecos, with whom he cooperated in the erection and decoration of the temple of Hera at Samos.³ Smilis is elsewhere mentioned as the author of the statue placed at the neck of the sanctuary.⁴ When their artists were at the head of contemporaneous art, did the Samians have to require from the foreigner the image of the goddess in honor of whom they had just erected such a sumptuous edifice?

note 2.p.524. Pausanias. VII, 4-4.

note 3.p.524. This results from the comparison of two passages of Pliny, in one of which by inadvertence of the author or the fault of a copyist, the name of Lemnos is certainly substituted for that of Samos (N.W. XXXIV, 83; XXXVI, 90). Furtwängler. Meisterwerke: excursus I; Smilis and Aeginetische Kunst, p. 720-723).

note 4.p.524. Pausanias. II, 32-5; 18-8; VII, 18-10.

Kallon is that earliest sculptor of Leina of which we have any precise information;⁵ now tradition represents him as pupil of Tekleos and Angelion, who were themselves the disciples of Cretan masters. His works that are mentioned were executed for the temples of Trezene and of Anvolea. For what they still retained of archaic rudeness, his statues were compared to Tuscan bronzes,⁶ which gives reason to think that he lived about the end of the 6th century.⁷

note 5.p.524. Pausanias. II, 32-5; III, 18-8; VII, 18-10.

note 6.p.524. Quintilian. Inst. orat. XII, 10-7.

note 7.p.524. Pliny certainly made one of his customary

errors, when he places Kallon beside Ageladas in the 87 th Olympiad (H.X.8A-49) i.e. about 432.

After the defeat of the Persians the Eginetans had their finest years of fruitful prosperity and creative activity.. For their prowess at Salamis, they had received the prize of valor, and among them divided the booty taken from the enemy. The little island thus became for some weeks as the centre of the Grecian world, where it continued to make a great figure until the time, when in 456 it was compelled to pay tribute to the Athenians, to lose soon after the last remains of its independence, and to see its late lands distributed to Athenian colonists.

On the morrow of unbroken triumphs, the sculptors of Egina were still vibrating with the emotions of that struggle in which their country had taken such a great part, and they produced works whose character and accent were sufficiently striking, that several principal cities of Greece and the glorious tyrants of Sicily charged them with executing some of the monuments to recall either the defeats inflicted on the barbarians, or victories obtained at Delos, on the isthmus or at Olympia. According to all appearance shortly after the end of the war, on a height dominating the entire gulf the Eginetans erected on the site of an earlier edifice the Doric temple on whose two pediments were placed the marble statues now preserved at Munich.¹

Note 1.p.52v. The existence of this first temple has been proved by Furstwängler in the excavations that he made there in 1901, but the results of those excavations are only known by brief reports. One of them mentions the head of a woman in a very archaic style. (Verl.phil.woch. 1901, p.627).

We shall not undertake here the examination of those two entireties of capital importance: this would exceed the limits of the scope limiting this study for the time. All of importance to indicate here is, that from the first years of the 5 th century and before 480 the sculptors of Egina were already sufficiently famous, that their works were sought even outside the island. Themistocles said that "it was a speck on the eye of Piraeus," the military post just created by him. Thenceforth Athens envied and detested Egina. The workshops of Egina had no less been out under control-

contribution by the citizens of Athens for several of those votive figures, more numerous from year to year, that were grouped on the Acropolis around the temples built by Pisistratus and his sons. There are found on bases the signatures of Kallon² and of Onatas.³ Onatas is the most celebrated of Eginetan mashers. Particularly from 480 to about 460 this artist, a bronze founder, appears to have had as patrons the princes of the Greek cities; but the base on which his name is read at Athens has been taken from the layer of ruins left on the Acropolis by the two Persian invasions of 480 and of 479. The casts from his workshops were then already known and appreciated before the second median war.

note 2.p.525. Löwy. Inschriften. No. 27. From the form of the letters, this inscription seems to date from the year 500.

note 3.p.526. Ephemeris. 1887.p.146. Corp.inscr.attic.IV,2,
99
no. 3784.

To judge by the arrangement of the holes for fastening on the top of the pedestal, the votive statue that Timarchides ordered from Onatas was only a statuette, probably of a warrior; but to a figure of nearly natural size belonged a head, that came from the same excavations and believed to be recognized as a bronze from Egina.¹ The helmet that formerly covered it has not been found. (Figs. 371; 372). The face is full with strong cheeks; the nose is large at the end; the eyebrows are in relief, the eyes are placed low and slightly oblique. They were filled with a whitish enamel; a central hole alone now marks the place of the pupil. The mouth with strong lips is enclosed by a short moustache with falling ends. Beneath the lower lip is arranged a sort of beard extending down like a collar. The hairs are indicated, as on the border of the headdress, by fine and close incisions.

note 1.p.527. Collignon. Histoire. vol. I, p. 305-306.

That head is pleasing for whatever side it is seen: it has life. It must have been much more so when a little oil of dark metal was set in the glass paste, and gave brilliancy to the looks, when the lips were covered by a thin sheet of red copper and were clearly detached from the dark beard. Art is here more advanced than in the Peloponnesian sculptures that have passed under our eyes; but it would be easy

to show that the style of this fragment, in spite of the progress evidenced by it, approaches rather that of the Dorian artists than the fabrication of Ionian masters. We reserve the question; we shall be in better position to treat and to solve it, when we study the so-called marbles of Egina, where the body is evidently presented under quite varied aspects. Further, one cannot mistake, and this justifies the conjecture expressed by us, the close relation existing between those marbles and the bronze from the Acropolis. To be convinced of it, it suffices to compare the latter to the head of the wounded warrior, that occupies on the temple the left angle of the eastern pediment. In the entirety it is the same type of face, the same cut of the beard, the same mode of concealing the hair beneath the helmet. The resemblance has already been mentioned; it would appear still more striking, if the head found at Athens had not lost the helmet serving it as headdress.

Chapter XII. The Attic School.

1. Location of Athens and Character of its Development.

The history of Athens is less simple than those of Sparta and Argos, of Corinth and Thebes. Nature and events have made for the Athenian State in the Greek world a very peculiar situation, whose facts are so complex as to cause some trouble to define them.

At first sight, Attica seems to be only a prolongation of central Greece, the point which this extends southeast in the Egean sea: but high mountains and narrow defiles separate Attica from Euboea, Boeotia and Megaris. By the slopes and turns of the routes traversing Parnassus and Cithæron did its first inhabitants come to establish themselves in Attica, that Ionian population which called itself autochthones, i.e., born of the land itself that had always continued to feed it, as evidence of the remote antiquity in which dated its establishment in this country? We do not know. One may infer from some vague traditions, that Attica later received by that route some bands of fugitives belonging to other Greek tribes, Achæians, and Eolians driven from their homes; this was like a scattering from the flood of the Dorian invasion and its eddies; but Attica with its ports of the Euboean and of the Saronic gulf has its front toward the sea. By the sea came to it the ideas, suggestions and instruction that aroused the spirit of its people: by that way came to it always those grains that its stony soil did not sufficiently produce. If the Athenians desired to retain contact with those Ionian tribes forming the most compact mass, it was still by sea that they must demand means of maintaining those relations. Men speaking the same dialect as they, that had the same predisposition, the same hereditary faiths and customs, they could only find in the Cyclades which from Cape Sunium, they saw outlined on the horizon, and more distant in the great islands of Samos and Chios, thus finally in Asia Minor, where along the western shores of the peninsula were enthroned in their wealth Smyrna, Ephesus and Miletus. On the contrary, on the other side of the peaks dominating its country, Athens had vainly sought a city connected by that bond of a common origin.

During a long series of years, Athens remained almost

isolated. It had few relations with the groups that dominated and gave tone in European Greece. On the other hand, it was too far from the Ionians of Asia to be swept into the movement of their free, bold and fruitful life, their colonial enterprises and the labors of their thoughts. It had not their rich plains, the alluvium of the rivers descending from the plateau of Phrygia. Particularly it had not rich Lydia behind it; unlike its oriental sisters, it was not placed at the ends of routes that brought to the coast the merchandize and ideas of the ancient civilizations of the valley of the Euphrates; it did not possess agencies in Egypt, nor ships to land on the distant shores of Scythia and Pontus, of Cyrenica, Italy, Gaul and Spain. Until the middle of the 6th century, Athens had neither commerce, navy, nor political power. Among Grecian cities, it was one of the last comers, one of the slowest growth. When the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, and in Europe Sparta and Argos, Sicyon, Megara and Chalcis, were already flourishing and founded colonies, Athens developed by its own resources, obscurely and silently. By its well chosen position occupied in the central plain of Attica and around its Acropolis, it annually became less poor by the obstinate labor of the peasants cultivating its lean fields and olive trees, as well as by the ingenuity of its artisans. Those profited by the superior quality of the clay found in their soil, and from the 9th century founded in Attica an industry soon becoming prosperous there, that of ceramics. It has been seen by the so-called vases of the Dionysos, what was henceforth their professional skill, as they excelled in fashioning pieces of very great dimensions and in covering them by very varied images.¹ The products of those workshops served as models for Etruscan potters, and were exported even to Cyrene. At the same time Athens also had artisans expert in working metal, to prepare the moulds in which were stamped those sheets of gold fastened around the heads of corpses, or in chiseling the legs and circles of those tripods on which were placed the funerary urns.¹ Otherwise those painters, goldsmiths and bronze-workers, in choosing their motives and creating their style, were only inspired by the needs and tastes of their fellow citizens. We have noted this for

ceramics and also prove it for sculpture.

note 1.p.530. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol.VII, p.156-182.

note 1.p.531. The same. vol.VII, p.245-248; *Plés*. 112-115; p. 256-257; *Plés*. 2, 123.

We know nothing of the origins of that sculpture from the ancient authors. There is no account taken of the effort that Athenian patriotism made to connect with Athens that Dedalus, legendary inventor of statuary, whom other traditions represent as a Cretan. Nothing more is to be deduced from the mention made of a very ancient image of Pegasus attributed to a certain Simmias, that like Dedalus was a son of Eupalamos.² This primitive sculpture of Athens is known to us only by the monuments. By recent discoveries, these have restored to us a century and more of the development of this art; they permit us to follow it at Athens from infancy to full maturity. Now what will result for us from the very careful study that we shall make of those monuments, is that Attic statuary is autochthonous, as the people inhabiting that country claimed to be. It was not imported from outside, and during the first phases of that laborious life and of continuous progress, that should end in such a brilliant flight of the genius of sculpture, it suffered no foreign influence. The qualities and defects found in its most ancient works and especially explained by the properties of the material and the mode of attack that directed in the hand of the workman the only tools at his disposal.

note 2.p.531. See the texts relating to Dedalus and to Simmias in Overbeck. *Schriftliche Quellen*. p.74-98, 346-347.

2. Sculpture in soft Stone and Beginning of Sculpture in Marble.

On sculptures in low, middle and high relief, that decorated the pediments of the oldest temples of Athens is noted a rigor, breadth of touch and a slightly brutal boldness, that is not found in the same degree in other monuments of Grecian archaism, for example in the groups at Delphi and Olympia, that filled the pediments or friezes.¹ We can prove this difference without believing ourselves bound to allow to the Athenian sculptors a special temperament and gifts. The figures of the treasury of Cnidus are of marble; those of the treasury of Sicyon and that of Megara are of lime-

limestone; but they were carved by artists that came from workshops in which men already knew how to work marble or stones having nearly its hardness, while the reliefs of the pediments of Athens are the work of a chisel only having to do with wood or with a very soft tufa. The sculptures of Delphi and of Olympia alluded to cannot be much earlier than 550, and others are later than that date, while according to all appearance the fragments of the Attic pediments date back to the end of the 7th or the first years of the 6th centuries.

note 1.p.532. Collignon. Histoire. vol.I, p.216-217.

Of all those groups, perhaps that in which the working of stone follows most docilely the methods for wood, is the relief representing Hercules slaying the Hydra of Lerna. (Fig. 273). Made of six slabs whose sizes vary according to the place occupied in the whole, it must have decorated the facade of a little temple with dimensions nearly those of one of the treasuries of the terrace of Olympia; but the very soft stone has been broken into small pieces, and the restoration presents many voids.⁶ Thus one has but scarcely the legs of the principal personage, Hercules, who stands beneath the apex of the tympanum, is armed with the club and crushes the multiple heads of the monster. The great body of the latter with its long and sinuous folds fills all the right part of the field. On the left of Hercules is a person standing near the wheel of a chariot that he prepares to ascend, is recognized Iolaos, the squire of the hero. In the angle at the same side and before the heads of the horses harnessed to the chariot, is believed to be the place of a fragment of a slab on which are distinguished three parallel oads: these are the remains of the claws of an enormous crab, as it is related that it came to nip the feet of Hercules, while he fought against the serpent. The crab figures on several painted vases on which is reproduced the same adventure.

note 2.p.532. The restoration presented in the drawing opposite was made by Purgold. *Annuaire*. 1884.p.147-152; 1886, p.233-242, 247-256.

With a length of 19.0 ft. the tympanum had a height of only 2.59 ft. The figures are very mutilated and are then

too small a scale for it to be possible to offer a reproduction allowing one to judge of the details of the execution; but the most reduced image itself proves that the relief of the serpent strongly resembles a relief of the Chryseia. (Fig. 215); by the mode of execution. None or scarcely any modeling; nothing but planes intersecting at nearly right angles. The stone is again almost like wood under the tools of the marble-workers of Sparta.

Doubtless color with the frank tonalities of its reds, o browns and blues, intervened to detach the figures from the ground and to distinguish them from each other;¹ but in spite of the aid that it lent to the sculptor, he could not fail to note the defects of his procedure. Placed at a certain height above the earth, the forms that he distributed in the field of the pediment could not produce all their effect only if they ceased to be simple outlines applied flat on the wall. Then he felt the need of giving them a stronger projection, and that intention must soon lead him to attempt to make apparent to the eye the thickness of the body.

Note 1.p.523. On the traces of color in the relief of the serpent, see *Monuments*. 1885, p.249-251.

The first results of this effort are marked in the little which remains of the sculptures of a second pediment, on which was placed the scene of the combat of Hercules and the marine god Triton, a subject already known to us by one of the reliefs of the architrave of Assos (Fig. 101).¹ This group is inserted in a pediment that seems to have nearly the same dimensions as that of the Hydra; did it form a pendant to that and crown a second facade of the same edifice? The question has been much discussed;² but there is reason to believe that the two pediments belonged to two different temples. The sculptor of the Triton employed a harder stone, that does not contain shells. The coloring is not the same in the two monuments, and the relief is stronger in the Triton than in the scene of the combat of Hercules and Hydra.

Note 1.p.534. *Monuments*. 1884. Pl. VII, fig. 5. *Athen. Mitt.* 1886. Pl. II, fig. 1. This scene is represented on numerous Attic vases with black figures.

Note 2.p.534. For the indication and discussion of all t

the hypotheses expressed on the subject of these reliefs, that we refer the reader to the work of Lechat, who after having been the first to study in detail these sculptures at the time of discovery, examined them anew in 1902 with minute care. He discusses in his text all the opinions expressed, and cites in his notes all the works to which he refers. The work forms a part of the *Annales de l'université de Lyon, nouvelle série, II, droit, lettres*, and has the title: - *au musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes, étude sur la sculpture en Attique avant la ruine de l'Acropole lors de l'invasion de Xerxès. 1902*. This is the guide followed by us in the greater part of this study.

Progress is more frankly marked in the remains of two groups, one of which represents the combat of Hercules and the Triton, while the other was formed by the three heads and three busts of the Titan Typhon, the demon of the storm and of the volcanic convulsions that elevated and ruptured the crust of the earth. According to the manner in which the figures are treated there, it is seen that they were applied on a ground, and that this ground was a field with a height decreasing toward the two ends. These figures served to fill a pediment. They are nearly at the same scale, and are cut in the same tufa; their fabrication and coloring are similar. One then has reason to affirm that they formed a part of the decoration of the same edifice, which was larger than the reliefs of the Hydra and of the other Triton. On that edifice the pediments had a length of about 27.9 ft and a height of 3.2 ft. to the apex of the tympanum.

In the two groups that could be restored, does one have the remains of the decoration of two different pediments, of two front and rear pediments of the same temple? Or rather did not the fragments of the two groups come from the same pediment, of which each of them may have filled the half? Before seeking which of the two hypotheses is most probable, it is proper to describe and represent the two groups as they are seen restored today in the museum of the Acropolis, although still incomplete.

The stone in which were executed the two groups is no longer a mixture of shells and sand, like that of the pediment of the Hydra. Although traversed in places by large flaws,

it is a limestone of sufficiently hard and close grain, whose resistance has allowed the sculptor to pass from relief and his flat outlines to high relief and even to the round in places. "In the oldest group of Hercules and the Triton, two bodies are fixed against each other and against the wall of the pediment. On the contrary, in the new group the body of the Triton at several places is not attached but only set against the tympanum, and the body of Hercules is in great part separated from that of the Triton. Likewise in the group of Typhon the arms are detached and free; the heads are sculptured separately and are also independent of the ground of the scene." ¹

note 1.p.535. Lechat. Au musée etc. p.50.

The so-called pediment of Typhon is that of which remains the most important fragments (Pl.III). Typhon is a monster with three heads and three human busts. To his shoulders were attached wings, some recurved toward the ground and the others raised in the air. The triple body continued and ended in the tails of serpents. These were covered by scales and were coiled around each other. ² Men have wished to suppose that Typhon was there opposed to Zeus and in combat with him. It is believed that the head of Zeus has been found, and that he stood at the middle of the pediment in the attitude of combat, and the left half of the pediment would have been filled by a Hercules struggling with Echidna, the companion and assistant of Typhon. Against this hypothesis have been produced grave objections, that appear to leave nothing of it remaining. ¹

note 2.p.535. Restod in his description of Typhon (Theophrastus, verses 822-825) attaches serpents to the shoulders of the giant, but does not mention his wings.

note 1.p.536. Lechat. Au musée etc. p.117-144.

The two groups then belong to the same pediment. Hercules and Triton occupy its left part (Fig. 274), and the three torsos of Triton the right part.(Pl. III). This was sufficiently filled to the end by the long coils of the interlaced tails. As for the opposite angle, to fill it was the fish tail of the marine god. To not be surprised by the apparent incoherence in that arrangement, it is necessary to remember that monumental sculpture was at that time only beginning.

The artist is yet insufficiently advanced to believe himself required to seek for filling his pediment a unique theme, that places on the scene a certain number of persons, each of which must have more or less directly a connection with the principal action. All that he proposes is to ornament this field by arranging figures adapted to it without effort, and which by the freedom of their movement or the singularity of their appearance amuse the eye of the passer at the same time, that by the myths which they recall, they speak to his imagination. Triton held by Hercules and Ixion with his wings and serpents realize the required conditions: the sculptor has not asked more. doubtless in the same spirit that he had been advised to fill the space of 3.3 or 4.9 ft. left between these two groups at the middle of the tympanum. It has been supposed that figure was seated there, perhaps that of Athena, the protectress of Hercules. Others believe that there was only one of those decorative and picturesque accessories, such as are found on painted vases representing the labors of Hercules. A fragment of the drapery that remained attached to the background near the right hand of the first torso of Ixion, would be the remnant of the mantle of Hercules, that he had hung on the branch of a tree before the struggle with the monster.

Here is what concerns in informing is that the sculptures of the pediments then had only a purely ornamental character: we have studied the three pediments and Hercules appears in all three. Yet it is not probable that there was on the Acropolis only temples of Hercules. If the sculptor thus repeated everywhere the figures of Hercules, this is because that conqueror of monsters was then as popular at Athens as Theseus will be later, when in the 5th century he shall have evicted the son of Aegleus in a war, and will have become the national hero.¹ It is also that no myths that should offer to the artist such a rich repository of amusing and varied scenes. From one episode to another, Hercules changed his adversary. The latter was often one of those imaginary beings, who by their length and the singularity of their complex forms were so well fitted to insert in the outlines of a frieze or pediment. For monumental sculpture, these adventures of Hercules were a sort of commonplace used

for every purpose, employed indifferently whatever the deity to which the temple was dedicated, where the statuary should disseminate images to be its crown and poetry.

note 1.p.587. Potlier. These ont d'Hercule (Rev. de l'art anc. et mod. vol. ix. 1901. p.1-18 with figures in text).

In this cycle of Hercules, the statuary to whom had been entrusted the pediment could not choose a theme to make his task easier than that of the combat of Hercules and Triton. The long and large tail of the marine god served to fill his ornamentation: it further retained on the surface of the ground the personage dragged after him: he could only raise from it his torso and his head. This was "a sort of mythological cripple."¹ Were he attacked, the adversary throwing himself on him to master him would have to follow the movement of this body fixed on the ground: he must extend like it on a line nearly horizontal. The two combatants were thus at ease in a field of small height like a pediment, to exert under the eyes of the spectator the entire strength of their robust members.

note 1.p.588. Lechat. au musée etc. p.51.

The heads are wanting here: but we have two bodies of Hercules and of Triton. As in the relief of the architrave of Assos (Fig. 101), and as in that of the most ancient Attic Pediment, Hercules has thrown himself on the rear of the Triton. With his arms he clasps the neck, while his broad sides are pressed against those of the monster, cramming his chest: he will soon have the marine croonnet at his mercy. On the contrary in the figure of Typhon, what the sculptor desired to render is the attitude of calm pride, strength and repose. The contrast was striking: one can scarcely believe that it was not sought by the artist.

As for the execution, one can appreciate the qualities and defects from the preserved parts of both groups. Let us first take that formed by the closely embraced Hercules and Triton. The advance there is sensible from the architrave of Assos and from the first pediment. The legs of Hercules are better placed here: while arranging the same points of support on the ground for the hero, they allow him more freedom of movement. Further, the execution is very broad and sometimes offends. Always faithful to the practice in wood,

the tool has proceeded here in great planes without making a transition from one to the other; but this simplification is not improper for figures that must be seen quite afar. The sculptor has held to giving the two companions very robust forms; but he has not avoided heaviness. The right thigh is too massive; on the contrary, there is some suppleness in the flexure of the lower part of the leg and in that of the foot, that rests on the earth only by the ends of the toes.

Less incomplete, the figure of Typhon allows one to judge better of the merit of the artist. There was a great difficulty for that. He had to show the triple torso and the triple heads of the giant (Fig. 275), then behind the serpentine folds of his triple tail. Doubtless he could have placed his three busts in the same plane and faced them all front or in profile; but nothing would have been poorer in appearance than that mechanical repetition of a figure, twice similar to itself. Besides, if these presented the faces to the eye, one would have had difficulty in understanding that they did not mask the tails of the serpent. The sculptor felt this very well. He strove to vary the position of the three torsos. That occupying the middle of the tympanum is cut in the block of tufa forming the background and is entirely in profile, so that the coils of the serpent seem the natural continuation of the bust thus presenting itself sidewise. The second head is scarcely more than a profile, but the chest is more largely developed there. Finally, the third torso is almost in the round, faces the observer and shows a three-quarter face. The middle figure is also detached from the ground and projects beyond the two others, of which it partly covers. In that manner by doubling the planes and by the differences introduced in the mode of presentation of the torsos, the sculptor knew how to utilize skillfully the complex theme that he had chosen.

The part of convention is doubtless still very great here. The heads are placed in profile on bodies seen in front; it is useless to insist on this as contrary to nature. Further, where is more sensibly still betrayed what this art retains of artlessness is in the insignificance of the heads with the easy and placid air that all three have, their great projecting eyes and mouths with corners raised to smile, 3

and the very regular beards trimmed to a point: this is particularly apparent in the right head, which seems to be of a different hand than the two other accompanying heads: one finds in it a certain air of "amazed joviality:"¹ but contemporaries were accustomed to this mask-like impassability, that will long persist in Greek art. Nothing was there to soil the pleasure caused in them by the skilful arrangement of the group, the amplitude of the chests and of the powerful arms, and finally especially the violence of that entirely conventional coloring, that brought out all the lines of the image, and gave them such a firm accent of singular vigor.

note 1.p.540. Lechat. au musée etc. p.85-86.

It is asked whether this temple to which these figures belonged was not a temple of Athena, built in the first half of the 6th century south and near the Erechtheum. This Hecatompedon would have had two facades in antis in its original form, that would have been surmounted by sculptured pediments. To the pediment of Hercules and of Typhon would have corresponded another composed in the following fashion: Athena seated and facing front at the centre: Zeus and another god seated in profile at the right and left of Athena: finally two great serpents that extended at each side their scaly bodies to the ends of the tympanum. There are preserved, cut in the same stone and offering the same proportions as the Hercules and the Typhon, a torso of Athena¹ and considerable fragments of a seated Zeus (Fig. 276), as well as fragments of several serpents.

note 1.p.541. Lechat. au musée etc. p.28, fig. 2.

This primitive Hecatompedon, the Pisistratides transformed and renewed by the addition of a colonnade and two new pediments, larger and decorated by marble sculptures. Then were demolished and thrown aside the two pediments of limestone.² One is able to restore with probability the two successive states of the temple (Fig. 277).

note 2.p.541. This conjecture is that of Wiegand and Schröder. (Lechat, au musée, pp.145-146). It has been adopted by Michaelis. (Arch Athenarum a Pausania descripta, in usum scholarum. 1901).

It does not seem that the same artists produced another

work in the same taste for a pediment, the group representing a bull thrown down and torn by two lions (Fig. 278). "The form of the group was not triangular. The hinder parts of the lions were raised slightly, their fore parts on the contrary resting on the bull, their upper lines of their bodies thus being nearly horizontal and continuous, so that the group could be enclosed rigorously in a rectangle."² Like the groups of Triton and of Typhon, this was cut in relief with certain parts in the round. All this proves that it was also attached to a background and formed a part of the decoration of one of the edifices of the Acropolis; but one can state neither what was that edifice, nor what place the group occupied on it.

note 3.p.541. Lechat. Au musée, p.70.

note 4.p.541. This cut and several others have been liberally loaned to us by the director of the Annales of the university of Lyons. We express here our entire gratitude for them. These cuts will be recognized by the note in Au musée accompanying them.

The scene may be described in these terms:—"The bull is overthrown, is still living but is vanquished and cannot resist, flattened beneath the paws of two lions, one having attacked him in front and the other behind, and commence to devour him. Two of his legs on the right side are bent under him; the two on the left extend on the ground. His head touches the ground; his muzzle opens for the last bellow. The lions hold their victim beneath them; their claws have made round holes in the flank of the animal, from which the blood flows in red streams over the blue skin."¹

note 1.p.542. Lechat. Au musée, p.70.

Unfortunately the group is very much mutilated, although numerous fragments of it have been found, it could not be entirely restored. Yet the general movement of the composition is easily recognized, particularly if one recalls certain analogous monuments, better preserved, such as those sculptures of the frieze of Assos representing a lion killing a bull or a stag (Fig. 106).

We cannot know in what measure the artist knew how to direct to the bodies and members of the lions the gaze suited to the attack made by them, but for the bull the sculptor was

not satisfied to copy models that he had under his eyes. In most of the monuments in which we meet the same subject treated by a sculptor, by an engraver on stone or a painter, the bull has only fallen on one or both knees; he still appears to present a semblance of defense. Here on the contrary is no longer a struggle but defeat without hope; the agony commences. The sculptor is not satisfied with making apparent in the head and neck the heavy and massive vigor of the bull. The idea that he desired to express there is not only that of strength reduced to mercy: he has represented the victim with every part touching the earth at once, thighs, knees, belly and front, beaten to the ground, more than beaten and flattened under the formidable oars of the lions. In seeking for expression, he has even exceeded the aim: the flattening of the animal is not without some exaggeration. "The right thigh is stretched backward, and the bull finds himself making a great stretch, and it is not necessary to have studied thoroughly the anatomy of bulls to prove that they cannot in any case split apart in that way."¹ The position is so forced as to become almost shocking, when the attention is called to that point; but there is one of the defects that do not strike at the first view, and it even seems that the sculptor in the execution of this group has brought in even more boldness and freedom, than he applied in the pediment of Hercules and Typhon. As for the conventional part here, it still remains very considerable: but among the modes of representation of that character, more than one does not disappear so soon. In even the paintings of some of the beautiful vases of Euboea are found the dewlaps and neck of the bull are represented by light parallel lines, as they are here by grooves cut by the gouge in the tufa.

note 1. p. 543. Lechat. au musée. p. 72.

The four compositions that we have just studied are the only ones whose entirety can be restored, at least in the essential parts: but numerous fragments, many of which have not been assembled, prove that other edifices then received the same decoration. By the facility afforded to the tool and the rapidity of the work that it permitted, tufa favored the development of monumental sculpture. By studying more

closely the remains of those groups, one increases the number of the monumental entireties, whose theme at least is eliminated.¹ Thus have been gathered in those excavations the bodies and heads of several serpents, for which men have sought by combinations more or less forced to find places on the pediments of soft stone. Perhaps this was to take useless pains, and it might rather be necessary to represent those serpents placed on bases as votive statues around the temple of the goddess. The relation is known that popular beliefs established between Athena and the serpent. The *egis* was bordered by serpents; beside the chryseleonantine statue of Phidias in the Parthenon rose a serpent with raised head.

note 1.p.544. Wiegand and Dillmann have thus recently restored an entirety, that appears to represent a religious ceremony; but they have made it known so far only by a brief description, which is accompanied by no figure. (Jahrbuch. vol. XVI, p.101). Also see Studniczka, Athen. Mitt. 1880. p. 78-80, pl. II, 2. He believes that he recognizes in the fragment that he studied, found on the south slope of the Acropolis, a scene of the worship of *Pionysos*. That would be a fragment of the pediment of the oldest temple of *Pionysos*.

The sculptures in tufa that decorated the edifices of the Acropolis are what Attic art at that time could produce of most remarkable and most interesting. Not for simple private men were they executed; they were on the account and in the name of the city, to glorify it and to conciliate for it the favor of its gods. It must express the highest ideas that the artist could conceive at that moment, and respond to his noblest efforts. We shall then abstain from insisting on the fragments of less importance, that do not allow it to be divined what was their places and what was the purpose of the figures from which they came.

As far as one can hazard a date in the absence of all historical evidence, it was about the middle of the 6th century that began to be exerted on Attic sculpture influences, that impressed upon it a rapid and sudden impulse, which caused it to make decisive progress in a few years. Until this moment this art, that of image-makers and argument wood and tufa, had existed on its own ground, not con-

borrowed nothing or scarcely anything from the schools more favored by nature or more prompt in profit by the riches of their subsoil, had first thought of chiseling marble. This independent and entirely indigenous art is what it has been proposed to designate by the term of the first Attic archaism; whether one adopts that designation or not, there is space in any case to establish a very clear distinction between it and the art succeeding it, which in an Athens mixed in all the affairs of Greece and fully open to influences from outside, appropriated the procedures already employed by the masters of Ionia as well as those of Delos, Siphnos, and became inspired by the types that they had created.

In the description of these monuments of the oldest Athenian art, we have followed the steps of the acute connoisseur, that has examined them in place with the greatest attention and the most penetrating criticism. Thus we do not believe that we could do better than to reproduce the judgment in which he sums his final impression, that for him results from all his observations: — "The sculptures in tufa -- I speak of the most skilful -- have shown in their figures a serious understanding of proportions, a just feeling for outlines, and a remarkable tendency to vigor and solidity of the structure. They have known how to animate with a certain life their solid structures; but on the other hand, their execution is abrupt and without precision, simplified to excess and rarely accurate in detail. When their works are analyzed, there is revealed a thorough lack of power to render, not even in all its delicate shades, but simply with sufficient correction, the true appearance of actual forms. Now these vices are to be imputed in great part to the technique, as we know: they are joined in an almost inseparable manner to the customs of that technique. They cannot disappear before they have themselves vanished, i.e., before the tufa has been replaced by a different material, for which the technique of tufa will be recognized as unsuited." ¹

note 1. p. 545. Lechat. Les sculptures en tuf., p. 82.

3. Marble Sculpture at Athens. Monumental Sculpture.

Herodotus, after having related the departure of Pisistratus into exile, the sole survivor of the sons of Pisistratus, dates from that revolution the flight of Athenian artists:

"The powers of the Athenians always continued to increase. One could prove in a thousand ways that equality among the citizens is the most advantageous government; this example alone serves to prove it. While the Athenians remained under the power of their tyrants, they were no more distinguished in war than their neighbors; but having once shaken off the yoke, they acquired a great superiority over them. That proves that in the time when they were held in bondage, they behaved slothfully of deliberate purpose, because they worked for a master, and instead of having recovered freedom, each one hastened with ardor to labor for himself."¹ When he wrote these lines, which most modern historians have borrowed from him, Herodotus seems in a certain manner to have been the dupe of an illusion and of what could be called a democratic prejudice. He was charmed by Athens, the Athens of the two Median wars, of the days of Marathon and of Salamis, of Plataea and Mycale; he had been present at the founding of its maritime empire, and saw the Athenian people served and guided by captains and statesmen like Themistocles and Aristides, Cimon and Pericles, opened to commerce that enriched the spacious harbor created at Piraeus, collecting there a powerful war fleet, while the city after being destroyed by the Persian invasion arose from its ruins, and thanks to the tribute from the allies, surrounded itself by a strong enclosure of walls, and decorated itself by marvellous edifices. The admiration is explained that the narrator of the struggle between Asia and Europe felt for the Athenian democracy, which from 490 to 480 offered a prodigious display of patriotism, intelligence and energy; but one is compelled to recognize that under the sway of this feeling, he had not done full justice to the personal acts of Pisistratus and of his sons Hipparchus and Hippias. He relates amusing anecdotes of Pisistratus and his heirs, that he collected in the popular traditions; but he has not fully seized the true character of this period. Aristotle and Plutarch have shown in this respect a more acute historical sense. Aristotle says that "Pisistratus governed less as a tyrant than as a statesman."¹ Likewise Plutarch:

"These tyrants applied themselves at their best to govern with virtue and wisdom; raising from the Athenians only the

tax of the twentieth, they gave to the city a much more beautiful appearance." Herodotus was too near the events to judge them with the same impartiality. When he lived at Athens, he found there men still blinded by that accusation of tyranny by which the aristocratic group had prevailed against Pisistratus and his two successors, ending in overthrowing that dynasty. History is more just now to Pisistratus and his sons. This delayed rehabilitation is largely due to the archaeologists: they have drawn up the inventory of the monuments of all kinds, edifices, marble and bronze sculptures, intaglios and painted vases, which they believe are justly referred to this principate, and they have furnished a precious supplement of information. In that measure, one can combine the lines of a very brilliant picture: a faithful representation of Athenian life, such as between 541 and 510 the generous ambition of Pisistratus had produced, his politics with broad views and his very lively taste for matters of the mind, as well for poetry as for the arts in relief.

note 1.p.546. Herodotus. V. 78.

note 1.p.547. Athenian politics.p.16. Editt Kenyon.

note 2.p.547. Thucydides. VI. 54.

After the mythical age of Erechtheus, Theseus and Aegeus, Athens indeed had at its head kings and archons, who had wisely governed it. Quite recently Solon had given to his fellow citizens laws to which they should remain so long attached, and he had shown in that work a power of reflection and a practical sense to which all antiquity rendered homage; but Pisistratus had no less been the first chief of the Attic State, that had a clear vision of the future destinies of Athens. To Themistocles was reserved the honor of endowing Athens with the admirable port which made its fortune: but if under Pisistratus Athens was content with the harbors of the channel of Euboea and the long strand forming the back of the bay of Phalerus, it henceforth had a navy. Pisistratus always looked toward the Hellespont: if he occupied Sigea there on the Asian side, this was to hold the key of the straits through which passed the commerce of wheat from Thracian Chersonesus and from Scythia. He maintained intimate relations with the Cyclopes where Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos, was his intimate confidant, associated in all his enterpri-

enterprises. These could not be executed without great expense. To provide these, Pisistratus began to exploit the silver mines of Laurium, and with the metal supplied by them, he commenced the coinage of those Attic tetradrachmas, with one side bearing the head of Pallas and the other having the image of the bird dear to the goddess. Then the owls of Athens, as these coins were called, took flight in all directions: they were soon known and sought in all the markets of the Greek world. Traffic carried them across Thrace into the valley of the Danube and even to the shores of the Baltic.

If Pisistratus gathered great riches in his own hands, it was particularly in the interest of the city that he used them to give it a more beautiful appearance and a greater aspect, to ornament it by noble edifices, to cultivate and refine Athenian minds by causing them to drink from the purest sources of elevated poetry, and by initiating them in the practice and enjoyment of all the arts. We have already had occasion to mention some of the buildings due to them, the temple of Athena near the northern border of the Acropolis, that may be termed the Parthenon of Pisistratus,¹ and the fountain of Callirhoe, that he sheltered beneath an elegant portico, after having brought there and to other points of the city, waters taken from the neighboring mountains.² At the foot of the citadel, he enlarged the temple of Apollo Pythios, and laid the foundations of the vast edifice of the Olympieion, which in his mind by its dimensions and its sumptuous decoration must rival the Artemision of Rhodes and the Heraion of Samos. Doubtless from hatred of the tyrant, that the democracy refused to continue that colossal work: the work of it was ^{continued} ~~finished~~ under a Seleucid king: but the construction was only finished by the emperor Hadrian, 650 years after the first stones had been placed. At the north and west of the Acropolis in the plain were new quarters founded, that have streets and squares larger than the ancient quarters, whose little houses were set against the sides of the Acropolis or the rock of the nearest hills: the altar of the twelve gods with the reliefs decorating its faces arose at the middle of the Agora. Soon after at the suggestion of Hiparchus, inventor of the original type, a Hermes were placed at the intersections and angles of the

streets. Thus were termed rectangular pillars surmounted by sculptured heads, those of the gods and heroes, protectors of the city. Later they will reproduce the features of the captains, orators and authors, who made it illustrious. Below and on one face of the pillar is engraved one of the little poems termed epigrams by the Greeks, one or more distichs, several elegant and concise iambics. The passer that stopped before the monument admires the beautiful face modeled there by the sculptor, and at the same time stores his memory with moral sentences, verses borrowed from the poets in vogue, Simonides of Ceos or Anacreon.¹

note 1.p.548. *Histoire de l'art*. vol.VII, p.598; VIII, p.611, fig. 277.

note 2.p.548. The same. vol. VIII, p.28-27.

note 1.p.549. On these hermes and the idea that can be formed of them, see Lolling. *Altattische hermes*. (Athen. VIII, vol. v. p. 244-255).

Pisistratus and his sons were not satisfied with calling to attention of their fellow citizens to these elegiac and lyric poets by this sort of posters: they attracted them to Athens; they urged them to cause their works to be heard. They performed in the musical competitions instituted to give more splendor and variety to the celebration of the Panathenion. In those competitions contemporaries and the favorites of fashion not alone spoke to the imagination. Homer also, the father of Greek poetry, had his fixed place of honor. Pisistratus was interested in arranging and fixing in writing those old epic songs, scarcely preserved until then by oral tradition. Onomacrites of Athens and chosen rhapsodists were employed by him in that task, and it appears that in those Attic festivals before the silent and charmed people, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were for the first time recited from beginning to end, in the form very near that transmitted to us by the Alexandrine critics.

Only in the course of the month of Hekatombeon, that was entirely devoted to these games, the rejuvenated and restored city assumed an animated and brilliant appearance, never previously offered. Everywhere was displayed a luxury in which was felt the imitation of Ionian fashions, that had themselves suffered the influence of Asian taste by the interest

intermediary of the Lydian kingdoms. The vestments of the women are covered by embroidery; men wear on the days of the festival the ample training tunic of the Ionians. The two sexes arrange artistically the tresses of their long hair; the men curl and perfume their beards. The example of these endeavors and of this display is given from above. Pisistratus and especially his sons love rich costumes, beautiful horses, the pomp of solemn processions of horsemen, and banquets enlivened by flute players and dancers. Those processions of horsemen and festival scenes then supplied the ceramic painters with themes, that naturally inspired them. Under the Pisistratides, their industry developed and opened new markets. Athenian potters commenced to export their works and to dispute with the Corinthians, even in Sicily and Italy, that patronage over seas, that they had monopolized for more than a century.

However incomplete may be this rapid sketch, it allows to be divined the importance of the part played by Pisistratus at Athens, what a decisive part he took in arousing the genius, that had slumbered until then. In politics, as in the domain of letters and arts, Pisistratus had just views, and his initiative was fruitful. He first understood that Athens could never derive great benefit from the exploitation of the arid and stony soil that formed its entire domain, but that its future was on that sea into which it projects the extreme point of Attica like the prow of a vessel toward the islands of Asia. The hearings given to the two great Homeric and cyclic poems made familiar to the Athenian mind the most diverse versions of the old national myths; but it was for it a real revelation, those songs accompanied by the flute or the lyre, which were inserted in the Panathenian among the exercises of strength and of agility. Their effect was profound, and the experiences then felt must have been for much in the effort by which soon after, Athens originated tragic and comic drama, both complex creations in which, as in the lyrics of the poets of the preceding age, poetry, music and dancing together concurred to charm and to arouse the souls.

Sculpture owes no less to Pisistratus. In the brilliant scenes that by him the city presented to the eyes, that

knew how to see, in the myths brought into light by compositions of poetry, painters found the elements of scenes that were more attractive and more varied than those that satisfied their predecessors. By ensuring the assistance of architects accustomed to conduct great works of the kind of those that had been executed by the most opulent cities of Ionia, he suggested to the people the desire to build temples no wise inferior to the most famous of the sanctuaries of Greece. Cimon and Pericles will only be the heirs of the ambitions of this chief, and will continue his enterprises. They no less benefited the statuary. The architects brought with them the sculptors, who had to erect at the back of the nave the image of the local deity, to chisel the high reliefs of the pediments and the low reliefs of the friezes. Those Samian, Chiot or Naxian sculptors employed a material and procedures not yet known at Athens; but by seeing these newcomers work, the Attic workmen did not delay to evolve those qualities of imagination and invention, the sense of form and movement that his fathers had already allowed to appear, either in the paintings of the so-called vases of the Dionysos, or later in the terra-cotta sculptures of the temples of the Acropolis. Thus by the effect of the contact established by a sign of Pisistratus, between the foreign masters and local workmen, was born at Athens that school of sculptors, which before long had Pheidias as chief and was continued by Scopas and Praxiteles.

History has indeed not heretofore taken sufficient account of the services, that Pisistratus rendered to Greek civilization, and particularly to his natal city. That indeed paid badly its debt of gratitude. In this history of great lines in which the name of a man sums the efforts of an entire epoch, the 5th century before our era is termed the age of Pericles; would it not be as just to call the preceding century the age of Pisistratus?

If any art felt the flight impressed by Pisistratus and his sons on Athenian society, this is indeed sculpture. How much that was in favor then and what sensible progress it made in brief time, we should never suspect if we were reduced only to use the literary texts. Fortunately, in the rubbish accumulated by the sack and burning of the Acropolis,

there have been found the signatures, either of foreign artists that came to work at Athens, or of Athenian artists trained in the school of those masters. The statues below which were engraved these signatures were thrown from their pedestals and broken in pieces: but of many of them there remain sufficient fragments, that one can appreciate their style, and even by their number, those fragments give the idea of a singularly rich and varied production.

The pedestals have more easily escaped all the chances of destruction than the figures that they served as supports. Many of them may be restored almost intact. Now there have been recovered on these bases the names of several Ionian sculptors. Such are Theodoros of Samos¹ and Archermos of Knios;² also Aristion that on the stele he signs, he recalls that he is from Paros.¹ Pausanias gives the title of Athenian to Endois,² one of the masters that appears to have produced most at Athens under Pisistratus: but there are serious reasons for thinking that Endois was rather an Ionian, that established himself in Attica.³ Pausanias would have taken as his birthplace the city of his ordinary residence, that where the Tegeans came to request from him for their temple of Athena Alea, the chryselephantine statue of the goddess.⁴ Finally, in one or two of the statues of women examined on the Acropolis, it is believed is recognized by the entire character of the execution, the hand of one sculptor of Samos.⁵

note 1.p.551. *ephemeris*. 1886. p.81.

note 2.p.551. *The same*. 1886. p.133-134.

note 1.p.552. *Lamy. Inschriften*. 12.

note 2.p.552. *Pausanias*. I. 26-4.

note 3.p.552. *Collignon. Histoire*. vol. I.p.327, note 1; *Lechat. Le Sculptor Endois*. (*Rev. des études grecques*. vol.V. p.293.x. 1). *Lechat* in that article (p.389-402) proves that Endois belonged to the last third of the 6th century, and still worked at Athens after the Median wars.

note 4.p.552. *Pausanias*. VIII.46-1.

note 5.p.552. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol.VIII.p.295-298, *pl. 120-121*.

Under the influence of Ionian art appears to have been executed between 530 and 510 sculptures in marble of coarse

grain from Paros, in which by the use of that material, with figures a little larger than nature and a character of the theme treated by the artist, have been recognized the remains of a monumental entirety, that judging by the style of the fragments cannot be earlier than the principate of Pisistratus.⁶ There have been recognized the remains of groups that formerly filled the field of a pediment. These groups formed part of a Gigantomachia in which Athena occupied the place of honor, that of the middle under the apex of the pediment (Fig. 279). These statues are not wrought at the back with the same care as in front, which indicates that they were placed against a wall and made to be seen only from one side. Not a torso nor a member was found intact. What remains of these images has been restored only by adjusting together very numerous pieces of marble. By falling from an high, these figures must have been broken thus into small fragments.

Note 6.p.552. For the circumstances of the discovery, the manner in which the fragments have been brought together and the restoration of the whole, see Studniczka, *zu dem Athenskapf in Akropolismuseum*. (Athen. Mitt. XI. 1886, p. 185-199) and H. Schrader, *Die Gigantomachia aus dem Gieble des alten Athenatempels auf der Akropolis*. (Athen. Mitt. XXII, p. 59-112, pls. III, IV).

What is the temple whose pediment was ornamented by these groups? The fragments in question have been collected nearly everywhere, at the east and south of the Parthenon, in the rubbish that after the Median wars served to enlarge the plateau of the Acropolis and to raise its level. For the solution of the problem, there is then no indication to be derived from the relation of the excavations: but reasons of another kind give reason to think that these sculptures ornamented one of the facades of the old temple near the Erechtheum, whose principal arrangements and entire plan have been revealed by recent excavations.¹ That it was dedicated to Athena cannot be doubted. This was the largest and the most richly decorated of the edifices that the Acropolis of Athens contained before the fires of 480 and 479: the effort that it represents could have been attempted only in honor of Pallas Athena Polieuchos, that deity which from

the most remote antiquity was adored as the protectress of the city bearing her name. In several circumstances of his life, Pisistratus is seen to exhibit a very particular devotion that he felt toward the goddess.¹ After his first exile, he arranged to reenter Attica under the protection and even in the procession of Athena, represented by a beautiful woman on a chariot with a helmet on her head, armed with the *egis* and the spear. The measures are known that he took to give more splendor to the festival of the Panathenaeon. Finally, perhaps he first placed on the Attic coins that head of Athena, which was to remain the characteristic insignia for several centuries.

note 1.p.553. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, p.528, pls. 14, 19, 47, 48; vol. VIII, page 541.

note 1.p.554. *Herodotus*. I, 60.

Indeed from this temple came the fragments of the *Gigantomachia*. The marble of them is the same as that which the architect has used in his entablature. It also accords in the proportions. The principal figure of the composition, Athena triumphant, is 6.95 ft. high: add to this for the ridge of the helmet about 0.95 foot, and you will have just the height that according to the analogy of other Doric edifices, there is reason to assign to a pediment 63.0 ft. long inside.²

note 2.p.554. *Schrader. Die Gigantomachie*. p.91. The figures are those of Perrot.

The central group, Athena giving the final stroke to a giant fallen on the ground, has been almost entirely restored. The giant is thrown on the earth, and must have held a sword in the right hand; but of the left arm there remains only the part belonging to the shoulder; it cannot be stated whether he leaned on an adjacent figure or on the shield that he bore; as for Athena, she thrusts her spear with the right hand, while with the left she seizes on the stem of the crest the helmet of her adversary. In each of the two angles of the triangle is a wounded giant, the body supported by one knee and one hand, extending in a line parallel to the rake (Fig. 280). Thus the middle of the two ends of the composition are known to us; but there remains nothing of the intermediate parts. It is conjectured that on each side of Athena was a group of combatants, composed of a god

standing and a giant resting on one knee. The two gods, Zeus and perhaps Hercules, must extend from the centre against their most distant adversaries at the angles of the pediment. As for the other figures that still assumes a space to a certain extent, we know nothing of their attitudes: but it appears certain that there were not seen, as on the pediments of Regina, two opposed files of combatants, each occupying half the tympanum. The scene is decomposed into a series of isolated groups. Only much later in the 5th century did the sculptor occupy himself in connecting together more or less closely the different personages engaged in a common action.

In any case, one can judge the qualities of the execution from the fragments preserved. What is first striking is the correctness and freedom of the movement. If a minute criticism reveals here slight inaccuracies, some uncertainty in the indication of the muscles of the chest and abdomen, as well as perhaps a too marked reduction at the height of the naunches, there are certain traits that reveal the science of the sculptor: for example, see the feet with the suppleness of their toes, that on one of the giants need to stretch to find a point of support on the ground.

What particularly forms the originality of these sculptures is the character of the interpretation given to the human form. The execution is broad and flowing: it is suited to the place that the figures must occupy. The artist has not shown the body, like the sculptors of the pediments of Regina, as one would see it quite near, when the eye loses nothing of the least fold of the skin, of the most reserved of the accents by which are marked the bases and the swellings of the muscles. He has presented this body as it would be perceived by a spectator standing before the facade of the temple, who looks at the pediment and the persons that act there: from below are only visible the masses and the outlines enclosing them. With the statuary is no small merit to know how thus to place himself at the point and calculate its effect.

As in all the other works of the same period, touches of color were here applied on the marble. By them the hair, the different accessories and draperies were vigorously de-

detached on the light tones of the nudes, and the different parts of the costume and armor of Athene were distinguished from each other, sprinkled by ornaments by which was defined the richness of the fabrics that decorated the goddess.¹

note 1. p. 548. Schrader. die Gigantomachie. p. 66-68, 82-90.

In all that, what gives the highest idea of the talent of the artist is the head of Athena, of the fragments first discovered after 1862 (Fig. 231). Archaic art has offered us nothing else, that can be compared to this face of a very pure and slightly elongated oval, to these fine and soft features illuminated by a slight smile. The gesture of the arm was violent; but the daughter of Zeus was certain to conquer, and her face remained calm, even in the fury of the combat.

These sculptures bear the date on themselves. Art is too advanced and taste is too delicate for them to be placed before the fourth quarter of the 7th century. The works undertaken by Pisistratus must have lasted a long time; the pediment could have received its decoration only under Cleisthenes, very near the year 510. What would also plead in favor of this hypothesis is the fact of the complete nudity here attributed to the giants. They have the chest covered by the cuirass in the Gigantomachias of the treasury of Megara (Fig. 231), the most ancient metopes of Selinonte (Figs. 250, 251), and of the treasury of Gnidos (Figs. 172-177), as in those of the vases painted with black figures.² Only when the century approaches its end does the sculptor feel himself sufficiently sure of his chisel, in the representation of battles, to seize the occasion offered him to show the entire human body in the free display of its energy and in the beauty of its nude form. The same change is then produced in the paintings of vases with red figures. About the same time among the painters as among the sculptors appeared the image of the young and beardless giant. The artists of the first archaic age usually gave to these enemies of the gods a bushy beard and the appearances of old age; these distinguish them at first sight from those immortals, most of whom have the same air of blooming youth, in spite of the diversity of their roles. There is a desired contrast, whose purpose is readily understood.

note 2.p.548. In the Gigantomachy of the treasury of Caldos are two or three nude giants; but those are corpses extended on the ground, and that can be assumed as despoiled of their arms by the conquerors. All the combatants have the cuirass.

A last question is proposed regarding these figures:—from what group of artists did Pisistratus or his sons order the groups intended for the pediment of their edifice? Is it necessary to see here the work of an Attic sculptor or that of a foreign master, that the tyrants called to Athens? To attempt to solve this problem, one can base it only on the study of the style of the statues. It is first proper to place aside those sculptors of Sicily and of Egina, whose works seem to have been sought at Athens toward the end of the 5th century, as we are informed by their signatures found on several pedestals on the Acropolis. Those artists, whose style is especially known by the pediments of Egina, were trained in the school of bronze. The interpretation of nature given by them is not the same as in the figures of the Gigantomachia; this not the same spirit nor the same procedure in rendering. One can then scarcely hesitate in this attribution only between the Attic and Ionian schools.

At first view the temptation is great to place this work to the credit of some famous island sculptor, like Praxiteles or Athenis. By the nobility and purity of the lines as by the freshness of the flesh, it is believed that is found here something of the execution of the best steles of Greece and of the islands; also something of the friezes of the treasury of the Cnidians; a perfume of Ionism seems to exhale from these marbles. Still on a closer view many differences are noted. The modeling is here less felt and more involved than in the reliefs of Delphi. On the other hand, the arrangement of the ornamentation and drapery of the Athena of the pediment is less complex than on the votive figures, where one is inclined to recognize the taste and influence of the sculptors of Chios. Neither in the folds of her vestment nor in the arrangement of her hair is there anything of those caprices of the chisel, and those minutiae of detail, that sometimes ends in affectation. The countenance of Athena does not resemble most of the "Korai" of the Acropolis.

Acropolis: Not there is found that smile which is not exempt from archness, nor the eyes on almond shape. Those of the goddess are very open with sufficiently projecting eyeballs. The oval of the face is broad. The cheeks are fleshy and full as on the heads of Typhon (Pl. III) and also on the statue of Antenor (Pl. II). There is here a harmony of the monumental sculpture, which we have already seen appear among the image-makers, which cut in tufa the gods and monsters of the older pediments. The tradition of those predecessors is then continued by the statuary of the Gigantomachia, but with a very different knowledge of the living form and a freedom of hand, that he owes to the instructions received in the use of marble.

This filiation seems established with yet more certainty, if as conjectured, from the second of the pediments of the temple of Pisisratus come the fragments of a group, which like that already described (Fig. 273), represents the crushing of a bull by a lion.¹ Its material is the same bluish marble with coarse grains from which were made the giants and Athena; the marble has received the same polish on all parts. As seen by the piece that we reproduce (Fig. 282), the sculptor of this group takes the same methods as his predecessor in the rendering of certain details. He represents in the same manner the dewlaps of the bull and locks of the hair of the lion, the joints of the members; he makes nearly the same use of color. One would call it a product of the same workshop.

note 1. p. 559. Schrader. Gigantomachia. p. 103-104.

However it may be with this hypothesis, it seems difficult to deny the bond that connects a work already so advanced as the Gigantomachy with the most ancient reliefs of the pediments of soft stone; but while noting those analogies, it is proper to remember that in the interval, the Attic sculptor has learned much from his Ionian masters. They have taught him the technics of marble; now he possesses it fully. Each of his figures, even those larger than nature and very bold movements has been cut in a single block of marble, where a very skilful tool has carved the projecting portions that are but slightly attached to the background, like the axis that supports before the body the left arm of Athena.

and like the coils of the serpents forming the border of that egis. The sculptor could only acquire that skill by frequenting the island practitioners, for whom after the middle of the century the working of marble no longer had any secrets.

What the Attic sculptor owed to the examples of the Ionian masters is further not only that rather secondary skill of the marble cutter; it is something more precious, the feeling for grace and beauty. In the spirited sketches of the earlier rude workman he found robustness of body and free movement, but what could make him comprehend how one could place elegance even in the display of force and make the lines of the face expressive, was in works such as the Gigantomachy and the Assembly of the gods on the treasury of Cnidos. He certainly derived a method from those works and also others of the same school, that are unknown to us; but he has no less retained his own tendencies and his independence. Called to collaborate with the architect, he proposes before all to contribute to the general effect by subordinating the mode of execution, that he will adopt for his figures to the requirements of the panel awaiting them. To obtain that result he only retains the principal lines of the form, and he applies himself to simplify the rendering given by him. In the measure that we can judge of it by the little which remains from the monumental sculpture of the 6th century, this preoccupation is more apparent in him than in any other of his contemporaries and rivals.

With regard to the Gigantomachy and the character of its types, we have recalled the memory of the statue of a woman to which seems to belong a base on which is read the signature of Antenor (Pl. II). These resemblances have already been noted, and it has been asked if it is not proper to honor that artist with the decoration of the pediment. Antenor is the sole Attic sculptor of this time known by literary tradition, and the work it attributes to him had quite a history. This work was the statues representing the slayers of the tyrants, Harmodius and Aristogiton, the murderers of Hipparchus.¹ Ordered of Antenor by the people after the expulsion of Hippias (510), they had been erected at the south end of the Agora on a place called the Orchestra

at the entrance of the street ascending from the market to the Acropolis; but in 480 Xerxes carried them away to Susa. They were returned about two centuries later, sent to the Athenians either by Alexander, by Seleucus Nicator or by Antiochus 3rd: evidence varies on this subject.² To the little that we know of Antenor, epigraphy has just added new information. There has been found on the Acropolis the base of the votive image on which is read the following inscription: - "Nearchos the potter has dedicated this to Athena as the first fruits of his labors; Antenor, son of Eumares made the statue"(Pl. II).³

note 1.p.561. Pausanias. I, 8-5. There is indeed also a question of a certain Amphicrates, that at the same time had been charged with perpetuating under the form of a lioness the memory of Leodora, player of the lyre and friend of the conspirators, who refused to give up their secrets in spite of torture; but no replica of that statue is known, and the name of Amphicrates has not been found on the bases on the Acropolis.

note 2.p.561. Pliny. H.N.XXXIV.70. Arrian. Anabasis.III, 16-7; VII, 19-2. Valerius Maximus.II, 10.(Extract). Pausanias as before.

note 3.p.561. C. I. Att. IV, 1-373⁸¹.

The statue of a woman that this pedestal supported is the largest of all those of the same kind discovered on the Acropolis: it is also one of the most beautiful.⁴ Then one does not hesitate to recognize in the sculptor that executed it the one, from whose talent was demanded by the city the monument to perpetuate the memory of liberty reconquered. Contrary to the custom of most sculptors, whose signatures are engraved on these bases, Antenor has added to his name that of his father Eumares, and what proves that he adhered to that mention is, that he has repeated it on another pedestal found in the trenches.¹ It is then justifiable to admit that this Eumares was also a famous person, identified with the painter that Pliny calls Eumares the Athenian, and whom he cites before Cimon of Cleones as having made great progress in his art.² The inscription thus combines the names of these artists in vogue in this last quarter of the 6th century: - the statuary Antenor, Eumares the painter

of frescos, and Nearchos, the ceramic painter.² To it is further due a precious information. Pliny says nothing of the native country of Antenor: but from the inscription on the base we have a right to count him among the Attic masters. Without this evidence, one could have seen in him one of those foreign artists like Callon and Onatas, that worked for Athens on the eve of the Median wars. The images of the slayers of the tyrants were bronze statues. Now the cities famed for the professional skill of their bronze founders then were Corinth, Sicyon and Teina; nothing indicates to us that this industry flourished at Athens under the Pisistratides. Antenor could have his group cast in metal in some workshop of Teina; but it was indeed a citizen of Athens, who was charged with reviving at the cost of the Athenian democracy the two heroes in whose honor was heard in festivals the celebrated song of Callicrates:--

"I will carry my sword and a branch of myrtle
Like Harmodios and Aristogiton,
When they killed the tyrant

And established at Athens equality of laws."

note 4.p.561. On the subject of the attribution to this statue of the base bearing the inscription, which was proposed by Studniczka (*Jahrb.d.Arch.Inst.*, p.135), see the doubts expressed by R. Gardner (*Jour.Hell.Stud.* X, p.278; XI, p.212). Reberdey has resumed the question and shows that this attribution was at least very probable, if not absolutely certain (*Athen.Mitt.* XV.p.126).

note 1.p.562. C.I.Att. IV-I, 272.²²

note 2.p.562. Pliny.H.N.XIV, 56.

note 3.p.562. On Nearchos, see O. Penndorf. *Griech. und Skl. Vasenbilder*. Pl. XIII, p. 235. This Nearchos appears to have been the father and master of two ceramic painters, whose works have been found in Etruria. Both sign:-- PO Nearchos.

If through Athenians the song has reached us, has the work of Antenor, the expression in relief of the same sentiments, had the same fortune and also left its trace in the legacy of antique art? With the material of which those figures were made, one could scarcely hope that the originals had survived, but it is believed that an imitation of them is recognized in two marble statues of the museum of Naples.⁴

these were found only in fragments: they had been unskillfully restored, and yet even in this heterogeneous entirety is still found the characteristic movement, that of the assault which the conspirators prepared to make on the tyrants. At the same time the study of the really ancient parts of these marbles permits one to affirm, that the sculptor of the Hellenistic or Roman age to which this group is due, reproduced with sufficient fidelity the style of his model, certainly a model of archaic bronze. It is said that this model was the group of Antenor, and that of this we have the image at a very reduced scale on a Panathenaic amphora, at the centre of the shield of Athena, in the field of several Attic tetradrachmas, and on leaden tokens struck in the name of the city: it is recalled by a relief that decorated a marble seat discovered on the site of the ancient prytaneum.¹

Note A.p. 562. Studniczka. (Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst. 188..p. 141-142).

Note 1.p. 563. On these questions see Collignon, Histoire. vol. I, p. 368-370.

The hypothesis was seductive. Thus one ascended, through means of a late copy, even to the most ancient honorary statues erected to private men by a Greek city. Unfortunately, there is a very serious difficulty. These two statues did not remain standing in the Agora more than twenty or twenty-five years at most. On the morrow of Plataea the care of replacing the cherished and vanished images was confided to two sculptors, Critios and Nesiotes, who seem to have enjoyed great vogue at that time, and who almost always worked together. After 477, two years after the return of the Athenians to their homes, the new statues of Harmodius and of Aristogiton were erected just where the citizens had in vain sought them with their eyes on their return to the devastated city. They must be in bronze like their predecessors, reproducing as accurately as possible their arrangement and attitude: the substitution would be less apparent and would better efface all trace of the violence of the barbarians.

Note 2.p. 563. The fact of the execution of the statues is attested by Lucian (Philopseudes, 18) and the date is furnished by the chronicle of Paros. (Epoch I, line 70 et seq.).

If to restore the lost work the city did not apply to Antenor, it is evident that he had ceased to live, otherwise

nothing would have been simpler than to demand from him a replica of the group. The two chosen masters knew it: from the rubbish of the Acropolis were drawn several bases on which are read their names: but the generation to which they belonged was already not that of Antenor. Pliny makes them contemporaries of Hegesias, Alcamene and Phidias: they certainly continued to produce after the Median wars. While compelled to preserve to the group its general appearance, that had remained in the memory of the Athenians, they were not to carry into the execution of these two figures the habits of their hands and chisels: then they lived in one of the times in which art had made a singularly rapid progress, as about the end of the 5th century of our era in Italy, when from year to year the sculptor and the painter more closely approached the form, and in the interpretation given to it placed a freedom more free from convention.

The question is then to know, in the measure that one can judge of the model by the copy, if that carries us back to the originals which by the character of their execution must date from 510 or 477. Now the reply to that question cannot be doubtful. The style of the works of the first half of the 5th century is recalled by the two statues of Naoles by more than one significant trait.¹ The monument aimed at by the images mentioned above is the second group, that during the two centuries in which Athens held the first rank in Greece, recalled to the Athenians the high deeds of their ancestors, not that ghost which reappeared in the fallen city after Cheronea and Crannon, by the scornful politeness of an oriental sovereign.

Note 1. p. 564. The proof seems to me to have been made by Potho Graf. (*Die Gruppe der Tyrannenmörder und stitilistische verwandte Werke in Athen.* (Athen-Mitt. vol. xv, pag. 29). See Bruno Sauer. (*RM. Mitt.* 1900, pag. 219-222).

If this be so, no longer can be placed to the credit of Antenor more than the statue of a woman under which is read his name, and from that alone must be demanded if there be any plausible motive for attributing to Antenor the sculptured decoration of the temple erected by Pisistratus. Near each other in the museum, the two works lend themselves to a comparison: but that does not solve the question. Doubtless

there is some analogy between the figures in the metopæ, and the oval of the face is nearly the same form: the eyes have the same cut: but in the face of Athena is a search for expression not found in that of the votive image. Also the drapery is treated in the same manner. In the figure formerly placed at the apex of the temple must the folds of the fabric have more vigor and effect: now they are less hollowed and more summarily indicated than on the statue much nearer the eye of the spectator. The sculptor of the Gigantomachia of the pediment then remains unknown to us: but one can affirm that he must be a contemporary of Antenor.

To those Attic sculptors of the last quarter of the 6th century the Alcmeonides had to appeal when they bargained with the Amonictyons for the undertaking of the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹ Even in exile, those chiefs of the most illustrious of the noble families of Athens had retained a very great fortune, which they employed in preparing their return to the city from which Pisistratus had expelled them. They had every interest in choosing among their compatriots at least some of their collaborators: this was a means of recalling themselves to the memory of the people in whose ranks they still counted numerous partisans. According to Pausanias, they took as architect a Corinthian, Smintharos, and two Athenian sculptors, Praxias and Rudemos, executed the sculptures of the pediments. The assertion of Pausanias seems to agree with what is known of the events of the time and of the struggles of parties: but when after having uncovered the site of the celebrated sanctuary, the results of the excavations were compared to the statements of Pausanias, all is found uncertain and in apparent contradiction. Among the problems that in the course of the work were placed before those following its progress, if one fact occurred to excite the curiosity of the learned, this was that of the history itself of the temple of Apollo: but it is not one placing criticism in great embarrassment, caught as it was between two evidences seeming to contradict each other, the statements of Pausanias and those made by the stones of the edifice to whoever knows how to understand their language.

Note 1. p. 565. Herodotus. II, 180; V, 62; Aristotle, Politic

Athenion, XIX. On this temple see *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. VII, p. 599-600.

note 2. p. 565. Pausanias. x. 19-4.

When the area of the temple had been laid bare, and the inventory made of all the scattered remains, which formerly must have entered into the composition of the edifice, men did not fail to be greatly surprised; in what was found found of the proportions of the temple its columns and their capitals, there was nothing which gave the impression of an edifice of the 6th century. By their proportions and profiles, all those parts of the entirety suggested the idea of a date much more recent. The explanation of this anomaly is found in many historical texts, that had not previously attracted attention; those implied a rebuilding of the temple executed in the 4th century like that of the 6th century made by the Amphictyons, with funds collected from all Greece.¹ After a fire or an earthquake, the temple was rebuilt even to the foundations; in these were found employed as materials drums of columns and pieces of the cornice of the temple of the Alcmeonides. Pausanias calls the temple of his time the new temple.

note 1. p. 566. One will find these texts commented on in a memoir of Romolle, *Le temple d'Apollon*. (Comp. rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1890, p. 328, 341). Also see P.C.F. 1896, p. 641. 654. The last word on the subject has been said by the same learned man in a memoir: *Monuments figures de Delphes. Les frontons du temple d'Apollon*, first article. (P.C.F. 1901, p. 547-515, pls. IX-XVI, XVIII-XX). Romolle there describes the fragments that he attributes to the pediments of the temple of the Alcmeonides; he proposes to resume in a second essay the study of the texts that have treated of the history of the edifice and of its decoration.

note 2. p. 566. Pausanias. Against Pausanias. 116.

The first enigma was solved; but other difficulties presented themselves. Pausanias attributes the sculptures seen by him in the pediments to two Athenian sculptors, one of whom was a pupil of Calamis, according to him. Now Calamis lived and worked in the first half of the 5th century, and between 530 and 500 the Alcmeonides executed their works at Delphi. Those were certainly completed when in 487 Sordarus,

celebrating the victory in a chariot race of Megacles, chief of that illustrious family, cried:— "All cities cherish those citizens of Erechtheus, who in the divine Prytæa erected the splendid temple, O Phoebus!"³ On the other hand, the trenches have not furnished the least remains of sculpture, that could be referred to the groups that according to Pausanias filled the tympanums of the edifice described by him. On the contrary, in the immediate vicinity of the temple have been collected a number of fragments of statues, that by their dimensions and mode of execution appear to have formerly made a part of the decoration of a pediment: the backs were only roughed: then had visibly been made to be placed against a wall. Those fragments separated of themselves into two series. The material of one was the calcareous tufa and of the other the island marble. The style was further the same in the figures of tufa and in those of marble: it was of the 6th century. Neither by the statement of Pausanias nor by the results of the excavations was known near the temple any other edifice to which could be assigned figures of this cut and character: then quite naturally found themselves led to propose to recognize there the remains of the two pediments of the temple for which Pindarus gave the honor to the Alcæonides, and what could still add much to the probability of this conjecture was the information supplied by Herodotus of the liberality with which those contractors of a rare kind acquitted themselves of the task that they had assumed: although not required by their contract, which only provided for tufa, they had employed the marble of Paros for the front of the temple. The marble pediment was that which the Amphictyons owed to the munificence of those great lords.

note 3.c.566. Pindarus. Pythics. VII, verses 8-11.

If all those figures are broken into fragments, they do not appear to have been exposed long to the air. No traces of erosion are to be seen, and in places the colors on which they were covered are very well preserved. This is because they could scarcely have remained more than a century in the tympanums exposed to storms. When the temple was rebuilt, they were placed on the ground, buried in the rubbish. Thus all concurs in justifying the conjecture to which investigation

investigations have led: these two series of fragments represent what remains of the sculpture of the two pediments of the temple around which arose the trophies of the two Median wars.

As for the pediments of the temple of the 4th century, that seen by Pausanias, the excavations have yielded nothing that can be attributed to them. There is only one hypothesis which explains the total disappearance of these entireties: in the 4th century of our era, when Apollo had ceased to reign at Delphi, these figures were removed, like many other monuments of Greek genius, to decorate some edifice or public place in Constantinople. Whatever Pausanias says of them in the text that we possess, they further could not be by a pupil of Calamis. The pupils of Calamis were not born when the temple of the Alcmeonides was built: they were dead when the Amphictyons for the second time asked the Greek cities to aid them in restoring the temple of Apollo. One suspects there either a confusion caused by the periegete or the fault of the copist. Another difficulty:—the strophes of the Ion of Euripides that allude to the sculptured decoration of the temple. What is seen and described there is the chorus, are these the groups of the pediments?¹ Some of the sculptured themes meant by the poet could have found place in the pediments: but other subjects indicated could not enter into this theme, and rather cause one to think of metopes. There has also been mention of frescoes or tapestries.

note 1. p. 567. Euripides. Ion. verses 184-217.

For all these questions, some of which perhaps never will permit a reply imposed with absolute certainty, we can only refer to the solutions presented as most probable by W. Doehle, who for ten years has been intimate with these ruins and has daily lived in their intimacy. We shall then limit ourselves to indicating here after such a complete study touching all those points, what were the motifs chosen by the sculptor to seek in them the theme of his two compositions. Some images, according to the figures that have suffered least, allow one to appreciate the execution and the merit of the work. Perhaps they will permit us to hazard at least a conjecture concerning the school from which came the anonymous creator of these entireties.

Of the marble pediment remain the most numerous and most important fragments: yet that is the one whose subject it is most difficult to divine. One can demand this secret neither from the groups of animals that fill the angles (Fig. 283), nor from the torsos of women in which by their dimensions are recognized the personages, placed in the field at a certain distance from the middle (Fig. 284). The case is not the same for the other pediment. There were two statues, however mutilated they may be which suggest a conjecture of great probability (Figs. 285, 286). Their attitude and appearance are sufficiently significant, that one can scarcely hesitate to affirm that they formed a part of a representation of the combat between the gods of Olympus and the giants. In the torso of a woman that projects forward, in her fast sweeping with her and raising in great folds the drapery surrounding her, is recognized Athena. This movement of the body and the cloth we have already seen given to the goddess in the various replicas of this scene by the sculptors of the treasury of Chios (Fig. 175), of temple at Selinonte (Fig. 259), and of the old temple of the Acropolis (Fig. 279). As for the male personage of which remains the entire bust and nearly all the right leg, he is likewise known to us by the same groups: he is ordinarily called Enceladus. We can replace him in thought in the position that he occupied with one knee on the ground and both feet contracted against the ear, where he sought a point of support.

By reason of the difference in the materials, color was not employed in the same fashion on the two pediments. On the figures of tufa, it extended in flat tints as on the Triton and Typhon of the Acropolis: thus the body of Enceladus was entirely painted red. On the contrary, on the other facade the sculptor derived an ornamental effect from the whiteness of the marble of Paros, to which he had given a beautiful polish. The brush was satisfied by accenting some details of the figures and vestments, hair in reddish orange, pupils of the eyes in black, manes of lions in yellow and red, streams of blood in bright red on the bodies of animals torn by lions, designs traced in blue on the borders of the clothing of the women, etc. The style is nearly the same in the figures of tufa as those of marble. Also is

Of the marble pediment remain the most numerous and most important fragments: yet that is the one whose subject it is most difficult to divine. One can demand this secret neither from the groups of animals that fill the angles (Fig. 223), nor from the torsos of women in which by their dimensions are recognized the personages, placed in the field at a certain distance from the middle (Fig. 224). The case is not the same for the other pediment. There were two statues, however mutilated they may be which suggest a conjecture of great probability (Figs. 225, 226). Their attitude and appearance are sufficiently significant, that one can scarcely hesitate to affirm that they formed a part of a representation of the combat between the gods of Olympus and the giants. In the torso of a woman that projects forward, in her fast sweeping with her and raising in great folds the drapery surrounding her, is recognized Athena. This movement of the body and the cloth we have already seen given to the goddess in the various replicas of this scene by the sculptors of the treasury of Chios (Fig. 175), of temple at Selinonte (Fig. 259), and of the old temple of the Acropolis (Fig. 279). As for the male personage of which remains the entire bust and nearly all the right leg, he is likewise known to us by the same groups: he is ordinarily called Phakeladus. We can replace him in thought in the position that he occupied with one knee on the ground and both feet contracted against the ear, where he sought a point of support.

By reason of the difference in the materials, color was not employed in the same fashion on the two pediments. In the figures of tufa, it extended in flat tints as on the Triton and Typhon of the Acropolis: thus the body of Phakeladus was entirely painted red. On the contrary, on the marble facade the sculptor derived an ornamental effect from the whiteness of the marble of Paros, to which he had given a beautiful polish. The brush was satisfied by accentuating some details of the figures and vestments, hair in reddish orange, pupils of the eyes in black, manes of lions in yellow and red, streams of blood in bright red on the bodies of animals torn by lions, designs traced in blue on the borders of the clothing of the women, etc. The style is nevertheless the same in the figures of tufa as those of marble. Also:

a fragment of marble has been recognized the image of a Nike, that must have served as an acroteria at the angle of the front facade (Fig. 287).

This style is that of Attic sculpture in the last years of the 6th century: it was born under the influence of Ionian models; but before the Median wars, it had already lost its originality. This is what is felt when one compares these fragments to the sculptures of the treasury of Croesus. That must have made a sensation at Delphi by even the beauty of the material and by the richness of its decoration; perhaps it suggested to the Alcmaeonides the idea of endowing the temple with a facade of marble of Paros. It has been believed possible to prove that the sculptors of the temple borrowed from those who worked for the Croesians, certain themes and characteristic attitudes, and even in detail certain procedures in rendering. Their execution however is different; it bears the mark of a later date and another style. The proportions here are longer and the forms are less full, although still robust. The muscles are less strongly accented and the modeling is softer. What recalls the male figure of the tufa pediment are the bodies of the giants of the pediment on the Acropolis of Athens (Fig. 279, 280). The giants are nude here as at Athens. That is one of the traits by which are recognized that the sculptures of the great temple are later than those of the treasury of Croesus. As for the female figures, by their pose, the arrangement of the headdress and clothing, the manner in which is treated the drapery, they arouse the memory of the statue of Antenor (Pl. II) and of the votive figures, that are called the xonai of the Acropolis (Pls. IV, V). The Nike causes us to think of the replicas in marble and bronze of the two created by Arcnermos, that came from the same excavations at Athens.

While citing names that cannot be those of the authors of those archaic statues found at Delphi, is ^{Pausanias} then correct when he attributes to Attic masters the honor of having decorated the pediments of the temple of Apollo. About the year 500 those sculptors must have been ordered either from Antenor, or from one of his contemporaries or rivals.

There is also another monument of the glory and taste of

Athena, which was exhumed by Homolle, and which for the history of art presents no less interest than the treasury of Onidos or the double series of figures, that escaped from the ruin of the archaic temple of Apollo: we speak of the treasury of the Athenians. Perhaps one expects to see here the reliefs that filled the fields of its thirty metopes. On reflection, we have decided to postpone the study. It seems demonstrated that whatever the date, Pausanias was not mistaken when he affirms that the edifice was built in memory of Marathon with the booty obtained on that day.¹ It would then only be after 490 that the erection of the treasury would have been decided on and commenced. Now it is very possible that the work had not been entirely completed, when the menace of the expedition prepared by Xerxes came to interrupt all work of that kind.

Note 1. p. 572. Pausanias. V. 22-4. Among learned men that have particularly occupied themselves with Delphi, Pontor is alone in thinking that this edifice was erected between 510 and 500. Furtwängler is not in accord with Homolle in accepting the assertion of Pausanias.

However that may be, these reliefs by the entire character of their execution appear to me rather to come from the art of the 5th century than that of the 6th. Their true place seems to me to be at the head of a series of works on which are represented the efforts and style of masters like Critios and Nesiotes, Hegias and Calamis, who between the second Median war and the full flight of the power of Athens, allied themselves as useful precursors of Myron and Phidias, to refine the eyes of the Attic sculptor and to emancipate his hand.

4. Marble Sculpture.--Feminine Type.--Votive Statues.

Of all the monumental sculpture assured for the numerous edifices built by Pisistratus and his sons, there remain only very slight fragments, even with the addition of the pediments of Delphi: they do not suffice to inform us as it did for their time the sculptures in soft stone of the most ancient temples of the city, on the movement at Athens of the art of statuary during the second half of the 6th century. That we are not given by the too rare fragments of the great enterprises now vanished without return, must be

demanded from another series better soaked or time, and first from that richest of all, that curious series of 14 statues discovered on Feb. 5 and 6, 1886, in the rubbish between the Erechtheum and the north wall of the Acropolis. To those figures that all came from the same trench are added others very similar to the first, that in the course of the excavations were found at other points of the citadel. This type is represented today at the museum by 23 statues more or less well preserved.¹

note 1.p.574. Sixth hall of the museum, numbers 670-688.

The material of all these statues is the same, a marble from the islands with a grain more or less fine, on which are laid in places touches of color, more discreetly used here than was done, when the sculptor wrought only soft stone (Pls. IV, V).² All reproduce the same type, that of a woman with one leg slightly borne forward, ordinarily the left, standing and ready to walk. One of the arms, most frequently the left, falls along the haunch and its hand seizes a fold of the drapery, that it lifts. The other arm is bent at the elbow. The hand on that side holds an offering, bird, fruit, crown or vial of perfume; here it is pressed against the chest (Fig. 222); there now broken, it projected forward and served to present it to the deity. All aims at elegance in these images; the body by its elongated proportions and slenderness, the face with the expression that the sculptor has striven to give it, the headress or the case in its arrangements, the pose by which it desires grace, the drapery by the richness of the ornaments that flourish on the middle bands and borders.

note 2.p.574. See above, chapter VIII, 2.

What first attracts the attention is the costume with its apparent complexity and the number of pieces composing it. Sometimes one and sometimes another of these is lacking on a certain statue, and even when all are combined on one statue marble, they do not present themselves always in the same fashion. To recognize them there one must closely examine all those figures and institute a methodical comparison between them from that point of view.¹

note 1.p.576. In this entire description of the costume of the xoana, we can only follow while abridging the min-

minute and penetrating study made of them: by V. Lechat on the monuments themselves. (Au musée, pp 150-192).

It is here apparent by the entire character of the dress and the minute care in details, that the sculptor of these images has not freely employed the drapery, as his successors did later, to emphasize the forms of the body, but that he desired to represent the Athenian woman of his time in her attire for festal days. Now the tunic was for that woman what the chemise is for our contemporaries, the indispensable vestment, that she laid aside neither while awake nor asleep. This tunic was usually made of fine linen cloth; but for winter there were also tunics of wool. Whether on the shoulder and at one side the edges of a rectangular piece of cloth forming the tunic were joined together by an entire series of brooches -- this was the most ancient fashion, -- or like the later custom, by some sewed points, the tunic was always merely the chemise, that left the neck quite open and was drawn to the waist by a small cord, falling even to the feet and dragging behind on the ground. This excessive length must have interfered with walking. It was then necessary to raise the vestment a little. That originally employed one of the hands, which on the outside of the tunic gathered all the folds of the vestment that it could grasp: this is then the explanation of the gesture that we have mentioned (Fig. 289). Besides the movement is a little different. Between the legs is gathered the superfluous fabric. It forms there a large bundle whose top is held by the hand (Fig. 290). Where this does not fulfil that office, all the great folds of the chiton are collected at the middle and piled on each other, then drawn slightly upward to clear the feet, the whole being kept in place only by the pressure of the cord that serves as a girdle (Fig. 291). This arrangement is further much rarer than that of supporting the tunic by one or both hands.

This chemise was ornamented by embroideries, like those worn today by Albanian peasant women of the suburbs of Athens. We have described this polychrome ornamentation in reference to the polychromy of statues.¹

note 1.p.577. See above, p.222-223, fig. 22.

The chiton had as its principal ornament at its middle,²

wide band, ordinarily decorated by a fret, which falls vertically when the tunic remains free, and which on the figures where the hands raise its folds, is curved to leave the abdomen to reach the hand at the side of the thigh. (Pl. V). On the rest of the fabric one finds traces of small motives scattered, such as flowers, blue crosses, red and blue stars enclosed within a circle (Pls. IV, V).

On certain of these statues is a very marked difference between the appearance of the top and the bottom of the drapery (Figs. 290, 291). No visible girdle. About the legs above the knees are nothing but irregular and dry folds quite far apart, while around the bust are seen numerous parallel grooves, slightly wavy. One would have thought at first that there were two superposed pieces of the female costume, the tunic with its lower part alone visible, above it being a vestment concerning which is sometimes a question among authors, but particularly for men, the little or short tunic. This would have been a sort of knitted plush with large meshes, analogous to the vest of sailors or what we term sweater. This was an error of interpretation that did not resist a more careful examination of the monuments.¹ See now it is agreed today to explain that the sculptor may have taken two such different modes for rendering the drapery on the same figure.

note 1. p. 578. A. Kalkmann first seized the true character of the arrangement represented by the sculptor. (*sur Tracht archaischer Gewandfiguren in Jahrb. d. v. arch. Inst.* 1896. n. 19-52). Lechat first believed in the little chiton, but has adopted the views of Kalkmann. (*Au musée*, pp. 158-160).

The tunic was longer than the body, as among us is the night chemise for infants. The hand raises the bottom and holds it so as to disengage the foot and facilitate walking; but it can also utilize that surplus cloth to drape the torso and keep it warmer. It then seized the cloth at the level of the haunches and drew upward, that it lowered below the breadth in contact with the skin; this is what the Greeks termed *choloos*. There were then two thicknesses of cloth on the chest. Concealing the cord that enclosed the waist, this fall of the fabric fell below the loins and by the effect even of that breadth floating freely around the body, it

furnished there abundant and straight folds, while at the bottom of the vestment, the surplus cloth formed a mass and extended under the pressure of the thigh and the calf. Perhaps there is another reason for the contrast presented by these two portions of the costume. It appears probable that the linen after being washed, received a preparation analogous to that which Albanians and Greeks now apply to their fustanellas, where these have not given place to European clothing. Either with an iron heated mildly by a fire, or by compressing the linen under the pressure of a very tight cord, they would arrange on the whole of a part of the tunic narrow folds in great number, that remain from one washing to another. We find these artificial folds indicated in more than one monument, for example on the funerary stele of the villa Albani (Fig. 155), and on one of the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidus (Fig. 171). There the preparation appears to have been given to the entire tunic, even to its bottom border. This treatment was reserved by fashion at Athens for the top of the vestment. That recalls the bosoms with little plaits about the middle of the last century, that decorated the chemises of persons priding themselves on a careful costume.

There is doubtless something very conventional in the procedure which the Attic sculptor employed to render the same folding of a linen fabric: the artifice is made yet more apparent by what the chisel has placed there, of systematic affectation and monotonous regularity. In spite of the advance already made, convention plays a great part at about the time when these statues originated, in the representation of the human figure and particularly in that of the accessories, the drapery and the head-dress. Half a century must still pass away before in the representation of the hair and the fabric, art has learned to approach nature more nearly.

Statues on which the costume is reduced to the tunic are the exception. For most of them, to this vestment, whose cut is always the same, is added another comprising a much greater variety of effects, the mantle. As one may recognise by the folds, this is always of wool; it was a great shawl. This shawl must be more or less thick, according to the se-

season, and the women did not all wear it always in the same manner. According to their tastes and the fashion of the moment and also perhaps according to the weather, they had different ways of draping on their persons. Among all these figures there are not two, where the mantle presents an absolutely similar arrangement. Yet from this point of view the images may be separated into two groups, each of which represents one of the modes then most commonly taken by the Athenian women, when she clothed herself in this shawl.

On some statues the mantle is doubled and placed on the shoulders: it covers the entire back. In front it falls a along the sides to the knees, and from top to bottom reveals the middle of the body. Slits are arranged for passing the arms (Fig. 292). Thus arranged, the mantle does not restrict movement: but the sculptured effect is bad. Symmetry is too marked and the folds are very poor.

Quite different is the effect given to the himation by the sculptor on most of these images. The shawl passes around the body, starting from one shoulder and passing around the opposite arm. One arm and a part of the chest remain uncovered. (Pls. IV, V). The vestment is held in place by means of some brooches that hold the two edges on the shoulder and the upper arm. The forearm in rising slightly separates the two edges of the cloth, that falls in two unequal parts, one against the outside of one leg, and the other being shorter and a little more in front. The himation is fastened and held only at the top: nothing at the bottom arrests the fall of the fabric. The great and rather heavy folds are soft and are carved in very frank relief, well detached from the body that they cover, their regular balance is divined in movement of the walk. The upper edge of the shawl always has the appearance of a large and very thick collar. It is necessary for this that the cloth be several times drawn up and folded on itself. The first brooch on the shoulder really suffices to support that series of folds. Yet one must assume, that they were arranged first and pressed with a hot iron and perhaps stitched together. Doubtless only at the last moment was improvised with the ends of the fingers this collar on which the edge of the cloth turns down and extends in such well arranged waves.

note 1.p.582. Lechat. Au musée, p.171-172.

On bottom and top, the himation is ornamented by embroidery analogous to the vertical band of the tunic but narrower. The motives vary: frets, lines and dots, a series of squares with five points in cross form at the centres. On the remainder of the mantle, the painter scatters various ornaments, blue crosses, circles and dots, little spots without definite shade. These ornaments seem devised to enliven the ground of the vestment without attracting the eye too much.

"Of all parts of the costume, the himation in Ionian style is that offering most resources to the sculptor. Its large vertical folds, the sinuosities of the bottom outline, the curve formed on the chest by the upper border give both variety and grace to the general appearance. Unlike the chiton, it is no longer fitted closely to the body: it is detached in relief. It has its own independent form. Although it scarcely covers a third of the total surface of the figure, it is so distributed as to make the illusion of its importance. It is almost as much an ornamentation as a vestment. Here is the reason for the delicate preparation required, for those numerous droppings between the shoulder and elbow, for the wavy line, so wisely traced, which forms the lower border and at top that great collar of folds, often embellished below by fine fluting. To this care for the form is added the coquetry of colored ornaments, of vivid embroideries enclosing the piece of fabric, and which the folds appear to multiply so much, that a band $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide suffices to make the entire vestment magnificent. All that is certainly pleasing to the eye, though a pleasure that slightly feels the labor and shows the care; one finally wearsies of it. The sculptors of the 5th century will adopt similar apparel for their statues, with less elegant and a broader effect."

note 2.p.582. Lechat. Au musée, p.172.

On a very small number of statues (only four in all are cited), a last piece is yet added to those already enumerated. It seems that to better cover the neck, shoulders and the upper arms, the women sometimes placed over the himation a second narrower shawl, that for lack of not knowing its true name, it has been proposed to designate by the term

epithlema, literally "what is cast over." It is perceived on a fragment, rolled around the right elbow (Pl. XII). When the bitter north wind blew, the Athenian woman found it very well to have recourse to this supplementary vestment; but the sculptor has made proof of taste by usually refusing to take it into account and thus overload his images.

One can judge of the persistence with which the sculptor, seconded by the painter, applied himself to reproduce in the minutest details the female costume of his time. By the scrupulous fidelity that he carried into that representation, this art is frankly realistic, which does not prevent still in certain aspects a very large part for convention. For example, see the tunic and take account of what it gives in nature, in life. If it swelled out in front under the bosom, and if behind by yielding to the pressure of the girdle it allowed the curve of the waist to be divined, it fell straight below the haunches, having further only a slight contact with the lower members: it was only in places that this was accented, as at the rounding of the thighs and the meeting of the knees. Now on the statue the fabric acts quite otherwise. Far from placing before reentrant parts the role of an opaque covering, it passes between the legs and slides into all the hollows, it is flat on the thigh. In the back from shoulders to thighs it is moulded to all forms: it would be termed wet drapery. The Athenian woman certainly did not present herself in public as shown by the images where she seems nude and swaddled (Fig. 292, Pl. IV). The artist has sacrificed everything there to the desire that he felt to follow beneath the clothing the lines of the human body, and to present to the eye of the spectator the pleasure of the harmonious curves of its outlines.

On all those statues, the head-dress bears the marks of the taste that we have seen controls the arrangement of the costume: the same care for grace that never occurs without some affectation. The same general arrangement is found nearly everywhere. The hair is divided in two masses of unequal importance. That placed on the front of the head commences by being distributed and arranged in very different fashions around the brow and then passing behind the ears is divided in long tresses, finally being brought over the

shoulders and at each side of the chest. The rest of the hair falls freely from the top of the head and extends over the back.

The plaits that fall on the shoulders and bosom are always three or four in number at each side. They are placed with a marked care for symmetry. Behind, the mass of the hair is ordinarily formed by juxtaposition of numerous tresses closely against each other without any intervals between them. (Pl. IV). Sometimes there is no appearance of tresses. The surface is striated by fine wavy lines, that seem to retain the traces of the passage of the comb. In both cases the outline of this mass forms a rectangle more or less elongated, with sensibly parallel sides.

On most statues, this coiffure is complicated by a sort of diadem, that seems to have been made of a band of felt or of leather on which was laid a sheet of gold. This is what it is a habit to call the stephane, literally "the crown." Placed on the top of the head, the stephane divided the hair. Behind its circle the hair extended on the nape in falling plaits: in front with the variety of their ornamentation, they enclosed the brows. There "on the narrow space extending from one temple to the other, the sculptor -- I was going to say the hairdresser -- displays all the skill of his hand. The simplest arrangement consists in dividing the hair in the middle by a parting and making two bands more or less thick, with waves more or less hollowed, which after shading the brow and the tops of the cheeks, pass behind the ears to form the tresses that fall in front." (Fig. 294): but this procedure seemed too simple. The parting is almost always suppressed, and the hair either forms only a single band, or is placed in several rows, extending from one ear to the other their uninterrupted waves. Sometimes two bands are superposed (Fig. 289), or the top of the face is enclosed by a thick band of hair with the appearance of a sort of turban. (Fig. 291). There are also coiffures much more complicated: in that respect "all yield to a marble of which it may be said that the capillary art applied to sculpture has never produced a second masterpiece comparable to this (Fig. 295). Between the diadem and the brow the hair descends in fine and close waves: it is separated into 24

tresses, whose ends recurve and enter themselves like two inverted interrogation marks. Below appear other shorter plaits, also finely wavy, uncurled and raised at the ends. This refined elegance continues in the long twisted tresses that fall in front, followed by fine helical lines in perfect precision. Grecian women of the 6th century that desired to ornament their brows with these thin and fragile marvels must first keep their hair quite short in front, then dividing it with the comb into a quantity of equal small tresses, finally treating them with the curling iron, and that required much time, patience and cosmetics." 2

note 1. p. 588. Lechat. Au musée. p. 200.

note 2. p. 588. The same. p. 202-204.

It must indeed be admitted, that these coiffures were not a pure product of the caprice of the artists. The Greeks of Ionia in imitation of the Asian peoples, their neighbors, and the Greeks of Athens in imitation of their Ionian conquerors, in the first time devoted much care to the arrangement of their coiffure, even more than they devoted to their costume. In this part of his work, then again from the reality the sculptor required his models: but here also, as in the rendering that he gave of the clothing, he could not help altering that nature which he pretended to copy. That did not offer him in the originals by which he was inspired the almost geometrical regularity that he imposed everywhere on the female coiffure, those entirely parallel waves of a band or those falls of tresses, those plaits exactly parallel to each other both by their dimensions and by the curves that they described. Such a rigorous symmetry badly suits the representation of a material characterized by its soft suppleness, by the docility with which it bends to take under the finger that plays with it, forms whose fragile stability always remains at the mercy of an abrupt movement of the body or of a strong puff of wind. The sculptor sinned there by the care for perfection that fell into minutiae. While noting this defect, one cannot refuse to recognize that this artist knew how to derive from the coiffure a very happy part for the general decoration of his statues." The rather formal geometry of the tresses and curled locks of the hair well complete the effect of the pleasing folds of

the clothing, although somewhat too regular: it corresponds exactly to the erect pose and the affected gracefulness of these figures, to their slightly awkward attitudes." ¹

note 1.p.590. Lechat. Au musée, p.205.

This diversity that we have here found everywhere in costume and coiffure, we shall find again, and perhaps even more marked, in the fines of the face. Doubtless, certain of these figures sufficiently resemble each other in this matter, that one can form them into distinct groups: ² but in each of them the differences between the figures are sufficiently visible, for it to be evident that the authors of these images are never compelled to reproduce a type either by custom or by religion.

note 2.p.590. See in Lechat the chapter entitled: - étude comparative de quelques sculptures en marbre. Essais de groupements. (Au musée, p. 292-392).

In a first group can be placed the statues that appear most ancient. Those in which the sculptor has tried to animate the face with more good will than success, to place thereon the charm of life. For that purpose he has raised the corners of the mouth, wrinkled the cheeks, elevated toward the temples the outer angles of the eyes (Pl. V, figs. 289, 290, 291, 292, 295). All the muscles of the face are thus slightly contracted, and what would be a smile risks being almost grimace. On the same images is noted the heaviness of the nose and the sharp projection of the chin. (fig. 296).

The sculptor has modified by degrees his style and his conception of beauty. For example, here is a head that may be regarded as the last term of a series, of that strongly marked by the stamp of archaism, of its conventions and endeavors. certain traits still connect it to the images that we have already reproduced: it adheres to those by the fashion of treating the hair, by the thin and straight eyebrows that seem to compress the eyeball, by the form of the nose, that was very prominent at the end, and by the very distinct indication of the breasts. The mouth is still slightly raised at the corners; the chin is projecting and strong. On the other hand, the eyes are no longer oblique at all, and very little would be necessary for the smile of the lips to

entirely disappear (Fig. 207).

On the contrary, one feels himself in presence of a truly new type with the statue called the chorus of Euthydicos, because as we learn from the inscription on the base, the statue was consecrated by an Athenian of that name (Fig. 208). Here the face is broad and round with full cheeks and a chin almost square. No bridled lips. The mouth is straight and as if in repose. The eyes are long and well cut. The nose with clearly indicated nostrils is firm in design. Abundant hair encloses and contracts the brow, which it borders by a beautiful line of shadow: but the coiffure is more simply disposed here, than on most of these marbles. Its sculptor has returned to the middle parting which separates into two masses the waves of the bands. All that gives an entirely impressed by a calm and severe grace, marvellously suited to a votive statue, to the pious worshipping of the great goddess of Athens (Fig. 209). About the year 500, rather after than before, must have been executed this statue.

The artist of the time required time and many successive attempts to find the formula for the pure serenity of which this head almost rivals the beautiful works of the 5th century. Some existing monuments allow one to follow the trace of that effort. At a certain time it was perceived that men followed the wrong course. They desired to efface this smile that even went to distortion of the features: but in seeking the expression of religious meditation, they passed the aim. There is a certain image on which the lips are made straight and are pressed forward, actually pouting (Fig. 200). Something of this defect is again on the head that we have admired. A slight projection of the upper lip gives it a slightly pouting expression.

Between the two groups so constituted and nearer the second than the first, it is proper to place the only one of all these statues that is signed, and which stands in the museum of the Acropolis on the base on which is read the inscription, whose importance we have indicated: it is larger than any of its sisters, 7.7 ft. in height. At first sight it is evident that the statue is the work of a very skilful sculptor (Pl. II). One first admires the ease of its pose, its ample forms, more robust than slender, and the

beautiful execution of the fabric. Placed on both shoulders, the mantle falls straight in front in two unequal masses to the knee on one side and to the haunch on the other. Near the neck it allows the under garment to be seen, the long linen tunic, and this reappears on the lower part of the body pressed against the members, whose outlines and movement are shown beneath the delicate tissue. There is a happy contrast between the broad folds of theimation in which are sunk grooves filled with shadow, and the light folds of the chiton indicated by a stroke of the chisel that has only scratched the marble. That entire arrangement is evidence of a very sure taste and great manual skill: but the head is inferior to the drapery. One divines that the face was calm and serious, though the mutilations that have removed the nose and the mouth: but why the entirety retains a slightly archaic appearance is by the regularity of the tresses, that rise above the brow and below the band which passes around the head: it is the stiffness of the four plaits, I like thongs of leather, that are detached at nearly the level of the ears and hang before both shoulders. The eyes still have some obliquity: the ears are flat and of quite summary execution. One also feels the experiments of an art which does not yet know all its resources in a borrowing that the sculptor has made from the methods of the bronze-workers. Instead of being sculptured in marble and painted according to custom, the eyeball was formed of glass paste, set in a shell of metal, whose feathered edges imitate eyelashes. The clothing was colored in the same measure and after the same principle as on the other figures of this series.¹ Metal pendants seem to have been attached to the ears.

note 1. p. 59A. On the details of this polychromy, see the indications of walters' in the drawings of Gillieron in the text added to pl. 52 of vol. 1 of *Antike Denkmäler*.

From one end to the other of the series of the female figures of the Acropolis, in the construction and expression of the face as well as in the costume and the coiffure, there is a variety truly surprising, and this variety does not alone result from the progressive evolution of taste. In works frankly archaic, it is no less evident than in the

monuments of the period when art aspires to a new ideal. The examination of the statues collected in this hall arouses memories and causes comparisons that transport the spirit of the spectator into most different countries and cause him to pass over several centuries at a bound. A certain head with the thick hair that shades its temples, its large and snout nose, its projecting breasts and fleshy lips, makes him think vaguely of Africa (Fig. 201). Before it, I have heard a visitor to the museum exclaim that it resembled a negress. He exaggerated; but its appearance is no less very unexpected and unusual. What recalls the fragment in which we recognized the hand of a sculptor of Samos are many images of saints placed under the canopies of our Romanesque churches (Fig. 121). In some parts, on the nude as on the hair and the drapery, the modeling is simplified to excess and the countenance has the same slightly sad coldness, not without a certain distinction. Among these effigies are others that make one think of the madonnas of Wino di Fiesole and of Desiderio da Settignano (Figs. 220, 220, 222, 201). Such is particularly the case of a statue, that not having been found in the trench from which came most of these images, no less has all the rights to occupy a place of honor in the hall of the museum (Fig. 202, Pl. VIII). See how it is described with an excited tenderness by one of those, who had the pleasure in 1828 of seeing it leave the earth before the western facade of the Parthenon. He commences by emphasizing the perfection of the work and the marvellous delicacy of the modeling: "but," says he, "this plastic skill is only revealed when closely observed; at a few paces the details are no longer distinguished. The statue further loses nothing by being seen farther away; one then perceives the expression of the face, which is ravishing and forms its originality. The mouth has a slight smile, that is felt rather than seen, which floats on the lips, only illuminating the countenance without brightening it, and that entirely internal smile is not completely in harmony with the modest calm of the lowered eyes, half veiled by the lashes. The cheeks are cut with so pure a chisel, delicious in youth, fresh and candid, also seem to participate in that gathered sweetness, of the mouth and of the looks. For all that result

in the entire countenance an exquisite and penetrating charm, and a quality entirely rare in archaic sculpture." ¹

note 1.p.598. rechat. au musée, p. 284-285.

On statues whose execution seems more advanced, the heads and bodies no longer have the same juvenile freshness. By the width of the features and that of the chest it is believed that the sculptor has no longer taken the virgins of Athens as models, but that he has rather endeavored to render the nobility of matronly beauty. If the character of the faces thus change from one marble to another, there is no less diversity in the form of the heads. Some of them are much elongated from behind forwards. On the contrary, others are short and round.

One question necessarily presents itself at the close of this study. What do all these figures represent? The most different opinions have been expressed on this subject.² These statues were mostly exhumed in the immediate vicinity of the ancient temple of Athena Polias. The first idea was that they were as many images of Athena, dedicated by the piety and richest citizens of Attica, images that only differed by their importance and the material of which they were made, from the figures in bronze and in terra cotta found in great number on the Acropolis: but in the entire series of these statues, men have sought in vain for any attribute pertaining to the goddess. Nowhere is a helmet oregis. Where time has soared the objects that the women held in their hands, all indicate the offerings brought by a devotee to the deity. Such are the crown and the onix of perfume on a marble only lacking the head (Fig. 298). To forestall another objection that also presents itself to the mind, it is assumed that about that time art had not yet fixed the countenance typical of the august protectress of Athens. The assertion is only true in a certain measure: one feels that already this type is sketched, such as known of classical art, in the head of Athena of the pediment of the ancient temple: but however that may be, one will have difficulty in admitting that the face given to the goddess by the sculptors also varied as capriciously as they made it from one statue to the other. The faces of mortals alone, who have to count on the changes of conditions and of age,

comprise such diversity of lines and expression.

note 2.p.598. All these opinions have been stated and discussed by Lechat (*Au Musée*, p.265-278), the interpretation to which we adhere is that which he presented in 1890, not without some appearance of hesitation, and which he very firmly maintains today. *Wurstwängler* (*Meisterwerke*, p.175, note 2) and *Conze* (*Altattische Kunst*, p.23-24) have fully accepted it.

In default of Athena, it has been desired to see here the officiants of her worship. These young women would be either the virgin *erreephores*, who wrought the embroideries of the veil of the goddess, or priestesses of Athena Polias: now we know from Pausanias and the inscriptions, that those priestesses in the 4th century and even later ordinarily consecrated their statues near the temple; other texts attest that it was the same at that epoch for the young girls that had the honor of serving the *erreephorie*.¹ Nothing authorizes us to affirm that this custom did not already exist in the 6th century: yet one could scarcely recognize in all these mature women shown to us by the statues, children of 7 to 11 years of age like the *erreephores*. It is also stated that these were rather titular priestesses: but this hypothesis also has its difficulties. The priesthood of Athena Polias was one for life: now without taking into account marbles that could have disappeared, we have the remains of some 40 statues: but is it admissible that during this brief period of 60 to 80 years at most, this function changed so frequently as its incumbent?

note 1.p.598. Pausanias. II. 17-2; *Löwy*. *Inscriptionen griechische Bildhauer*. 116, 117.

It may then be, that among these images, some may be those priestesses of Athena; but that character cannot be attributed to all. This is what the inscriptions tend to prove, & that accompany the two sole statues that it has been possible to replace on their bases. In neither of these texts is inscribed beneath a female figure appears the name of a priestess. On the first is nothing but the name of the giver, *Antidikos*, son of *Thaliarchos*.² The second also indicates the name of the giver, *Nearchos*, and the name of the artist, *Antenor*:³ it adds to this mention "a tithe levied on the

results of the labors of the dedicator.

note 2.p.598. winter (zur altattischen kunst, p.220, jahrb. vol. II. 1887. p.219-237).

note 3.p.598. G. I. Att. IV. 378.⁹¹

If as occurred for many other marbles, the inscription alone had survived, it would have appeared natural to assume that this base bore a statue of Athena; but the statue exists and is defined by any of the attributes by which the daughter of Zeus is recognized. On the other hand, if Eurydikos and Nearchos desired to perpetuate the memory of a choice by which the city had honored their family, it seems that they would not have failed to inscribe here the name of the woman that had been invested with the priesthood. If neither goddesses nor priestesses, what then are these statues? In our opinion, here is the hypothesis by which is best explained this theme, that has been found in so many replicas, as well on the Acropolis of Athens as at Delos, at Eleusis and also on the sites of other sanctuaries. That statues of this type had no personality, so to speak: "it was neither a mortal nor a deity, nothing more than a material testimonial of the devotion of a man without precise signification. To a goddess who accepted as ministers of her worship only women or young girls, could not one offer anonymous servants at the same time as her own image, stone worshippers, that formed around her for her pleasure a court continually increased, who multiplied before her their unchangeable homage? The beautiful female figures that Ionian sculptors excelled in cutting in marble, and the vogue of which at a certain time in the 6th century extended in all Grecian islands and in Attica, were they not to rejoice the eyes of the deity, is they pleased the eyes of men, and ought one to be surprised henceforth that the deonatal, noble or magnificent, were discharged in this form by preference, without thinking the least in the world of making the exact image of a woman? In brief, the indecision in which we are as to the name to be given to many of these archaic statues, does not this come from the fact, that the ancients themselves had no particular name, for whom they were simply works of art without special purpose, created only to embellish the vicinity of the temple?" ¹

note 1.p.600. Lechat. Au musée, p. 275-276.

As soon as one adopts this view, he easily seizes the reason for the extreme variety presented in the entire series of figures by the lines and the expression of the face, a diversity that is not entirely due to the progress of the execution: there are marbles which seem entirely contemporaneous, and that however scarcely resemble each other in that way. From the moment that a goddess is not in question, however marked are these differences, they are not surprising to us: but it does not follow that these figures may be portraits. By the tenor of the dedications it seems that most of them are anonymous: but had we read names of women on the bases, we should not be authorized to believe that in chiseling these marbles, the sculptor of the 6th century intended an individual resemblance. Much time would pass away before the sculptor had that ambition. This is proved by the statues of athletes dating from the 6th century, that have come to us either as originals or as copies. The type always retains something impersonal: it is that of the eponyme of a certain age, a pugilist, wrestler or runner. If the statue has a portrait character, this is only in the name of a certain victor engraved on the plinth.

The diversity that has struck us is explained by the spirit that then animated Attic art, and by the tendencies that appeared in it. The impression left by the series of young men or young girls of the Acropolis is that of a living and fruitful anarchy. One feels everywhere the frank and free effort of a sense of form and of a taste no longer satisfied by the commonplaces of the traditional types, and which aspires to create them anew, whose traits will be supplied by the direct observation of nature: but to direct that effort is no master, whose authority is imposed. This nature by which all pretend to be inspired, each interprets at his pleasure: there are proposed in the course of 50 or 60 years almost as many different treatments as there are sculptors. The bold independence of these experiments is not always rewarded by success. An artist that starts in quest of beauty sometimes merely arrives at technique. Another, desiring to give the face a serious air, has made it frowning and a cross: but everywhere, as well before defective as before

more successful figures, one feels himself in presence of an art in movement and in labor, an art that aspires with ardor and progress. When one seeks thus in all sincerity, he always ends in finding.

The sculptors that employed themselves in treating this theme have all had time to repeat their attempts and to extend points in several directions. This type must have begun by being in favor from the first years of the 6th century, and have remained in fashion until the Median wars. It was already as a study when soft stone yet prevailed: we know this by a statue of tufa found on the Acropolis, that can be taken as the head of the series (Fig. 85). The same attitude as in the images studied above: the costume as there made of the same pieces, only by reason of the defects of the material, the rendering of the coiffure and that of the drapery are simplified much more than in marble. Even after the coming of marble, the first statues of this type still retained something of the appearance of the xoanon. For example, here is one of those images having the most ancient appearance (Fig. 202). No himation whose fabric envelopes the torso with grace and is draped in folds. No vestment other than a tunic held by the belt, falling straight to the feet. The bust is quite alive. The bosom is shown under the dress: but all the lower part of the body is only a sort of rigid pier, that recalls the rude ex-votos dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra of Naxos (Fig. 22). Men did not delay to free themselves from the imitation of the old idols: when foreign maseers came to finish the technical education of the image-makers of Athens, each year the faces of the statues are seen to be illumined, their members are more supple and the drapery gives more value by its bends and falls to the forms that it envelops. While adhering to certain conventions (almost all these statues yet step off from the left foot), statuary about the end of the century comes to derive from this theme in which it delights, all the results suited to it: it employs this to fix in the marble the durable image of the most perfect examples of female beauty, that the girls of Athens offer to the eyes of the artist, and it decorates them, according to the example of its models, by the most happy arrangements of the coiffure and costume, that all

already knowing coquetry has imagined to render more delicious the grace of movement and the harmony of the lines.

We can only propose to ourselves here to give a general idea of the meaning and character of the figures of this series. We have been compelled not to stop for many details, that still possess their interest. Thus in treating the costume, we have not spoken of the shoes. This omission explains itself: the lower part of nearly all these statues is now wanting. All, so to speak, have been broken below the knees. As Herodotus indicates, one divines that the invaders were furious against these marbles, and by great blows of axes and hammers, threw them down from their pedestals.¹

note 1.p.603. Particularly at the second occupation of Attica by the Persians the destruction appears to have been systematic, in a manner to leave neither walls nor statues standing, that rose above the ground. (Herodotus. IV, 12).

There is scarcely more than one or two of these statues that still rest on their feet. One of them is shod with slippers with pointed toes, whose red color is surprisingly preserved, and makes them resemble the modern shoes of the Greek peasants (Fig. 291). This is an exception. On the statue of Antenor, the foot remained nude (Pl. II). When they were shod, this was only with sandals with straps indicated on the marble, sometimes by a slight relief and sometimes by a simple stroke of the brush.¹ If the sculptor has thus nearly always left the foot uncovered, this is because he very particularly adheres to carrying a rare precision into the execution of this bit. The hands are generally mediocre and slightly neglected, but the feet are perfect. "Nowhere have the archaic masters succeeded as well in the representation of minute details. They have followed nature, but while giving it an exquisite elegance, that it does not always present. The instep is finely arched: the toes are nervous and slender with true grace: the two first toes are separated, the second being a little longer, which forms a more pronounced arc at the end of the foot, the last joint of each toe is slightly raised and recurved. It is impossible to find a modeling more correctly and more seductive than, combined with scrupulous observation of the reality (Fig. 293)

note 1.p.604. There have been found in the rubbish many

separate and unmatched feet.

note 2.p.604. *Lechat. Au musée*, p. 194.

We have stated the investigations of the costume of these figures. Especially on its pleasing arrangement as well as on the variety of its tones and its ornaments, that the sculptor counted on for pleasing the eyes. He only gave the jewels a secondary part in the discreet sobriety of this ornamentation.

The most apparent was the stephane with its facing of metal, which decorated inlays and reliefs (Figs. 206, 204). On the statue of Antenor it is still seen to be decorated by bronze leaves, formerly gilded (Pl. II). After the stephane, the jewels that attracted the most attention were the pendants of the ears. Sometimes attached in metal, they are most frequently cut on the marble itself (Pl. IV, Fig. 205). They have then the form of a thick and broad round covering the lobe of the entire ear: the face has blue and red rays; its edge is also painted. The necklace is sometimes represented in lines of color: but on many statues it can no longer be traced. In a single case it is cut in the marble itself. Sometimes it was of metal and was fastened to the neck by means of thin wires, that were fixed in holes made for the purpose. Further, no statue on the Acropolis bears that great double necklace with pendants, that we have found on Cypricote statues, and which is seen on one of the Delian statues of the most recent type.¹ It seems that taste at Athens required more simplicity. The bracelet is often merely a simple circle, thick and round and colored blue. Where it seems to be lacking, one may suppose that it was represented by a band of color, now effaced.

note 1.p.605. *Histoire de l'art*. vol. VII. Figs. 228, 224. F.C.R. vol. XIII, pl. VII.

The archaic statues of the Acropolis, whether representing male or female persons or sphinxes, chiefly have a singular appendage over the head.¹ This was a rod of bronze or sometimes of iron, fixed in a hole pierced at the top of the head. The rod is more or less twisted or broken at the end, and has remained in place on some statues (Fig. 205). Where it has disappeared, the hole remains and proves the former presence of the same peculiarity elsewhere noted on statues

of Athens, Eleusis, Ptoion, Delos, in the museum of Lyons, etc. A question appears at once, to know whether this rod fulfilled alone the purpose in view to which the image was provided with this strange accessory.

note 1.p.606. Lechat. Au musée, p.215-226.

note 2.p.606. Lechat. Au musée, p.215, note 1; Dictionnaire de Daremberg & Saglio, Article xenistos by Lechat.

Different hypotheses have been proposed on that subject;² but none bears examination. The true explanation is suggested by a joke of Aristophanes in the comedy of the Birds. Those composing the chorus demand that judges of the competition award them the victory. If their verdict be favorable, they promise those judges all sorts of benefits: "but," they say at last, "if you pronounce against us, you will have to wear a crescent on your heads like statues: if one of you is not provided with a half moon and has a very white mantle, birds of prey will soil it with their droppings."⁴

note 3.p.606. See Rayet, Monuments de l'art antique; I, pl. XVIII, p.8, Cabbadias. Ephemeris. 1886. p. 75; Studnicka. Jahrb.vol. II, p. 141, Aristophanes, Birds, verses 114-117.

note 4.p.606. Aristophanes, Birds, verses 114-117, Petersen. Athen.Mitt.vol. XIV, p.288 289.

With the sacrifices offered there, the great sanctuaries of Greece attracted birds of prey, carrion crows, kites, hawks, eagles and vultures. These birds by their droppings everywhere were a nuisance to those that had the care of the temple and its surroundings; it was necessary to drive them away without killing them. The youthful Ion in the tragedy of Euripides bearing his name, prepares to frighten by the noise of his arrows the winged tribe that descends from Parnassus at sunrise, and which "soil the sacred offerings." Those offerings were especially statues. That the tops of the heads of these statues might not become the ordinary roost of those troublesome visitors, it was imagined to fit there an apparatus, which should prevent them from resting there, and there results the verse of Aristophanes, since in his time this apparatus had the form of a crescent set on a metal rod; but if in the 6th century the custom was already established by taking that precaution, it seems to me that the apparatus for that purpose did not have the same

form." The only two rods that remain complete do not seem to have ever served to bear any object whatever, the end is slightly flattened and no trace is seen of a screw or of a solder, thus no trace of the addition of a plate of any kind, either of metal or of wood."¹ What has put us on the way are two verses of a satire of Horace, where it is a question of a reed erected on the head of a statue of Priapus, that prevents the birds from taking it as a perch.² The metal rod placed in the same fashion in the hair of our chorus, then on the Acropolis plays the same part as the dry stick which surmounted the brow of Priapus in the gardens of Mecenas at Rome. A large bird could not place himself on the point and would only find free the slopes of the head, on which it was impossible for him to remain, or at least to stay without effort and trouble, that would cause him to decide quickly to seek a more convenient place elsewhere.

note 5.p.606. Euripides. Ion. verses 102-180.

note 1.p.607. Lechat. Au musée. p.228.

note 2.p.607. Horace. Satires. I, VIII, 6-7. See the same, verses 37-38. Trendelenberg first made this comparison.(Arch. Anz. 1898.p.280).

We do not represent ourselves as not being slightly shocked by all these statues furnished with points like the lightning rods on our edifices. We freely say that the remedy was worse than the evil. To comprehend the part taken by the dedicators of these images, it must be recalled that these ex-votos were sacred objects, the property of the god, and that care must be taken of them like the temple. It was of little importance to the devotees whether the means employed had a pleasing effect to men, from the time that piety was the object, and that the god must be satisfied."¹ It further seems that taste became more compulsory and silenced religious scruples. Even in the 6th century, this custom admitted of exceptions; on about one fifth of the statues obtained from the recent excavations there is no trace of the insertion of any rod whatever. Later, in adapting this type of ornament to which Aristophanes alludes, men seem occupied in giving to the display an appearance more elegant and more pleasing to the eye; but even when the appendage for protection has taken this form, it does not appear to have long

remained in use. Among the works of statuary later than the 5th century, one will scarcely find two or three that present on the top of the head the characteristic hole intended to receive the stem of the "meniskos."

note 1.p.808. Lechat. *AN musee.* p.2258226.

5. Feminine Type in the Image of the Divinity.

From the votive figures, we have desired to demand at the very first, how the Attic sculptors of the 6th century had understood and rendered the beauty of woman: that rich series better than any other enables the historian to follow as if step by step the progress of art. But the statuary as he felt himself more a master of the human figure, more imperatively experienced the need of attempting a higher undertaking: he desired to create images that would express the idea that his people formed of the supreme powers, and venerated as inhabitants of its sanctuaries.

The Athenians refused their homage to no goddesses or gods of Olympus: but among these deities was one for whom the city bearing her name professed a particular devotion: this was Pallas Athena. From the highest antiquity, she had her house on the plateau of the Acropolis. This dwelling had been at first merely a little fort, built in Mycenaean fashion of great and badly joined blocks taken from the same mass of the rock on which it stood: then near the primitive sanctuary they saw arise an edifice that the Pisistratides enlarged, to which they gave an entablature and roof, with pediments of marble from Paros: a century later, Athens will have for her dwelling that marvellous Parthenon, that aside from its foundations will be entirely constructed in marble from Pentelicos. On these conditions it was natural that Attic artists should apply themselves before all to seek the features to be given to the patron of Athens to satisfy the piety of their fellow citizens.

As demonstrated by the literary texts, the few works of sculpture that have escaped destruction, and especially the dedications engraved on the bases that were found in the excavations, the divine type represented by the most numerous examples on the Acropolis preceding the fire of 480, was that of Athena: against more than 60 inscriptions in which are read or can be inserted the name of Athena,¹ there is

only one or perhaps two, in which is found the name of Poseidon.² Executed by different hands, in a time when art yearly emancipated itself more boldly, these images could not fail to present a certain diversity; but all these variants are reduced to two principal themes, even those that the masters of classical art will not cease to reproduce, while each one places his own mark thereon.³ There were Athena standing and Athena seated, the first covered by the shield and sometimes leaning on her spear and sometimes brandishing it against the enemy, that she had attacked or overthrown, the second being pacific and majestic, enthroned on a richly ornamented seat in the attitude of strength and repose, of contemplation and meditation.

note 1.p.609. C.I.Att. vol.I, nos.241-41., and the supplements of those nos. in vol. IV.

note 2.p.609. The same. no. 287 and perhaps 272.⁹

note 3.p.609. Otto Jahn. D. antia. Minerva. Bonn. 1866.

The figures of the first group had their prototype in the antique wooden idol, that passed for having fallen from heaven.¹ It was then preserved in the sanctuary which seems to have occupied the place on which should be built later the Ionic edifice known under the name of Erechtheum; transferred into the new temple, it was still seen there in the 2d century of our era.² This was particularly the Polias, the mistress of the city. To form some idea of what must have been this very ancient image, one can only turn to much later monuments, where it is represented in scenes of sacrifice: its appearance is always more or less youthful. Perhaps where its face is changed as in a painting of a vase with black figures, that about the time of the Pisistratides came from some Attic workshop, to flee into an Etruscan tomb of Clusium. (Fig. 206).

note 1.p.610. Others say that it had been made either by the aborigines, by Erechthonius or Cecrops. (see Jahn, p.9-10.

note 2.p.610. Pausanias. I.26-8; Plutarch. fragments. I. (editt. Didot).

The goddess is covered by a helmet with a great crest, the body half concealed by the width of her shield, and stands on foot behind her altar. The point of the spear that she brandishes in her right hand is directed toward the group

of believers that came to adore her. They are four in number, a priestess that in both hands holds toward Athena branches of a tree, and two men and a woman that lead the victim to the sacrifice, a bull held by a cord attached to a front leg.¹

note 1.p.611. Several texts of Eschylus, Aristophanes and Euripides are cited by Jahn, in which an allusion is made to the celebrated image of Athena Polias, assuming an image entirely similar to that represented by our vase painting.

This bellicose Athena, already less stiff and more living, that is represented by several bronze statuettes found on the Acropolis.² It suffices to cite two of them, selected among those best preserved: both have retained the characteristic traits of the original type. The goddess is walking rapidly, the left foot forward, the right arm raised to the height of the temple and shaking the spear, the left arm brought before the body and held there in its entire length, but in both images supporting the heavy shield. This and the spear have disappeared: but the attachments of these added pieces may easily be recognized. On the earliest of these two bronzes, the helmet is low (Fig. 307). No vestment other than a close tunic adhering to the torso and the legs. The egis imprisons the chest in a sort of rigid corselet. The movement has freedom and its proportions are ever correct: but there is in the fabrication some dryness and hardness. The other statuette is of more advanced work (Fig. 308). The egis there occupies less space: it shows the drapery more, which is here more substantial and more flexible. The tunic is more ample and leaves more play to the members. Cast on the shoulders, the himation falls in great folds as far as the knees. Thus it gives more amplitude to the figure that is still enlarged by a very high crest of the helmet fixed on a stem in form of the neck of a swan.

note 2.p.611. There have been counted as many as 12, which certainly are Athenas, in the catalogue of bronzes found on the Acropolis of Athens, arranged by A. de Ridder. 1886.p. 297-314.

This is the same Athena, the invincible warrior, that we have seen in combat with the giants on the pediment of the temple built for her by Pisistratus (Fig. 270). The wooden statue of the sanctuary and the statuettes that are more or

less free replicas and that show her in the attitude of combat; but at the centre of the tympanum which crowns the facade of the edifice erected in her honor, she does not adhere to that gesture of the myth representing her as most valiant aid of Zeus in the contest, that he had to sustain against the Titans. Thrown into the midst of the battle, she struck; she has lowered the point of her spear and sunk it into the side of a vanquished enemy.

This type of Athena erect and walking, with the progress of art, lends itself to many variations, one of which is known by a curious figurine of the museum of the Acropolis. (Fig. 309).¹ That statuette is made of two thin plates wrought in raised work and placed together so that she can be seen from two sides, although this must have been frequently from the right side. The rivets fastening them are partly preserved. The bronze was gilded. Certain blisters on the metal appear to come from the beginning of fusion as a result of the fire. The goddess has retained the egis; but she has laid aside the rest of her armor of war. In the pose is more menace. The arms are half bent at the elbows, the forearm being flexed with extended hand. Perhaps the hand that has disappeared presented the helmet, as on the portal of Corinth, while the right held the lowered spear with the point toward the rear (Fig. 310). The head is naked. The waves of abundant hair fall freely on the shoulders, one tress pendant on the chest. As in the more recent of the two promachos, the vestment consists of the talar tunic and the himation; but here those draperies are easier. The folds are more numerous and finer. The same care is marked in the work on the hair, that has been chiseled again.

note 1 p. 613. De Ridder. catalogue etc., no. 794.

The theme which seems to have been preferred by the divers for these figures, is then that which recalls the idol consecrated by the prestige of a mysterious origin, and shows the goddess in the full development of her high stature and in the agility of her rapid walk. But the sculptors, at least those that wrought in marble, also voluntarily attempted the other theme, that of Athena seated. This then is farther no less ancient than the preceding; it is an idol of this type that the poet of the *Iliad* had seen, when he placed

the peplos embroidered by the Trojan women "on the knees of Athena with the beautiful hair."¹ Pausanias still saw on the Acropolis a statue of this type, signed by Endoris and dedicated by Callios.² It has been desired to recognize that statue in the one found in 1821 at the foot of the northern wall of the citadel, where was the sanctuary of Aglaura (Fig. 311):³ In the course of one of the sieges suffered by the fortress, this block of marble was thrown over the wall to crush the assailants. In that fall were broken the forearms and the head; the rest of the image is quite well preserved, though injured a little in some places. Its pose is the same as in the statues of the avenue of the Branchides and in other monuments of the Peloponnesus and elsewhere (Figs. 109-111, 223): but the movement of the body is shown beneath the drapery with much more freedom in this image. As if to place it at ease, the torso leans slightly forward, and this attitude in addition to the position of the right leg seems to indicate that the figure is going to rise, or that she has just sat down and is not yet immobile on the seat. Also the arms are not attached to the thighs, as on the oldest images of this kind. The legs are frankly separated, and while the left foot rests flat on the ground, the right rests there only on the ends of the toes; the heel does not touch the earth. In the detail of the rendering is still betrayed the methods of archaic art: they make themselves felt in that heaviness of the thick mass that the hair forms on the back, as well as in the exact parallelism of the tresses composing it, and in the wavy lines that represent the folds of the linen tunic. Thrown over the shoulders like an ample cape, the egis encloses the entire bust. On the chest the tool has placed a projecting disk, on which was formerly represented with the brush the mask of the Gorgon. This egis is bordered at sides and bottom by a strip of metal, whose effect was perhaps increased by gilding; one can still count in the marble the holes in which were fixed the pins intended to hold that ornament in place.

note 1. p. 614. *Illad*, VI, 302. *Histoire de l'art*, vol. VII, p. 108, 669-670.

note 2. p. 614. Pausanias. I. 26-4.

note 3. p. 614. Pittakis. *L'ancienne Athens*, p. 270.

If the name of the deity here represented is given to us with entire certainty by this costume, we are ignorant now how was composed the movement of the arms bent at the elbow and what the hands held. What can best suggest a probable restoration of the lost parts is a vase with black figures, which also originated at Athens, though discovered in Etruria (fig. 312). It has in front a woman that presents an olive branch; behind her is the altar on which burns the fire and a cortico, that of the temple. The right arm of Athena holds the dish in which is poured the propitiatory libation, the left is bent at the elbow and raised, seeming to show to those present the great helmet with floating plume, that the goddess has removed to better allow to be seen the majesty of the divine face. As for the spear, it rests against the left shoulder. Even in this hour the relaxation of profound peace, it is necessary for the goddess to always have within reach the formidable weapon.

Pausanias made Endois an Athenian by birth: out of the two signatures by him, one is in the Ionian dialect and the other is in Ionian letters: then one is inclined to see in him a son of Ionia, like other sculptors of the same race, who came to seek fortune in Greece in the last quarter of the 6th century.¹ Whatever his origin, he worked at Athens about the year 500: he signed there the funerary stele of Lysipito, and his name is found on one of the prepersian bases of the Acropolis: but various indications give reason to think that his activity was prolonged until after the second Median war. The conjecture that pretends to identify the statue that we have figured with that on which Pausanias read the name of Endois has nothing improbable in itself: but if one accepts it, it is necessary to admit that this figure was executed after and not before the sack of the Acropolis: otherwise Pausanias would not have seen it in place and intact on its base. This hypothesis is further confirmed by the fact that this fragment does not come from the rubbish in which were concealed the remains of all the ancient offerings.

note 1.p.618. The evidence of every kind treating of Endois has been subjected to a severe criticism by Le sculpteur Endois et la statue assise d'Athéna, no.625.

(Au musée, p. 415-441).

It was then after Plataea and between 479 and 475, that the statue was ordered from Endois, then near the end of his career. The Callias whose name was engraved on the base was not as formerly believed, the Callias, son of Phenipoos, one of the most violent enemies of Pisistratus; he would be the Callias, son of Hippiodorus, who from the time of him passed for being the richest citizen of Athens. There is nothing in the execution of this marble unsuited to the date, that one thus finds himself led to assign to it. Two fragments of seated female statues have been found in the larger rubbish from which came the Korees; but we have only their lower parts, and it is with all reserve and in the absence of all decisive attributes, that it is thought to recognize in them the remains of images of Athena, of one of the same type attributed to Endois. With the stiffness of its attitude and the folds of the drapery, one of these statues certainly dates back to the middle of the 6th century.¹ The other is more recent and must date from about the year 500 (Fig. 313). The rendering of the fabric is in an art already wise; the feet are of excellent work; but one does not find there the air of movement and life, so simple and natural, that gives to the so-called Athena of Endois the pose of its legs and feet, so easy and slightly careless, yet very skilfully calculated to break the monotony of the lines.²

note 1. p. 618. Lechat. Au musée. p. 438, fig. 46.

note 2. p. 618. The same. p. 438.

Likewise the vase and the bronzes reproductions seem to repeat more or less freely the type of the old idol of Athena Polias, it is possible that in the seated Athenas of the sculptors of the Acropolis and of the ceramic painters, it is necessary to see replicas of the image enclosed in the Hecatompedon of the Pisistrades. It is probable that on the statue in connection with which has been pronounced the name of Endois, the movement of the arms and the arrangement of the attributes were nearly the same as on the Athena of the painted vase. The marble presents a peculiarity which authorizes this conjecture. There is seen on the outside of the left thigh a hole for a fastening; now this hole is just at the place that should have been placed a tenon intended

to fix the spear.

Like the type of the warlike Athena, that of the benevolent and pacific Athena comprises more than one variant. Fragments of votive plaques have been found on which Athena was represented as holding in her hand the spindle, i.e. as Ergane, the patroness of female labor.³ Here is a relief, unfortunately very mutilated, found on the Acropolis (Fig. 314). A family composed of the married couple and three children brings to the goddess a sow to be sacrificed to her. The entire height of the body remains only for two of the children; but by the gesture of hands raised in sign of adoration, it is easy to divine the attitudes of the other persons. Before them is enthroned Athena clad in the tunic and the himation. She is much taller than the mortals who pay homage to her. No egis on her chest and no spear beside her. No attribute other than the helmet whose high crest was painted on the marble field. The left hand of the goddess seems to extend toward the group of believers, as if to accept their homage, while the right retains the folds of the tunic. In that pose is a naive and slightly awkward research, where one feels the effort that the sculptor made to give that figure amiable and welcoming grace.

Note 3.p.618. Jour.Hell.Studies.p.302, pl. VII. Perdrizet (*Mélanges Perrot*, p.259-263), publishes an archaic marble relief found on the Acropolis, in which is believed to be recognized an offering to Athena Ergane.

The two types that we have distinguished are again found in the terra cotta figurines, whose fragments have been collected in great quantity in the excavations on the Acropolis; but the modeler worked for common people and has abridged and simplified; he eliminates the accessories and added parts. No spear or helmet, whose projections and relief would have complicated the labor. As a cap is a high steonana around the brow and neck; nothing easier than to obtain it from a mould. Yet there is necessary a mark by which Athena is recognized. That insignia would be the mask of the Gorgon painted on her chest; the presence of the egis was thus understood. Instead of the arms being bent and thrown forward as on the marble statue, they are fixed to the body and rest on the knees. All has been conceived in view of the require-

requirements of a current production at a low price. It must have been the same for the other type, the warlike Athena. Several fragments prove that the coroplasts had also represented the goddess in the attitude of combat (Fig. 316); but among the thousands of fragments that have been handled and classified, there has not been found a trace of the spear or shield.¹ The indication of the movement of the legs and arms must have sufficed to define the image. Athena is also figured under both aspects on the plaques of terra cotta, pierced with three holes for fixing them on the wall.² Several of these reliefs present a curious variant of the type of Athena Promachos: this is the goddess with helmet and clothed with the egis, who springs on her chariot to fly to the combat.³ The owl is placed over the extended right hand.

note 1.p.620. This work of classification was performed by M. Winter and Stals, who were engaged in it for several months.

note 2.p.620. C.A. Rutton. Votive reliefs in the Acropolis museum. (Jour. Hell. Studies. vol. 17, p. 306-318).

note 3.p.620. The same. Pls. 4, 5, 6; Pl. VIII, 1, 2.

This type of Athena that was so early and must have remained one of the favorite themes of Attic art, we have yet only studied in the attributions which determine it, and in the diversity of the movements that differentiate the variants; but there is opportunity to push this examination much farther. The artist had to translate into forms the conceptions of the poets; he was not satisfied by defining the goddess by her pose, costume and arms. As soon as his hand had acquired some certainty, he must have tried to put into the lines of the face of his Athena and into the entire appearance of her body, something to distinguish this daughter of Zeus from the other deities of the same rank, which corresponded to the idea of the virtues and forces incarnated in her person. Unfortunately the head is wanting on the sole statue of Athena remaining to us. To judge of the character that the sculptor gave to these images, we have only statues of bronze or clay and some fragments of high or low reliefs. Yet even in the insufficiency of those mutilated monuments, or of too small dimensions, one does not fail to divine the intentions of the sculptor, the sincerity of the effort that he has made to attain the expression.

All Grecian deities of some importance had functions and multiplied prerogatives: those that the Greek imagination had assigned to its Athena, if the details of the surnames and varied rites are neglected, could be reduced to two principal things. Athena was known as an invincible warrior. In the battle of Zeus against the giants, she overthrows Enceladus from his chariot. When in the *Iliad* the gods, imitating the heroes that they protect, came to fight with each other, Athena has no difficulty in triumphing over Aphrodite; but Ares himself, the powerful god of war is thrown down by her arms. When the Memes precipitate themselves on Greece, the Greeks believe that they see above the vessels dashing against each other in the bay of Salamis or the battalions struggling on the fields of Salamis and of Plataea, Athena menacing the barbarians with her invincible spear and casting terror into their ranks. Athena is the goddess of armies; but she is also the inventor and the protectress of the arts of peace, and that peace which she ensures to pious peoples, to those that she has taken under her protection. When Athena plays that role, she is wisdom personified, the thought which seeks and finds.

Of the two types, that which must have first figured in relief is the type of warlike Athena; it demands from the mind no abstract effort. Painter and modeler characterize it from the first day by the slender stature as well as by the agile and elevated bearing that they give to the goddess. By this port and these charms one recognizes at the very first the queen of battles; but Athena was intelligence at the same time as strength, and for her strength could never be pushed to heaviness, just as for this immortal virgin, female beauty could never be carried to matronly splitude. There are differences that the artist seized early. In the drawing of the profile and in that of the members of our bronze Athenas (Fig. 307, 308), and those of the votive reliefs (Fig. 314), is felt a search for elegance, that is certainly desired; but it is especially the force that must be rendered expressive, and with the given state of the monuments at our disposal, we are much embarrassed to judge of the success of the attempts made by the sculptor for that purpose. Still we cannot doubt that he had this care. In the

statuettes, if the movement of the body is violent and the pose menacing, the lips and cheeks are smiling. A slight reflection of that smile illumines the face of Athena of the pediment of the Hecatompedon: there even in the heat of that murderous combat, the countenance of the goddess remains mild and calm (Fig. 281). Besides, Athena is presented in side view: now the profile does not give all that face shows. Yet even there in the length of the very large eyes, in the delicacy of the nose and mouth and the firmness of the chin, there is a sort of first sketch of a type that Attic genius will create with sovereign mastery in the course of the succeeding century. Before these archaic images of the patron of Athens, one has the presentiment of the anticipated vision of an ideal of noble and severe beauty, of what Phidias will finally know how to realize in his statues of Athena Lemnios, Athena Promachos and Athena Parthenos.

The head of the Gorgon was the traditional insignia of theegis, and the more the artist sought to make his Pallas beautiful and graceful, the more he applied himself to give to the mask of the monster a repulsive ugliness, he delighted in this contrast. Here is a Gorgon's mask that perhaps formed an overlay on the chest of a statue of Athena (Fig. 317). Painting must have concurred by strong and hard tones in the effect that sculpture proposed to attain: but even in the absence of color, this broad and grimacing face seems well made to inspire terror. All concurs in producing that impression, the great lozenge-shaped eyes with the enormous irises, the heavy and battered nose, the grin of the wide mouth from which hangs the tongue between two rows of teeth, where the canine teeth near the ends of the lips project and fit together like the tusks of a ferocious beast.

If Athena was the actual mistress of the Acropolis, she was not the only one to have a temple within the sacred enclosure. The votive figurines agree with the inscriptions in attesting that henceforth two other female deities at least received homage on the Acropolis, that also caused offerings of the same kind. These two deities were Artemis Brauronia and Aphrodite Pandemos. The temple of the latter seems to have been near the entrance of the Acropolis in

the vicinity of the Propyleum.

Artemis is recognized by the fawn supported by one of her arms, sometimes the left and sometimes the right, folded before the chest. She is sometimes represented standing and more frequently is seated (Fig. 318). From this it is inferred that the latter attitude was that of the ancient idol of the temple; that was replaced in the 4th century on the Akropolis by a statue signed by Praxiteles; but there was still shown in the city of Brauron the primitive xoanon, of which that perhaps this here is a reduction.¹ The attribute is further all that distinguishes these figurines: one finds there the high stephane, the long tunic with or without the mantle. The fabrication is too summary to find there in the face or the pose anything, which affords information concerning the character that sculpture could give at that time to the person of the sister of Apollo.

note 1. p. 825. Pausanias. I. 23-7.

There is something less commonplace in the pose and costume of a statuette in which it is difficult not to see an Aphrodite (Fig. 319). The head covering is here the polos. One of the arms is bent at the elbow and presents a fruit; the other holds a dove. A great mantle is thrown over the shoulders like a cape, falls to the calf, and two doves standing on the ground press against the bottom of the vestment; the head leans forward as if to reply to the prayer by a benevolent acceptance. The image is too small for the modeler to retain something of the smile, that should accompany this pose; but it gives the impression of a free imitation of some great statue, doubtless of the statue of that Aphrodite Pandemos, whose worship passed as having been established by Theseus.

In a head taken from the rubbish of the Akropolis, of the polos that covers it is thought to be divined the remains of a statue of this goddess, whose type would have been nearly the same as that of the clay figurine (Fig. 320). The image of which it formed a part must have been executed a little time before the taking of Athens by the Persians. The arrangement of the hair is very simple. No obliquity of the eyes or elevation of the angles of the mouth. "The entire features, instead of being animated by the archaic smile,

already has the reposeful and calm expression of the figures of the 5th century." ²

note 2.p.625. Lechat. Au musée. p.361.

This is still Aphrodite that it is proposed to see in a young woman seated, who was represented as holding a cup in one hand and a fruit in the other, on several votive plaques of terra cotta, whose fragments have been gathered on the Acropolis; ¹ there is recognized the low polos covering her and that is found on monuments, where this goddess is certainly shown. ² The name of Aphrodite is still presented in regard to figurines that represent women standing and holding a dove in the hand: but that is a type found, the attribute alone varying from one image to another, on all the shores of the Mediterranean as well as at Athens. (Pl.VI. Fig. 97). We have stated concerning the Kores of the Acropolis, why there is no reason to seek an effigy of the deity in the statues or statuettes of this kind, whatever the dimensions and the material.

note 1.p.626. Pausanias. I. 22-3. On the worship of Aphrodite on the Acropolis in the archaic period, see de Ridder. Aphrodite sur l'Acropole (Ann. d.l.fac.d.lett.d.pordeaux, Rev. d.l.etud.anc.vol.II, p.1-16). The primitive idol had long since disappeared when Pausanias visited the Acropolis; for it had been substituted statues modeled by the artists of the classic age; but an inscription attests that in the 3^d century before our era the sanctuary still contained two xoanas, doubtless Aphrodite and her companion Peitho, which were washed and their toilettes made at regular intervals. (Foucart. F.C.R.1889.p.163-167). C.I.Att. IV.T.A¹³22.

note 2.p.626. Jour.Hell.stud.vol.XVII, p.311, Pl.VII.F. Potier. La Peitho du parthenon et ses origines. (F.C.R.1897. p.497-509).

6. Virile Type.

On the monuments just studied, the contours of the reliefs of the body of woman are not shown as nude. We have seen them, except the face and extremities, only indicated or drawn under the clothing. Nothing gives reason to think that the sculptor of the 6th century was ever emboldered to free them from it. It is quite otherwise for the body of man. By the effect of custom produced by the attendance at

the gymnasium, the sculptor decided to remove from the statue the covering, almost from the first hour. That was already done at Athens by the sculptors in soft stone; Typhon and Hercules are nude, and we find that nudity if not complete, at least such as suits the representation of the image in one of the most ancient statues made of marble at Athens, that called the Moschephora (Fig. 100).¹

note 1.p.827. For the history of that statue and of the base added thereto only for the appreciation of the work, see Winter. Der Kalbträger und seine historische Stellung. (Athen. Mitt. XIII, p. 123-126).

In the inscription of the base is lacking but one letter, the initial of the name of the giver, which has disappeared with a piece of the stone. This is what is read on this pedestal: - "Konbos (or Ronbos), son of Palos, has consecrated it."²

note 2.p.827. C.I.A.IV.1.273.²⁸⁵

When only the upper portion of this statue was extant, it was proposed to see in it a Hermes kriophore; but the dedication, like so many others from the same source, excludes that understanding. Like all the young women holding a dove in the hand, a leafy branch or a fruit, Konbos caused himself to be represented in the attitude and apparel of the religious act by which he desired to honor the goddess, and thus he perpetually remains the master of the sacrifice, to adopt the expression of the Semetic rituals.

By a different title this statue particularly merits attention. It is no longer of soft stone; but the marble of which it is made is not the marble of the islands; it is the dark marble of Hymettos, which neither has the grain delicate under the tool nor the light and warm tone of the marbles of Paros and of Naxos. In the use of this material is a first indication of a very high age, to which corresponds the character of the execution.

For sole clothing Konbos has only a sort of mantle folded twice and laid over his shoulders, descending to the middle of the thigh; this was the double chlaina. The two long surfaces of the cloth fall without a fold in front, adhering to the body; it leaves uncovered the entire middle of the torso from the neck to the pubic region. The line separating

the drapery and the nude is marked only by a narrow border. Further, everywhere in the rendering of the clothing as in that of the flesh is the same summary modeling, that shows in broad flats the curves of the form. The work on the hair and beard is no less simplified. The locks that surround the brow are indicated by little squares separated by a light incision from each other, and the same squares reappear at the intersections of the locks in the three tresses detached behind the ear and hanging on the chest. The top of the head is smooth. Around the mouth is a projection of the marble designating a sort of chin beard on the lower part of the face. The polish of these surfaces necessarily assumes the use of the brush to represent the beard. The mouth is only a curved line between flat lips. In the execution of the eye is something very peculiar. The eyelids are very heavy and meet in an acute angle near the nose and below the temples. In the area enclosed by them a circle is sunk, that represents the pupil and at its centre is a smaller hole, that fills with shadow and corresponds to the black of the iris.

For the effect of these eyes the artist was inspired by the art of metal work; but in all the rest he shows himself the faithful disciple of the workman, ^{and} formerly chiseled the soft stone. Let us return to that head of Typhon, which has received from archaeologists the name of Bluebeard (Pl. III). It is seen how the sculptor designed and left to the painter certain spaces, which he charged him to fill. This is the same that the workman on tufa did, which are recognized in this modeling by large planes, by the dryness and hardness of the lines that are cut here in the marble, or the robust members of the personage: the arms are strong enough to support the weight of the bull without bending. That is rendered justly and with truth. This lively feeling for the characteristic forms of the animal, we have already had occasion to mention in the first artists that decorated the Acropolis. Marble is indeed the material of the Moschoonore; but the entire spirit of the work is that of the ancient art in tufa.

This figure is then classed at the head of the series of the monuments of sculpture in marble; it precedes the arrival

the foreign artists, who introduced at Athens the marble of the islands with the methods of working suited to it.

The alphabet of the inscription is that of the first half of the 6th century. It would be between 600 and 550 that the date of this statue must be sought.

Unfortunately, of other statues of this kind, when taste changed, that came to be erected on the Acropolis near that of Koubos, there only remain slight fragments. It is possible that on the Acropolis of the Pisistratides, of Isagoras and of Clisthenes, the figures of men have been in less number than the figures of women. To judge of this from the dedications of Puthydicos and of Nearchos, the consecration of a beautiful image of a woman, decorated by all her attire, was the homage thought most worthy of Athena. Then it would not be necessary to rely on the risk of violent distraction alone, if the excavations at Athens had yielded nothing for male figures, which could be compared to the rich series of statues of women, that we owe to the fortunate finds of 1886.

Here is a statue of a man lacking the head and extremities of the members (Fig. 321). For clothing is the long blatted tunic, and a mantle is cast on one shoulder, leaving the other uncovered. Being beneath the himation, the left arm hangs beside the body. Free in its movements, the right arm was frankly bent. The forearm and added piece that was not found, must present some offering, a branch of foliage or a dish, a fruit or a victim. Everything here, attitude and costume, recalls the female statues from the same source. If the chin of this personage were beardless, the resemblance would be striking for one seeing the marble at a little distance. Doubtless for that reason the sculptor thought that he should make the indication of sex very distinct beneath the tunic. Several heads that we mention apparently belong to the figures of this kind; but this is ^{the} only one with the Moschoonore, that gives some idea of the appearance presented by these images of the citizens of Athens, mingled in picturesque disorder with those and their wives or daughters, and clothed in the same bright colors.

On the Acropolis have been found seated figures smaller than nature.¹ If none of them could be completely restored, there is no doubt concerning the meaning of the theme. On

that one of these images least mutilated, the head is wanting. The torso is nude and the lower part of the body is enveloped in drapery that a girdle fastens at the level of the haunches. On the knees is a sort of desk that supports a diptych. One of the tablets is laid on the top of the desk, while the other hangs at the side (Fig. 322). The hands were seen to be occupied in writing in what remains of another article of some kind, broken at the height of the loins. We detach from it the tablet, on which is distinguished the slightly raised border, that surrounds the field covered by a thin coat of wax (Fig. 323). The left hand rests on the corner of the tablet and held it in place, while the right moved the stylus that traced the characters.

note 1. p. 630. Wurtmüller. *Karmore von der Akropolis*. (Ath. Mitt. 1881. p. 174-185, pl. VI).

If on all these statuettes, the diptych was placed well in view, this is because it was intended to define the nature of the service, that the Athenian recognizable thereby had rendered to the goddess during his life. A certain believer caused himself to be represented bearing on his shoulders a victim promised to the altar; he had thought to give thus a durable value to the ritual act of his sacrifice. In that same belief a certain other citizen had desired to perpetuate the memory of the pious care with which he had kept account of the valuable objects presented in a certain temple. His image was defined by the name inscribed on the base, and would always be there to recall to the memory of the deity whose property he had faithfully managed. The scribes of the 6th century, whose mutilated effigies we have there, are the predecessors of those treasurers of Athena, who in the 5th century engraved on marble long inventories, of which considerable fragments have been found on the Akropolis, and which have furnished precious information concerning the history of Athens.

These monuments have recalled those Egyptian scribes that appear in the paintings of the hypogæums, and which also are shown in our museums in the form of statuettes cast in bronze or cut in limestone.¹ Is this merely a simple coincidence? In both cases the office of the writer imposes a similar attitude, the same movement of the arm and hand.

The identity of the function will suffice to give a reason for the resemblance. Rigorously, one can adhere to this explanation; but there are yet certain indications which seem favorable to the hypothesis of a direct imitation. The statuette of the Acropolis presents in certain respects a very unusual appearance. In no other work of archaic sculpture do we find this nude bust, this piece of cloth rolled around the loins and pressed against the thighs in the fashion of the Egyptian *oschanti*. Only the plaits, here without flexibility, do not reproduce the pattern-like arrangement of those of the draperies of the Egyptian artist. Perhaps it will be objected, that ordinarily the pose of the scribes of Memphis or of Thebes is not entirely that of their colleagues of Athens. Like the celebrated scribe of the Louvre, they are seated on a mat on the ground, their legs crossed under them; but in the cases of our museums in which are arranged small Egyptian bronzes, some scribes are however discovered, that instead of being crouched on the soil, are seated on a stool like the Greek clerk, with the legs hanging down. Brought to Athens by some traveler, a statuette of this type could serve as a model for the Attic sculptor, when in the exercise of his employment, he had occasion to represent a treasurer of the goddess.

note 1.p.681. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. I. pl. 19, pl. X.

note 1.p.682. Furtwängler, (the same, p. 183, note 2) cites for the museum of Berlin alone, three examples of these scribes seated on chairs.

Other indications permit us to divine the relations that Attica maintained with Egypt, and the taste that men had at Athens for the products of that civilization. From the time of Pisistratus, a certain Anasis signed the vases profusely distributed in commerce by one of the principal workmen of the Ceramicos: now to judge of him by his name, that artist must have originally been from some one of the cities of the Delta. One also remembers this pedestal whose moulding reproduces with striking fidelity the characteristic profile of the Egyptian *cavetto*.²

note 2.p.682. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol.VII.p.550 and pl. 251

This type of the seated scribe like the Egyptian is represented by only the fragments of 2 or 4 statuettes. *Horseshoe*

were more numerous there. There have been found many fragments of groups formed with the horses on which they were mounted, or that they held by the hand.² These equestrian figures have been more injured than the scribes by the rage of the destroyers. If we have the bodies of several horses nearly intact, of the riders with perhaps one exception, there does not remain more than the legs, that sometimes have adhered to the base that they enclosed. With but one exception are no bases with inscriptions; if one desires to arrange these monuments in chronological order, to establish that classification is no criterion other than the study of the quality of the execution, here still very awkward, there freer and more precise.¹

Note 3, p. 632. In the 4th century were yet on the acropolis a certain number of effigies of this kind; Aristotle cites the inscription on one of these groups, where the rider stood beside his horse. (Athenion politico, VII). Although he calls these figures "anathemata ton archaion," those that he saw and whose dedications he read can scarcely be those, whose fragments we are studying here, such as heaped the ground beneath the hammers of the Persians. But these dedications could only become more and more frequent after the moment, when soon after the second Median war, Athens began to have a national cavalry.

Note 1, p. 632. Winter. Archaische Reiterbilder von der Akropolis. (Jahrb. 1892 p. 135-136).

What is more ancient would be the heads and breasts of horses, that appear to have belonged to a chariot presented in front view, as on the metope of the old temple of Selinonte.² Then would come the most important remnant of one of these groups that we possess. If almost nothing remains of the horse, there is the entire torso of the rider. (Fig. 324), except the head, arms and the legs from the middle of the thighs. By the narrowness of the haunches which contrast with the breadth of the chest and of the thighs as a purely linear indication of the sides and of the abdominal muscles, one would be tempted to believe that this monument is nearly contemporaneous with the Moschopore. Without stopping at many remains of horses, whose places have been marked in the series, we come to a fragment that has had a single

fortune for some time. Nothing but the two legs of the rider have been found; but on him has been bestowed a name derived from the multitude of votive monuments; he is called the Persian cavalier.¹ What procured for him that appellation is, that both legs are covered by tight trousers that descend to the ankle (Fig. 325). On these trousers as well as on the bottom of the jacket that covered the bust was very clearly distinguished at the time of discovery, varied designs, scales, frets and lozenges, painted in violet and red, green and blue. These varicolored fabrics, these trousers foreign to Hellenic customs, characterizes the Asian costume, which especially in the paintings of vases is attributed by the Greek artists to barbarians like the Phrygians and Scythians, Thracians and Medes. This sculpture has been compared to a cup in the museum of Oxford decorated by the image of a cavalier dressed in the same fashion, armed with the bow and quiver, a cup on which is read the inscription "Miltiades palos;"² among the fragments of the equestrian statue have also been found the pieces of a quiver.³ We would have there two contemporaneous monuments, that by different means have expressed the same feeling, the joy that the people of Athens felt on the morrow of the day of Marathon. The painter expressed this sentiment by the choice of his motive and by the acclamation in honor of the conqueror, that his brass traced on the clay; at the same time, some one of the first citizens of the city, perhaps Miltiades himself, was made the interpreter of this patriotic joy by consecrating on the Acropolis this effigy of the vanquished enemy.

note 2.p.632. winter. nrs. 1, 4.

note 1.p.634. studnicka. ein denkmal des sieges bei marathon. (jahrb.1891.p.239-248).

note 2.p.634. klein. die griechischen vasen mit siebelschriften; plate before frontispiece and p. 148. p. Gardner. catalogue of greek vases in the ashmolean museum. pl. VIII.

note 3.p.634. It is supposed that this quiver was attached to the top of the thigh of the cavalier, where the marble is pierced by two holes.

Nothing is more ingeniously combined. The explanation proposed for the cup seems to confirm in the most unexpected manner the conjecture treating the statue; but a first dif-

difficulty is that there are serious reasons for calling in doubt the date assigned to the cup: competent judges agree in believing it rather of the last years of the 6th century than after 490.¹ As for the marble cavalier, there is every reason to think that he was neither a Scythian nor a Persian. There has been discovered on the Acropolis a base in which is thought can be recognized that which bore this figure. On it is read:—“(Dio)kleides, son of Diokles, has consecrated to Athena.”² All analogies lead one to assume that the statue was the portrait of the giver. It remains to give a reason for the singularity of the costume here and on the painted cup: now it is explained in a very plausible manner by the relations that the Athenian nobility, about that time, maintained in Thrace, where Miltiades the elder, chief of the rich family of Philaides, inherited after him by his nephew Stesagoras and his son Miltiades the younger, the future victor of Marathon. Many young Athenians must seek their fortune near those tyrants, and therefore for winter campaigns, they had assumed the habit of taking from the barbarians whom they fought, clothing more suited to the climate than the Greek costume with the legs nude. On returning to Athens, the young swells then led the fashion, and whose name is read accompanied by the epithet *palos* on the painted vases, would freely show themselves in public in that foreign clothing, which brought to mind their adventures and distant exploits.

245

note T.p. 635. Winter, p. 155-156; C.T. Att. IV, 372.

note T.p. 635. Winter, p. 154. F. Gardner, who wrote the Catalogue of the vases of the museum of Oxford in which is found the vase in question, is of the same opinion.

It has been recently established that Athens did not then possess a cavalry corps.¹ Mounted infantry formed the *hoplites* of the two first classes. For the most part these *hoplites* traveled on horseback to the place of the battle: each of them was then followed by a squire, who also had his mount. During the combat that was between men on foot, this companion held the horse of his master: in case of victory, being lightly armed, he took part in the pursuit of the enemy. The “*uperetai*” seem to have been always sons of a good family, who before attaining the age at which they must then

Themselves assume the heavy armor of the hoplite, were trained in that manner to the fatigues of military service. It is believed that these squires appear in the inferior lists of the steles or of the pedestals of funerary statues (Fig. 51). Their presence there indicates that the deceased belonged to the class of the pentascomedimnes or that of the *o*chevaliers. As for those statues of horsemen erected on the Acropolis, men are inclined to see in them the offerings of the citizens, who had commenced in the army as squires; what the donors desired to recall thus was the part that they had taken from their youth in the enterprizes of the battles of the city.

note 1. p. 626. M. Pellicé. Les Hippias Athéniens. 1892. (extract from *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. 27.

Here is the last reason and not the least decisive, for rejecting the hypothesis of a trophy of Marathon. If it were true that the group in question was executed in the brief interval separating the two Median wars, one should recognize there by the character of the execution, the most recent or at least one of the most recent monuments of this series. Now such is not the case: several of these fragments give the impression of an art which appears more advanced, than is that of the sculptor who cut in marble the so-called Persian cavalier. We reproduce the fragment that can assume to form the last term of the series. (Fig. 226). The neck and shoulders of the horse are here very much finer, the head is more elevated and more alive, the eye is better placed, and the mane is represented in a less conventional manner. There are between these monuments differences sufficiently marked for it to appear certain that the so-called Persian cavalier precedes by a certain number of years the group of which the last fragment forms a part.

If time had less injured those virile figures, one could have studied in them, as done for the female type of the Xanthi, the progress that sculpture realized at the end of the century in the representation of the men's bodies, an advance that one can even divine in the fragments that remain to us. In one of them (Fig. 227) the nude is modeled with singular precision, and especially the feet with the well designed projection of the ankle and the length of the toes.

in an elegance that recalls that of the same extremities in the female statue dedicated by Euthydicos (Fig. 298).

For lack of the bodies, we have only a series of heads for measuring the route thus passed over, of heads that can scarcely have belonged except to votive statues. Among these fragments are those which, though cut in marble, seem to have been executed by workmen accustomed to work in tufa. Without going back to that, one can open this series by the study of a work which, though already attesting in its author a certain skill in chiseling marble, still shows the procedures in execution of the earlier period. This refers to what is called the Rampin head, from the name of the first possessor, who acquired it at Athens and left it to the museum of the Louvre (Fig. 328).

This head came from a statue a little smaller than nature. "The profile must be first observed, to seize its true character. The flat jaw with stiff contours, the muscle projecting with hardness on the neck, the awkwardly drawn and slightly hollowed ear, that seems to be in wood, then the square fashion in which the hair is cut on the nape, are various traits that have a very clear signification and recall at once the ancient technique of wood, whose traditions were continued in that of tufa. The view of the face produces a weaker though similar impression, because of the flattening of both cheeks," the dryness of the receding chin and the lack of modeling in the lips. The eyes are too near the nose, they are still too much below the plane of the temples, which makes them too much swelled. The appearance of those great eyes joined to the vague smile that runs like a reflection over the arched lips and on the tense skin of the cheek bones, makes one think of the Moschoonore and of that of the triple Typhon in tufa. Beard and hair are wrought in identical manner: they form numerous chalets placed next small beads, that diminish in size as they continue from the starting point."¹ By this entirely conventional procedure are executed the little curls below the oak crown and terminated by a spiral coil, are close together and extend on the brow where they descend very low. It is the same with the two longer tresses that on both sides of the face hang before the ear in the fashion that we term heart-curls. Beard and

hair were uniformly painted red. A trace of red is visible above the upper lip and ^{it} merits recognition that the moustache was indicated by a simple line with the brush. From the vestiges remaining, it was a thinly growing moustache, just as the artist had wished to represent the short curly down along the cheeks and around the chin, which is the first beard of the young man. The statue then represents a young athlete.

note 1. p. 688. Lechat. La tête rampin. (Monuments Piot. vol. VII, p. 146-147).

This statue was indeed an Attic work. What allows this to be affirmed is, not only that the fragment was found at Athens, either on the Acropolis itself, or on the southern slope of the citadel;¹ It is particularly the resemblances, that we have indicated between this fragment and works like the Typhon in tufa and the Moschophore, in which one recognizes with entire certainty the first attempts of the Attic chisel. These are further not the only analogies and correspondences of this sort that one finds to recover. On several heads of tufa the beard and hair are rendered by the same strings of beads (Fig. 26). As for the regular symmetry which the tool has endeavored to establish in the neglect of that laborious search for grace, we have found them in most of the female statues of the Acropolis (Pls. IV, V, XII). The sculptor that chiseled that head has still retained something of the practice, that formed his apprenticeship in his first youth, under some master of the old school; but later he was subject to the influence of artists, who had brought marble into fashion, and he was aroused to reproduce on a male head those coquettish arrangements of the hair, the model for which was offered by the female figures. The statue surmounted by that head must be ^{of} nearly the same time as the most ancient Korai; it is very probable that it was executed about the middle of the century about the year 550.

note 1. p. 689. Albert Dumont. Tête en marbre d'ancien style athenien. (Monuments grecs, publiées par l'association, etc. 1878. p. 1).

In spite of certain appearances that may deceive at first sight, the so-called Jacobson head, from the name of its present possessor, is certainly more recent than the Parol

head. (Fig. 329).¹ In the position of the eyes, there is here still some trace of that obliquity, that is the rule in the very ancient sculptures, and high arched eyebrows follow the same direction. The eyeball is as projecting as on the preceding head; but the oval of the orbit is drawn more correctly here; the eyelids are more flexible and one feels that they are more mobile. What especially evidences an art already more advanced is the modeling, all very broad and very correct for the cheeks, the turn of the mouth and of the chin. The very marked relief of the cheek bones, the strong jaws divined beneath the covering of flesh, the firm and precise art of the lips, give to this face an expression of energy, slightly brutal but according well with the hypothesis suggested to the first writer by a curious detail. The ears are close to the head and seem as if frosted and swelled. The sculptor has shown himself in the rest of the figure sufficiently master of form, that one cannot think of explaining as unskilfulness the singular appearance given to those organs. The effect is intended. These deformations of the cartilages with the injury to the hearing that results from it, are accidents common to boxers and to wrestlers of all countries. These were termed broken ears by the ancients.¹ The Greek artists were so careful for truth, that they took care not to forget this characteristic peculiarity on the effigies of wrestlers. Whether votive or funerary, the statue must then represent a pancratisst, an athlete that practised both wrestling and boxing. There can be no question of seeking a portrait in it: art did not then aim at an individual resemblance; but one can scarcely doubt that the artist borrowed from nature the essential elements of this type, those impressed on all persons by the practice of a certain professional training. What also confirms this supposition is the mode employed by the statuary for rendering the hair. There is nothing here resembling those skilful constructor of curls, whose arrangement could be deranged by the least shock; nothing but hair cut very short, divided in plaits, where the hand of the adversary could find nothing to seize. The marble-worker further had only to imitate here the bronze-worker. Nearly like this was treated the hair on those statues of Olympian and Pythian athletes, the

most beautiful of whom are in bronze.

note 1.p.640. For the source see Rayet, *Études d'art et d'archéologie*, p.1-8. 1888; Arndt, *Ägyptisches Museum de Xy-carls-berg*, text and pls. I, II; Rayet, the first owner, was told that it was found near the gas works, which suggests that the statue belonged to one of those funerary monuments, that made an unbroken border of the sacred way from the Dipylon to the bridge of the Cephissus. Wilchnöfer was assured that the head was exhumed at Phalerum.

note 1.p.642. See the texts collected by Rayet, p.I and n. 2, and add to the examples the great bronze statue of a pugilist possessed by the museum of the Paths at Rome.

Among the monuments that one can compare with the Jacobsen head by their execution and probable age, we shall cite only a lash head (Fig. 330). It is not precisely known whether it was discovered at Egina or at Athens;² but it is agreed to recognize in it an Attic work. It seems very nearly related to the sculptures just described, and is distinguished from them by a trait peculiar to it. The sculptor has tried his best to model the face; but he is not interested in the hair, moustache and beard.² On the cranium, the upper lip and the chin, is not a stroke of the chisel, not even the attraction and indication of a work to be made. The workman was satisfied to treat the marble with the point, where in life the hair covers the skin: on this roughness the color would adhere better than on the smooth surface. In spite of the precautions taken, there remains no trace of the color, doubtless a red more or less vivid, that had been placed on the surfaces so prepared. It matters little; there can be no doubt of the nature of the means employed by the artist to produce the desired effect: this fragment alone sufficed to reveal the importance of the role enjoyed by color in the procedures of archaic sculpture. As for the execution, one will note particularly the rendering of the ear: however simple it may be, it reproduces very faithfully what nature gives. One can say as much of the face. The cheek bones do not have here that slightly exaggerated projection, that we had noted elsewhere. The skin appears stretched over the full and firm cheeks.¹

note 2.p.642. The statements of the dealer at Athens, who

sold it to the ambassador Sabouroff have been contradicted. (Furtwängler. collection Sabouroff, text and pls. III, IV. X. museum zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Sculpturen. 1891. No. 308).

Note 3.p.642. Unknown is the source of a head purchased in 1817 from Fauvel, French consul at Athens, belonging to the Louvre. (Collignon, monuments grecs publiés par l'Association, etc. 1889-1890. p.25-42, fig. in text). The work is nearly the same as on the Sabouroff head; it is the same procedure of indenting.

Note 1.p.643. There seems to date from the same time and the same workshops a marble head of pentelican marble acquired by the Louvre with some other fragments of the statue of which it formed a part. See Collignon. fragments d'une statue en marbre d'ancien style attique. (Gaz. arch. 1887, p. 82-93, pl. XI). The Jacobsen head has also been compared to two monuments, of whose source no certain information exists, but in which it was believed that one could recognize works of an Attic chisel by their execution. This refers to a head in the Louvre, (Collignon, F.C.R. 1892. p. 447-452, pl. V), and a head in the British Museum. (Collignon, F.C.R. 1898, p. 284-301, pls. XII, XIII).

Progress is still more marked on a head of a young man, in which it has been agreed to recognize one of the most modern pieces, that have come from what German archaeologists call The Persian rubbish. Only very little time must have passed from the epoch when the statue was erected on the Acropolis and that when all these images were reduced to bits. By its style, this head^{of} natural size belongs to the art of the 5th rather than to that of the 6th century. It is further marvellously preserved and like a flower of the chisel: the marble would not have retained this freshness, had it remained for some years exposed on the plateau to every storm. (Plate XIV).

In the composition of the hair, there is at the same time an elegance that is in the traditions of the archaic sculpture of Athens, and a simplicity that causes the presentation of a sudden change of taste. The hair is divided into two masses of unequal importance. It forms two great tresses behind, that instead of hanging on the back, like the long

plaits that we have found on the most ancient statues, are brought forward, pass over the ears and are lost under a thick covering of light and wavy curls. These cover the entire crown of the head and fall in front where they descend very low, leaving but a short interval between the eyebrows and the great arch described by them around the top of the face. This arrangement seems to represent one of the varieties of coiffure called by the Greeks the *crobyle*, that according to Thucydides had ceased to be in use in Athens but recently, when he wrote.¹ Numerous monuments prove that it was generally adopted in the years that preceded and also closely followed the two median wars.² It is again found on the head of a young man, which we borrow from a vase of Euphronios (Fig. 231): the latter seems to have commenced as a ceramist painter about the first years of the 5th century, from which also dates the fragment that we are studying. The only difference between the sculptured and the painted heads is, that in the latter the head is enclosed by a narrow beard.

NOTE 1. p. 644. Thucydides. I. 6.

NOTE 2. p. 644. These monuments have been collected and described by Schrieter. (*Der altattische Crobylos*, (Athen. Mitt. vol. VIII, p. 246-273, pls. XI; XII; vol. IX, p. 232-254, pls. X, Y).

To this abundance of curls and that uneven surface grooved and shaded by the flexibility of all those curved lines as composed on a face entirely beardless, the polish of the flesh, youthful and firm, a contrast whose happy effect is again accented by the vigor of the shadow cast on the brow by the dense locks of the abundant hair and the projection of its terminal fringe, this sort of enclosure contributes to enhance the regular purity of the lines. The arched eyebrows are finely drawn. The eyes are large and well cut. The eyeball no longer has that exaggerated projection, that we have seen presented everywhere in the earlier heads. The nose separates from the brow a scarcely marked inflection in outline, is firm and straight and the chin has a beautiful roundness. In the mouth a slight projection of the lower lip aids the expression. There is no longer anything more of the conventional smile that the budding art believed should be imposed on all its models. The features are rather

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To this abundance of curls and that uneven surface grooved and shaded by the flexibility of all those curved lines as composed on a face entirely beardless, the polish of the flesh, youthful and firm, a contrast whose happy effect is again accented by the vigor of the shadow cast on the brow by the dense locks of the abundant hair and the projection of its terminal fringe, this sort of enclosure contributes to enhance the regular purity of the lines. The arched eyebrows are finely drawn. The eyes are large and well cut. The eyeball no longer has that exaggerated projection, that we have seen presented everywhere in the earlier heads. The nose separates from the brow a scarcely marked inflection in outline, is firm and straight and the chin has a beautiful roundness. In the mouth a slight projection of the lower lip aids the expression. There is no longer anything new of the conventional smile that the budding art believed should be imposed on all its models. The features are rather

a little sad or at least are grave and thoughtful. The mobility of this youthful head recalls that of the female marble head dedicated by Rathydicos (Fig. 299). The man's head seems a little more recent. The work on the hair is of a bolder freedom, and the oval of the face is longer and more elegant. From one work to the other, the modeling has gained in flexibility and freedom. The statue of that has but slight remains and must have been executed between 490 and 480.

To the same years it is proposed to attribute a statue of a young man almost entire today:¹ There is wanting only the left arm, right forearm and the lower part of the legs. The torso is in excellent preservation. The head that formerly surmounted it has been found; for that was substituted one of later date, which a first too hasty restoration had fitted to the fragment which it was desired to complete. Before the entirety thus constructed, the first archaeologist who studied this statue had assigned it to the period between 480 and 460.² Even after the correction that restored to the work its true appearance, we do not think that one should dissent from that hypothesis. In the circumstances of the discovery of the various fragments from which the statue was restored, there is nothing that compels it to be regarded as taken from the layer of rubbish created by the burning of the Acropolis. The head has been replaced in its proper place and doubtless still has a slightly archaic character; but it presents an incontestable analogy to that of the Harmodios of Naples, a copy of a work after the second Median war.³ There is also in the rendering of the movement of the body and members a knowledge of the nude and a freedom of execution, that is found in the same degree in none of the figures that certainly precede the taking of Athens.

note 1. p. 646. *Histoire de la sculpture*. t. p. 373-374, figs. 191, 192.

note 2. p. 646. *Martinélier*. Statue von der Akropolis. (Athen. Mitt. 1880. p. 20-42, pl. 1).

note 3. p. 646. *M. Sophocles*. (Ephemeris. 1888. p. 85-89, pl. III).

In the same museum of the Acropolis is another statue of the same type, which appears a little more ancient: it may belong to the first quarter of the 5th century.¹ The left

leg is thrown forward according to the antique custom; the pose still retains some stiffness and the execution in places bears traces of a certain indecision. The proportions are slender. The sculptor further has well seized the character of this body of a youth, on which the muscles have not yet been developed by the exercises of the gymnasium. The bony skeleton is but slightly indicated under the supple skin, that everywhere covers a thin layer of fat. The head has suffered too much to lend itself to an analysis of the features.

note 1.p.647. Delbrück. *Die Junglingsfigur des Akropolis-Museums*. (Athen. Mitt. 1900. p. 273-284, pls. XV, XVI). In the year the figure is studied with much care; but I have not been able to comprehend why the author names it Samian-Varian, nor on what basis he distinguishes a portion as a Varian style.

This is likewise an ephēbos, beardless and nude, represented by a statuette of which there no longer remains only the head and the torso.² The hair is arranged on the brow in great locks freely falling on the nape. The head is smiling and turned to the right with a graceful movement. The attitude here has more ease, it is more free than on the statue previously described. This is still a marble that must be later than the year 500.

note 2.p.647. *Monetae et Alados*. Pl. XXXV.

With the facility in the transportation of the bronzes, one always hesitates to cause them to take place in defining the character of a local art, especially when the country where they were collected is not one in which the arts of metal have been most flourishing. Yet here is a statue of that sort, found on the Acropolis, that was perhaps cast to approach marbles from the same source (Fig. 222). Was it cast at Athens? We do not know; but by more than one significant trait is believed to be recognized, in the model supplied to the founder, the hand of the Attic sculptor.¹

note 1.p.648. De Ridder. *Catalogue des bronzes trouvées au l'Acropole d'Athènes*. 1896. p. 33 and note 740.

To judge of it by the latest works that we have studied and reproduced, statuary had attained toward 450 among the Athenians, both in the representation of the body and the

features of man as in that of woman, to free itself from the yoke of archaic conventions, and to touch the moment when nature no longer presented to the artist form or movement, that he did not know how to render with intelligent and joyous freedom. It remains to review the reliefs. These are generally better preserved: they afforded less opportunity for injuries by man and time, than high reliefs half detached from the ground and figures in the round.

2. Votive Reliefs and Funerary Steles.

There was recently found at Athens very near the so-called temple of Theseus a most curious relief. Its theme is also singular and the execution presents peculiarities very worthy of attention (Fig. 232). The marble slab here does not have the elongated and pyramidal shape commonly presented at that epoch by funerary steles (Fig. 239). What recalls the two Ionic volutes that decorate its top is the crowning of many of the pedestals surmounted by the votive statues of the Acropolis.²

note 2. p. 648. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, pl. LIV, 4, 5; Figs. 280, 281.

The personage outlined on the slab is nude and beardless. His head is covered by a helmet whose high and broad crest extends on two sides beyond the head. His nose as that adopted by archaic art to suggest the idea of a rapid flight, by a mode of which we have already given many examples. While the left leg, its lower part gone with a corner of the stone, is thrown forward, the right is bent so much, that the ankle makes a right angle with the thigh: the knee almost touches the ground. With this movement of the lower limbs, one would expect to see the head carried in the same direction; on the contrary, it is turned in the opposite one. With closed eyes it falls on the left shoulder, like that of the dying or sick person feeling faint. The pose of the arm is that of a person stifled, and who by instinct gives more play to his lungs, seeking to free his neck from the clothing covering it: here when the torso is nude, it would be said that the youth in a spasmodic pain attempts to open his chest to afford free passage to the air.

So far as I know, this expressive gesture is found on no other antique monument. It only seems to allow but one ex-

explanation. The base forming a part of the relief must bear the votive statue of a victor in the race, in that race of a particular kind termed the race under arms: with helmet on head and shield on the arm, the hoplitedromos sprang into the arena. It was required of the sculptor to recall on the pediment by a significant image an episode of the contest in which the prize had been won by the runner. At the moment of reaching the goal, he was seized by a crisis of acute dilation of the heart, frequently caused by violent exercise. Had his faintness been but brief, or had he succumbed in his triumph? We do not know. Those accidents were not rare in these games, where the passionate desire to win sometimes led the athlete to exceed the limit of effort. Pausanias relates that Ladas, the most agile runner of his time, fell ill immediately after his victory and died a few days later. Ladas was buried in Laconia: but he had his statue in the temple of Apollo Lycian at Argos.¹

note 1. p. 650. Pausanias. II, 12-7; III, 21-1.

If one thinks to divine thus the meaning of this singular representation, it is very difficult to know how to date this work. The arrangement of the hair has a very archaic character with that fringe of locks around the brow, with the two tresses falling before the ear and the four longer ones that escape from the bottom of the helmet. Those tresses have the appearance and the stiffness of hemp rope. In all the rest of the work is a curious mixture of skill and awkwardness. By the inclination given to this head, that bends and yet retains a certain grace, the artist knew very well how to translate his idea, and what renders that still clearer is the painful shrinking of the arms. If this unusual movement was taken from nature and rendered with vivid accuracy, on the other hand there is something ungraceful in the equality of the angles made with the trunk by these members, and in the projection of the acute elbows. The sculptor has not tried to lessen this defect, as he could have done by not bending both arms exactly alike. The illness is carried too far: the head and the entire lower part of the body are seen in profile, while the bust is presented in front: the living model can present nothing that resembles this distortion.

There is scarcely any modeling on the torso, neither any indication of the pectoral nor of the abdominal muscles; but on the other hand, the contour of the rump, thigh, calf and foot are traced by a firm and sure hand. One even feels in all that part of the body, beneath the skin, the direction and play of the principal muscles.

This relief is less ancient than it might appear at first. It is in island marble; we know that that it is later than the time when this material entered into current use at Athens. The race under arms was only introduced very late into the gymnastic games of Greece. First attempted at Nemea, it was only in 520 that it had its marked place in the festival of Olympia.¹ Nothing compels us to above that date, when the execution of the relief is considered. The sculptor shows himself very skilful in places. If he has committed the faults mentioned by us, this is perhaps because the theme imposed on him placed him before difficulties, that he had not been trained to solve. More than one stole on which were repeated the motives dear to tradition had left his workshop; but to represent here at the same time the dash of the race and the apparent or actual death that ended it, he had neither acquired experience to utilize nor a model to follow.

note 1.p.651. Philostratus. *Gymnastika*. 57.

The drawing is more correct, but on the whole, there is a more archaic taste in the relief reproduced elsewhere for the place held by Athens (Fig. 314): we have mentioned there the convention, which measures the weight of the personages by their greater or lesser dignity, by their condition of gods or of mortals.

One finds himself in presence of the products of a more advanced art with the fragments of two reliefs, that seem to have belonged to the same decoration, to a frieze on which was represented a procession of gods (Figs. 224, 225).² Of one slab was found only the upper part. On it are seen the head and bust of a personage that can only be Hermes; he alone of the gods wore the petase or flat cap by which he is crowned here. His beard is pointed. The hair is retained by a band around the head and is raised and gathered in a mass on the nape. The sole vestment is a tunic, that

leaves nude the neck, top of the chest and the arms. The god has no wings on the shoulders; but although the legs have disappeared, it is divined that he walks with a rapid step; one feels in him that alert and youthful strength, that in works of classical art will characterize the messenger of Olympus (Fig. 334).

Note 2.p.651. Studniczka conjectured that this relief decorated the base of a monument erected concerning a victory, that the Athenians obtained in 507 over the Chalcidians and Thebans. The style of the monument is not contrary to that hypothesis.

The other relief is less incomplete. An entire slab of it remains together with a fragment of the adjacent slab (Fig. 335). On the field is a personage that springs on a chariot where he has already placed the left foot: the right foot still rests on the ground. The fragment found of the adjacent slab shows the tails of the two horses and a leg of one of them. The figure has lost only the face, whose outline is alone distinguished; but how must it be interpreted, and what is its sex? Opinions are divided on that point. At first was seen a goddess, Athena, or some other. Later it was desired to find a man there; it was asked whether this was not some young victor of the Panathenaic race, returning to the city on the chariot with which he had won the prize.¹ Beneath the mantle thrown over his shoulders and falling in front in two great equal folds, is perceived a long and finely plaited tunic. This usually clothed the drivers of chariots, that borne by the auriga of Delphi. This hair raised on the nape is said to be rather a virile coiffure; on another of his reliefs, this same sculptor has given it to his Hermes. That is true; but on the monument called that of the Harpies are women with hair thus arranged (Fig. 145). The argument was then not decisive, and other reasons render this hypothesis rather improbable. For the dimensions of the slabs, the nature of the marble and the identity of execution, it appears certain that the Hermes and the personage in the chariot formed parts of the same entirety; now by what reason would a god thus find himself associated with the triumph of a mortal? Goddesses, Cybele or Athena, are seen on the frieze of the treasury of Siphos (Figs. 162, 164)

to make the same monument. The museum of the Acropolis contains fragments of a dozen little votive reliefs of terra cotta, that represent Athena mounting her chariot. However, if it be desired to renounce seeking a goddess here, this must be to recognize in this figure a god, probably Apollo, leading the chorus of fraternal deities, a scene represented with the addition of the chariot on more than one painted vase. In his quality of herald, Apollo there precedes the gods and goddesses of Delphi.¹

note 2. p. 852. *Acropolis. Proemialis*. 1885, p. 251. Pöschner, *Die Akropolis*.

note 1. p. 853. Hauser. *Die sogenannte wagenbestreidende Frau, ihre Tracht und Pedestale*. (Jahrb. 1892. p. 54-67).

Archaism scarcely makes itself felt longer in these two reliefs, than in the character of certain details of the execution, such as the arrangement of the coiffure and the beard, as well as that of the drapery. On the latter the folds still have that marked symmetry in which the taste of the time found pleasure; but the general arrangement of the clothing is most naive. In the Apollo the proportions of the body are slender. In the Hermes the vigor evidenced by the width of the neck and the amplitude of the arm are indicated with discretion, that does not allow us to forget that the personage represented here is the patron of the gymnasium and the most agile of the gods. As for the Athena or the Apollo, the movement is well chosen and is rendered with rare accuracy. The ease and skill of the tool are carried there as far as possible; see the abundant folds of the tunic of Hermes, and on the driver of the chariot, the difference that the chisel could indicate without insisting beyond measure, between the appearance of the two fabrics, those of the tunic and of the mantle.

Some other monuments of the same kind have not sufficient importance to merit that one should stop for them. There is a certain votive relief found near the Propyleum, whose interest is particularly related to the cult of Graces, whose statues stood at the entrance of the Acropolis.¹ There is seen Hermes with his flute at his mouth, who precedes the three goddesses, followed by a nude youth. The work on this fragment is rapid and slack.² The relief found at Lanotras

in Lydia represents Hercules overthrowing the lion of Nemea.³ It is inferred from this that at least a chapel consecrated to the hero was there. Among many others, this is an indication of the popularity that Hercules enjoyed in Attica until the day when Theseus inherited the honors formerly rendered to his senior. The execution is further firm and frank here; the movement recalls that of the group in tufa, which places this conqueror in combat with Typhon.

note 1.p.854 This cult is so far known for Athens only from Pausanias. IX. 35-2.

note 2.p.854. Lechat. *Hermes et Charites*. (Au Musée, p.443-452, pl.III).

note 2.p.854. B. Reisch. *Herculesrelief von Lamprae*. (Ath. Mitt. 1887 p.118-120, pl.III).

By its qualities of execution is valuable the fragment of a stele, that seems to be nearly of the same time as the march of the gods. The heads and the lower part of the bodies have disappeared: yet one recognizes two women clothed in the tunic and himation, facing each other. One is seated and the other standing. (Fig. 226). The first seems to remove her mantle with the left hand. She makes a gesture with the right, that we have already recognized on other marbles; she extends the fingers as if she prepared herself to receive and take an object offered her as a present. The other young woman with the left hand raises a part of her mantle. Her right arm is raised in the air. One freely imagines it terminated by a hand holding and carrying forward a fruit or flower. The hair of this person hangs over her shoulders in long tresses that fall to her girdle.

There is reason to hesitate on the character that it is proper to attribute to this fragment. Was this stele consecrated in some sanctuary or erected on a tomb? We should see in it rather a scene of adoration. Between the two figures is a difference in height that we have already noted in a votive relief (Fig. 214), between Athena and the believers that worship her. Nothing indicates here a parting scene. This is neither tenderness nor sorrow, but respect is expressed by the attitude of the young girl, and it does not seem that in Attica was ever established the custom of deifying the dead. The sculptor and the painter have represented

them in the costume in which they were clothed, and in the occupations to which they had devoted themselves during life.

The Attic tomb, when its occupant had held a certain rank in the city, comprised above the grave or cell a visible part on which the image concurred with the epitaph in perpetuating the memory of the dead.¹ Those painted or sculptured steles are known, that fill an entire hall of the central museum at Athens. In one of his laws that Cicero has preserved by translation, Solon distinguished two forms of this external tomb, that he placed under the protection of the city, the monument and the column.² One could already infer from that text, that certain interments must be surmounted by figures in the round, and this conjecture has been conformed by the examination of the upper surface of the bases, that have served for supports of the funerary representations. Sure indications have been derived from the form of the hollow in which was inserted in the top of the base the part of the monument devoted to the image. In 1824 some twenty of these bases were studied from this point of view: now for 7 or 8 of them, there is no hesitation; what had been formerly inserted there was in the thin section of the slab, but the two feet of a statue.³

note 1. p. 658. On the arrangement and appearance of this tomb, see vol. VIII, Chapter 29, 2.

note 2. p. 658. Cicero, de legibus. II, 26.

note 3. p. 658. Böschke. Altattische Grabsteine. p. 302. (Ath. Mitt. 1879, p. 36-44, 289-306, pls. I-IV). We have reproduced one of these pedestals. (vol. VIII, p. 32, fig. 30).

Of those statues which left at Athens their imprint on the stone, none survived like that of Antenor, to resume its place on its ancient pedestal; but among the figures that in Athens and elsewhere appear to correspond to the idea that one has reason to conceive of those funerary images, there are several of them of which it is known that they were found in the necropolises or their immediate vicinity. The fact is attested for the male statue quite recently discovered at Kalivia Gourvara (fig. 99).⁴ It is the same for two other pretended archaic Apollos, that of Thera (fig. 124) and that of Tegea (fig. 127).⁶ The Louvre possesses three statues of seated women, that came from the cemetery of Wil-

Miletus (Fig. 112). Now a fragment of a female statue of the same type has been found at Athens, quite near the cemetery of the Dipylon, engaged in the wall built by Themistocles.¹ It is also on the site of a cemetery at Vari in Attica, that was exhumed an important fragment of an equestrian statue.² Finally, instead of erecting on the monument the image of the deceased, sometimes that of a sphinx in the round was placed there. There have been found in Attica several fragments of those figures. The use of this funerary symbol seems to have also been the fashion in Syprus.⁴ The best preserved of these sphinxes is that collected at Spata (Fig. 337). Its wings are painted red and dark blue and the hair is brown. The polos was ornamented by rosettes traced with the brush. With its curved mouth, its eyes slightly raised at the outer angles, and the rigorous symmetry of the feathers of the wing, scales covering the chest and the masses of hair that enclose the face, this marble has a very archaic appearance; however, there is much freedom in what remains of the body and hind members. The work must date from the time of Pisistratus.

note 4.p.656. *Histoire de l'art*. Vol.VIII, p.400.

note 5.p.656. The same. p. 321, note 1.

note 6.p.656. The same. p.398.

note 1.p.657. *Recherches*. 1874. p.480.

note 2.p.657. *Athen. Mitt.* 1879. p.302-303, pl. III.

note 3.p.657. On the sphinx as a funeral emblem, see *Ath. Mitt.* 1879, p.64, note 2; Reinhardt, *Griech. und Sicil. Vasenbilder*, p.38.

note 4.p.657. *Histoire de l'art*. Vol.III, plés. 151, 152.

A tomb of this type can be restored by the aid of a base of very original character discovered at Lambrica, the ancient Lamprae (Fig. 51):¹ still it is possible that there on the pedestal may have been a funerary statue, instead of the sphinx placed in the restoration, that of the hoplite to whose service was attached the squire represented on one face of the base.² This conjecture will be suggested by a fragment of an Attic funerary stele, on which above a cavalier like that of Lamprae is seen both feet of an effigy of much greater size (Fig. 338). The image of the rider seems to have there only a complementary character. This 3

biographical statement analogous to that supplied by the two reliefs, likewise of very slight projection, that decorate the lateral facades of the block. Three persons are there in the attitude consecrated to family lamentation. At the right is an old man, father of the deceased, at the left being two women, perhaps his woman and his spouse.

note 1.p.658. Winter. *Grabmal von Lamptrae*. (Athen-utt. 1887. p.105-112).

note 2.p.658. W.Helbig. *Les Hippes atheniens*. p.52-53.

If for Attica the funerary statue is represented only by a single monument (Fig. 129), it is entirely otherwise with the stele. The latter imposed a smaller expense on the family: it was then in more common use and is constructed by hundreds for the 5th and 4th centuries, the examples that have come down to us.³

note 3.p.658. All the reliefs known of this type are reproduced with religious care and briefly described in the great collection, whose publication has been undertaken by the Academy of Vienna and is carried on at Berlin under the direction of M. Conze. This is the title. *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, herausgegeben im Auftrage der k.kad.der Wiss.zu Wien, by A. Conze. Berlin. 1890.

The Attic funerary stele is a slab of slender form, slightly narrower at top in the palmation of elegant design (Fig. 339). Sometimes it suffices to engrave a name to which is added some very simple motives, like the cock and a star, whose outlines were traced with a brush on the marble. There were steles on which the entire ornamentation, composed of one or more figures, was executed by the painter without the aid of sculpture. Most of the time when they are found, colors and lines are left in only very slight vestiges: it is very rare that as the stele of Evseas, the entire design of the image is preserved on the stone, even almost to the least detail.⁴

note 4.p.658. *Die Attische Grabreliefs*. Pl. I.

It is the figure in a vertical position that these steles by their form seem called to to in their field: they retain for it nearly the natural dimensions. Among the Attic reliefs of this time, whose funerary destination cannot be doubted, we find none on which appeared the image of a woman.

and yet by several inscriptions read on detached bases, it is known that there is in Ionia, Thessaly and Laconia, women as well as men had their "sema" or monument with figure, statue or stele, either with painting or relief.¹ This lack has been filled by a fragment of a stele just acquired by the museum of Berlin, and whose Attic origin seems well established.² The marble is Pentelican, and the execution is that of the stelæ collected in Attic cemeteries. Like Aristion, the woman was represented here as standing (Fig. 340). One of her hands, the only one visible in the fragment preserved, holds a flower; the other must have hung at the side and raised the cloth of the tunic. The coiffure recalls that of many "Korai. The features present a certain analogy to those of the young man carrying a disk (Fig. 342) and with that of Aristion (Fig. 341): but here the eye is less fully opened; it is longer and more almond shaped; the lips are thicker and the cheeks are thinner. It appears that the sculptor desired to mark thus the difference existing in nature between the faces of men and women, but the appearance of the flesh of the two.

note 1. p. 660. C. I. A. I. 467, 468, 477. The sema of Lampitos was executed by Endoklos. The inscription does not state whether this was a statue or a relief. The word sema appears to have been employed to designate either mode of representation.

note 2. p. 660. Kekule von Stradonitz. Ueber das Bruchstück einer attischen Grabstele. (Sitzb. of Acad. of Berlin. 1902.

Monuments devoted to men were yet most numerous, and in what we have of these reliefs, the figures of the young persons are in the majority; but one also finds there in their war equipment hoplites, in whom by their beards are recognized adult men (Fig. 341). Without aiming at individual resemblance, the sculptor characterized the age and condition of the personage by the attitude, clothing and attributes given to him. Nothing better indicates the large part here assigned to convention, than the stele on which were represented together two young men standing and nude.¹ The outline of the first covers and almost entirely conceals that of the second, which is divined only by the doubling of the contour and by a rand projecting in front; that appears to belong to

the person in the second plane.

note 1.p.661. Grabreliefs. Pl. VIII. 2.

The most ancient and perhaps the most curious remains that we have of this funerary sculpture is a fragment of a stele discovered near this gate of the Dipylon, outside which ancient Athens had in all times its principal cemeteries. (Fig. 342). This is the top of the image, a beardless head profiled on one of those metal disks, that men exercised in the gymnasia by throwing as far as possible. The disk must have been colored red or dark blue, which better accented the outside of the face. With the left hand, whose inside and thumb are visible, the athlete supported the oar placed on his shoulder.

It is probable that the person was represented with the right arm hanging beside the body in the movement of a rapid march. In what remains to us, there is still much awkwardness. The eye of the face in profile is set in front view. With its thick cartilage and its swelled nostrils, the nose is very prominent. Only one very flat lobe of the ear is seen, concealed by the hair. The arrangement of the latter lacks elegance. Plaited in great tresses, these form a heavy mass held by four bands at its upper end. Yet with all its defects, the work has its charm. One feels there the same effort as on many heads of the Korai, the desire that the artisan felt to animate and illumine the face, to put expression into it. The angle of the mouth is raised, and the cheek is wrinkled to show the smile.

One divines a work of the same school, perhaps from the same workshop, in the fragment of another relief, that must be of a slightly later date.¹ We possess only the head and a part of the spear on which the young man leaned with the left hand. There is more freedom in the entirety. The arrangement of the hair is more happy, that is retained by a band around the head, and there is a certain aristocratic nobility in the slightly aquiline nose, yet fine and straight, in the calm mouth, in the narrow and solid chin (Fig. 343): but the surface of the marble has suffered here far more than on the bearer of the disk.

note 1.p.664. Grabreliefs., Pl.V.

It is the contrary on a very well preserved monument, the

stele discovered in 1839 at Velanidezza (Figs. 72, 340).² A soldier clothed in his equipment is seen leaning on his spear in the too limited field. A very low helmet crowns the head. The plume crowning it has disappeared! it was made separately and fitted by the aid of a projection. Over a short tunic descending to the middle of the thigh the warrior wears a cuirass whose fringe protects the abdomen. Greaves enclose the knee and the entire lower part of the leg. The foot is nude. The Athenian hoplite however never went to war nor even to parade without being shod, at least by sandals; but the artist desired to do honor to the mastery with which he treated the extremities of his figures.

note 2.p.664. Grabreliefs. Pl. II, 1.

Color completed the indications of the chisel. The slightly concave ground was painted red, from which the image rose in very slight relief. Touches of another red colored the hair and beard, the lips and eyelids. The helmet was dark blue, and the cuirass was dark on which were detached in light two bands ornamented by frets and chevrons. A lion's head engraved in lines and a star decorated the right shoulder. On the nude was no trace of coloring.

This stele must date from the last quarter of the 6th to 5th century. Its proportions are very correct, and save for the eye that is still badly presented, the drawing is more correct than that of the bearer of the disk: but one does not feel here to the same degree as in the head on the disk, the sincerity of the artist that seeks to inspire himself from nature; there is in the entirety a certain coldness, that betrays routine, but an already wise routine, very sure of its work. This is a type consecrated by more than one copy, that must have been taken at about that time by Attic marble-workers, for the tombs of the Epistrides. In the territory of another deme, Icaria, has been found a second stele almost similar to the first in every part; the same attitude and the same armor. The difference is only in some very secondary details.¹ The stele of Velanidezza appears to have been in a particularly careful execution. This is perhaps what decided the sculptor to sign it. "Ergas Aristokleous" is read on the face of the band on which are placed the feet of the deceased. The name of the latter, Aristion, is engraved

on the base in which was set the tall marble slab. Thus on the name of the stele of Aristion, archaeologists designate this monument today. I do not know who at the discovery had imagined calling this figure the soldier of Marathon, by reason of the place where it was exhumed. In the sense attached to it, this name was pure fancy; but it is no less true, that if one desired to attempt to form some idea of the features and equipment of one of those Marathon braves mentioned by Aristophanes, it would be proper to represent them with the features and costume of Aristion.

note 1.p.666. Grabreliefs. Pl. II, 2. The fragment reproduced in pl. III, a head and a torso, also seems to have belonged to a figure of the same type, as well as another. (Pl. VIII, 1).

As for the image of the nude young athlete, it has so far appeared in Attica only in the fragments of the torso and legs, on which the joints and muscles are sometimes accented with a rare vigor (Fig. 344);² but these remains suffice to show, that there also at Athens they are one of the current themes of funerary sculpture. One recognizes there a simplified form of the statues, destined to surmount the tomb, like the pretended Apollo of Tenos.

note 2.p.666. Grabreliefs. Pls. VII, VIII, 2.

Of all the votive or funerary reliefs that we have surveyed, the work in which the Attic chisel has most science and freedom, is that frieze of which there remains to us Hermes at the race and Apollo mounting his chariot (Figs. 224, 225). Traces of archaic conventions are scarcely sensible there: the sculptor now has but little progress to make in order to produce masterpieces, such as the great relief of Eleusis representing Triptolemus between Demeter and Kore.

3. What Attic Art owes to the Ionian and Dorian Schools.

In the inventory that we have labored to make of the archaic sculpture of Athens, we have not been able to take into account a great number of fragments heaped in the glass cases and storerooms of museums of that city, fragments of which none is perhaps devoid of interest. It has been necessary for us to adhere to the less imperfect and most important pieces. Most of these have been exhumed in the course of the last 50 years; but the great revelation is that owed

by the historian to the trenches, that from 1886 to 1889 were opened over the entire extent of the plateau of the citadel down to the solid rock. Thanks to these excavations, we see and even restore with its dominant colors and the forms characterizing it, "the red and blue Acropolis of Pisistratus and of Clisthenes."¹ We certainly represent to ourselves much better than Pausanias could in the time of the Roman empire, or even a contemporary of Demosthenes: we have a more correct idea of its appearance, which differed very greatly from that presented after the considerable works executed under the direction of Pericles, of Ictinus and of Phidias, when marble replaced limestone everywhere. An entire century of the development of the arts of Attica, which by these discoveries and the surprises that they have prepared for us, has been extricated from the thick layer of rubbish, in which only yesterday was buried and concealed from all eyes the very rich and varied works, that prepare, announce and explain that of the illustrious masters of the succeeding age.

note 1. p. 667. The expression is that of Lechat.

If by reason of the fragmentary condition of the monuments many details still escape us today, yet we seize the great lines: we know what conditions progress operated, and in what order the phases succeeded each other, until the dangerous and salutary crisis of the Median wars. The obscure and isolated Athens of the 7th century still had only artisans, who carved in wood and then in soft stone the images of the gods and those of men: but that of Pisistratus entered into close relations with the Ionian cities of the Asian continent and with those of the islands: the sculptors Archermos of Chios, Aristion of Paros and Theodorus of Samos, concurred in the embellishment of Athens. Two female statues of the Acropolis represent a type called the Samian, from a comparison to a statue found at Samos (Figs. 120, 121). This Samian sculpture further appears to have exerted but slight effect on Attic sculpture. The imitation of ancient idols is very apparent there: the face is without expression and the drapery lacks freedom. This art was that of the first bronze-workers and did not have what was necessary to excite a revolution in taste. What gave the signal for this was the

appearance at Athens of statues and reliefs, which the sculptors made from the marbles of Paros and of Naxos.

Men are charmed with the marble of the islands. Ships discharge full cargoes of it on the quay of Phalerum, and at the same time come the sculptors, who know how to work the beautiful crystalline stone: as Bathycles of Magnesia had done at Sparta, they bring their workmen with them. They train apprentices at Athens: In the workshops opened by them, men go to learn the secrets of the trade. When the native artists know how to work the new material, they imitate the models proposed for their admiration by the island sculptors. Especially by its branches in Paros and Naxos, the school of Chios made its influence felt at Athens: the friendship is known that united Pisistratus and Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos, and the Athenians being of Ionian race took part in the festivals of that Delos, where were exhibited a number of the works of Archermos and of his sons. Assured indications attest the benefit from these contacts to the first Attic sculptors, who attacked marble about the middle of the 5th century. For example, here is a type invented and brought out by a sculptor of Chios: that of the winged and flying Victory.¹ Scarcely has it been seen and appreciated at Delos, than it crosses the sea and is introduced in Attica, where fashion takes possession of it. We find it represented there in the collection of monuments preceding the Persian invasion, by the fragments of two steles of marble almost as large as nature, and by 7 or 8 figurines in bronze. Most of these images are more advanced in execution and freer than the statue of Archermos (finial of Chap. VIII). In one of the two statues, the Victory becomes erect and one feels it freed from the image of those supple and light Victories, of which a swarm fold their wings and light on the balustrade of the Nike Apteros.

note 1.p.648. Histoire de l'art. vol. VIII, p.292-306, Pl. 122, 123.

note 1.p.669. Petersen, Archaische Nikebilder. (Athen. Mitt. 1886. p.278-297, Pl. XII).

There is another type to which can be attributed the same origin with the same certainty: that of the draped woman standing, such as shown to us by the rich series of Korai

of the Acropolis. Even before the excavations of Delos had rendered to us notable fragments of the marbles sculptured by the masters of Chios and by their Parian and Naxian pupils, there had been divined what a considerable place woman occupied in the work of those masters, the woman who at that epoch is never represented except more or less clothed.² All the figures that tradition attributed to the sculptors of Chios were female figures, with hardly one exception, the caricature of the poet Hipponax: they were a Tyche and Graces at Smyrna and at Pergamon; Artemis at Laos and at Chios; also that Nike to whose back were first attached wings. At Thasos have been found Graces and at Delos an Artemis, perhaps inspired by the models that they created: their Nike has been found; but further, the trenches opened at Delos have furnished several examples of figures, that by their entire attitude and costume appear to be the prototypes of the statues of young women, that were ornamented by vivid colors and stood on the Acropolis between the two sanctuaries of Athena. The same vertical position, same arrangement of the hair and of the clothing (Figs. 128-131); the same movement of the arms and the same gesture of offering.

NOTE 2. p. 469. Pausanias was struck by this. He remarks concerning the Graces of Poupalos, that all the sculptors and painters of the archaic age represented those goddesses as clothed. (ix. 35, 8).

Nearly all statues of this kind that came from Delos are more ancient than the similar statues of Athens. To judge of them only by the sole head that we possess (Fig. 132), the coiffures of the successors of the Delian Artemis were less complicated than are those of Attic virgins: but what best lend themselves to comparison are the torsos, several of which are well preserved in what remains of the Delian statues. The work of their drapery is also simpler at Delos. The difference of the two fabrics, those of the himation and of the chiton is clearly recalled: but not with such a marked insistence.

At Delos the chisel has not been applied as at Athens, to represent by an entire system of fine and wavy lines the offering, which a patient twisting of the cloth impressed on linen. On the torsos of Delos the forms of the body are

concealed in front by the amplitude of the folds of the mantle, and only very discreetly indicated behind where the tunic alone covers the flesh and where it is close to the skin. (Figs. 129-131). On the contrary before several Attic statues, one feels that the sculptor has tried to draw under the fabric the outline of what is not allowed to show without covering (Pl. IV, Fig. 293). All that, those tricks of the chisel and this partial transparency of the covering are evidence of an advance in the technics and of an evolution of taste. When the Athenians, after the example of the Ionians who frequented Delos, desired to surround their goddess likewise by a circle of amiable and smiling faces, they perhaps sent their first orders to the workshops of Paros and of Naxos: perhaps from thence came the first votive statues which rose on the Acropolis: but these at Athens soon appeared too simple. The general treatment was retained; but variants were appropriated that were introduced there: the sculptors developed there in the direction in which they were impelled by a society, which submissive to the example of its prodigal and ostentatious chiefs, showed itself from year to year more charmed by luxury and elegance.

It matters little whether the artists then exerting themselves on the theme in vogue were island immigrants or mostly Athenians by birth. Whatever their origin, all obeyed the same tendencies. What they sought and all pursued in the entirety and in the details of their figures was grace in the features and in the pose, grace again the arrangement of the accessories. To the face, they held to giving the charm of a smile. As for the hair, they amused themselves in twisting, plaiting and curling it in various ways. Perhaps in these graces in marble, the chisel placed ever more laborious fancy and knowing minutiae, than was presented by the coiffures of the most coquettish girls of Athens. The drapery is treated in the same taste: the same effort is felt there to utilize variety in the fall of the fabric and of the crossings to which the himation lends itself, and to diversify the effect and even the theme, that uniform and entirely simple vestment: the tunic swelled over the chest, while at one side the folds gathered in the hand, to free the nude feet. The same grace is sought in the very different

rendering of the two fabrics of linen and of wool composing the clothing, and in the contrast which the sculptor has thus arranged. What completes giving the image the character of brilliant gaiety and the touches of color that the brush has placed on the grounds thus prepared, either to brighten the lines of the face, or to decorate by light ornaments the chiton and the stephane, or to cause to continue along the borders of the shawl the delicacy of fine embroideries.

For the Attic sculptors it was a great point gained, only to have in so short a time learned from Ionian masters to use marble with such freedom: but in delighting thus in the refinements of cutting and to tricks of the chisel, they ran the risk of neglecting the study of the lines and proportions of the human figure. While aiming only at grace, they exposed themselves to slip into affectation. Excess of virtuosity threatened to lead them into mannerism.

Happily, other factors intervened, that acted in a contrary sense. There was at first the influence of the earliest Attic sculpture. The habits created by it did not disappear from one day to the next, when in the workshops they began to abandon soft stone. There is a certain statue of marble like that of the Moschophoros, on which we have indicated the persistent trace of the procedures and taste of the preceding period. Even after marble had triumphed, the slightly awkward but loyal and sane realism was not entirely forgotten, by which they had started with a sincere effort by which they were compelled to seize the great lines of the living forms of men and animals. Athenian artists were daily protected from the temptation of playing with the marble, when they chiseled the images of those young women, who were dressed in their best and composed their attitudes before the goddess: but on other grounds, where they had to count less on their caprices of fashion, they remained more faithful to the spirit by which their predecessors had been animated. This is verified in many series of monuments, among others in those figures of scribes and horsemen of which unfortunately remain but slight fragments: this is still felt in a work such as the female statue of Antenor, that by the entire arrangement proceeds from a type of foreign origin: but it no less retains in its robust proportions a

and the comparative simplicity of its execution a certain something, that recalls afar the statues of soft stone, their air of vigor and of power.

Until the other Korai, even those that best mark the brilliant qualities and are nearly becoming a defect, something is found that connects these images of exquisite prettiness with their rude predecessors. There is from one statue to another a singular diversity in the lines and the expression of the face. The individual character seems quite pronounced in several heads of the series. However these images do not represent one person more than another: we have stated the vague and indefinite sense that the poetry of their divers appears to have attributed to them. The truth is that each artist, from whom was ordered statues of that kind, endeavored to seek the form and features that best corresponded to the conception that he was charged to express. What he pursued was the creation of a type, that of the Athenian woman, who to worthily honor the goddess must present herself to the eyes of the immortals in the expanded flower of the beauty, that would set off the nobility and a very careful and rich dress. The elements of this type were in the life that they required from those errenphores, chorephores and priestesses, which marched before them in the festivals of the city, ascending in groups toward the altars of the Acropolis: but all those young girls and young women had neither the same features nor similar attitudes. Awaiting and understanding on the adoption of a common ideal, each artist was inspired by a different model, and so are explained the strange diversities that have struck us, when we have compared those statues, all contemporary within some years.

Thus even in works where the theme is borrowed, the Attic sculptor is still a realist, at least by the manner in which he comprehends a part of his task, most delicate and most difficult. Then in this manner, very proud at having appropriated the new technics so quickly, he appears to have broken forever with the tradition of the old native image-makers, and he continues it by attentive and intelligent curiosity with which he observes nature, and by the conscientiousness with which he endeavors to profit by its lessons.

In the past of this school were then precedents that urged the sculptor. He must know how to make his reserves of them and to retain some independence, even in the time when he showed himself most anxious to imitate the Ionian marble-workers and even to surpass the delicate imitation of their chisels. Further, this was not alone in itself, in the permanent empire of the habits contracted from the first awakening of the sense of form, that this artist found the strength to stop in a course, into which he could not have entered earlier without danger. He saw himself very properly seconded in this legitimate effort by the entrance of another influence, that of the Dorian schools of sculptors, an influence that seems to have commenced by making itself felt at Athens in the last quarter of the 6th century, and to have been exerted there with ever increasing authority in the first years of the succeeding century.

If Pisistratus and his sons commenced by inviting the Ionian masters, that held relationship by blood to Athens, they had minds too broad to remain indifferent to the progress then accomplished for the style and technique, in the workshops of Argos and Sicyon, of Corinth and Egina. To Argos Pisistratus went to seek his second wife, Timonissa: finally, so much was built and sculptured at Athens, that all competitors were welcome there. After the exile of Hippias, the recently freed city sought especially at Corinth in the Peloponessus the assistance that was needed. The intervention of Corinth twice caused to fail the projects, that Sparta had formed to restore the Pisistratides to Athens by force. At last, Clisthenes, that Alcmeonide who on the morrow after the revolution had renewed the work of Solon and had given to Athens a democratic constitution, was the grandson of the celebrated tyrant of Sicyon, whose name he bore: to that origin he owed a part of his great fortune and of his personal prestige.

note 1.p.678. Plutarch. Cato, XXIV, 2.

In these conditions, why did not the works in statuary of the Dorian schools penetrate into that Athens, initiated by Pisistratus into a new and superior life, and since had remained open to all tastes for thought, poetry and art? On two bases of votive statues on the Acropolis have been read

the names of Callon and Onatas, two of the most famous sculptors of Megina, of whom we know that they were contemporaries of the Median wars.¹ Pausanias had also seen on the Acropolis a bronze statue representing a warrior replacing his helmet: the nails were overlaid with silver, and on the base was engraved this inscription:— "Cleotas, son of Aristocles, made me, who constructed the stalls of the chariots at Olympia."² Now that artist belonged to a family of Sicvonian sculptors in which alternated the names of Cleotas and of Aristocles. It has been asked whether it would not be proper to recognize a brother of Kanachos in the Aristocles, who signed two Attic steles, that of Velanide~~ssa~~ and another found at Hieraea. The name of Aristocles does not seem to have been used in Attica: but for lack of an ethnic indication joined to the name, this is only a mere conjecture.²

note 1. p. 674. C. I. Att. I, 272; IV, I 272; IV, I, 273.

note 2. p. 674. Pausanias. VI. 20, 14.

note 3. p. 674. Löwy. Inschriften. 10, 2.

Thus in the multitude of images that peopled the Acropolis, in that sort of museum of archaic art, there were works signed by Meginetan and Sicvonian masters. Only the pedestals of these statues have been found: we are ignorant of the dimensions of these figures, and except for the warrior of Cleotas, these represented works exhibited in the sacred enclosure, by their presence in that place must have made known to the Athenians types sufficiently different from those in which they had sought their ideal until then.

The Sicvonians and Meginetans being especially devoted to works in metal, there is reason to think, that if rich Athenians applied to Callon and Onatas for votive images, that they desired to consecrate on the Acropolis, these were made of this bronze of Megina, when it had so much reputation in all Greece. Besides, it is scarcely probable, that there was not required from those famous workshops figures other than those with dedications remaining or that Pausanias saw. Among those nobles, Neleides or Alceonides, who prided themselves on being men of taste, was doubtless one to whom should be given the honor of those beautiful casts made with such care, and then finally finished with the point and the chisel.

There is nothing in the authors nor in the inscriptions, that induces one to think that the art of bronze was cultivated at Athens, like that in marble and that of painted pottery, during the period preceding the Median wars. If some foundries were established there, they scarcely fabricated other than common objects intended for small purses: not one of them has left a trace in history. Athens had commenced by bringing bronze from Chalcis, the sole Greek city that possessed mines of copper in its territory. In certain statuettes of the Acropolis, it has been thought could be recognized the products of Chalcidian manufacture: attitudes, proportions and costumes it is said, presented a striking resemblance to the painted figures on vases exported from Chalcis in great quantity into central Italy.¹ To this source it is proposed to assign a group, that surmounts the top of a tripod (Fig. 245). This group represented the apotheosis of Hercules: it consists of four personages: two males, Hercules with the lion's skin fastened around his neck, and Hermes, recognizable by his beel wings: then two females, a player of the double flute and perhaps Iole, the favorite companion of the hero. The feet are in profile to the right; but the bodies are at three-quarters. The poses are monotonous, the three right arms having exactly the same movement. The heads are massive, almost square and very awkward, coarse features and with effaced eyes. The noses are strong and the chins heavy. The technique is already knowing, for the figures are hollow behind and are firmly joined together and to the bronze arc that bears them: but the fabrication is archaic. This work must be nearly contemporaneous with the high reliefs in soft stone found on the Acropolis: but nothing recalls them, neither in the appearance of the entirety nor in the details of the faces and the adjustment. One feels here the work of a taste and a style, which are not those of the Attic sculptor.

note 1. p. 276. De Ridder. Catalogue des bronzes etc. p. 14-16.

Here are now other figurines in an entire series, that appear to have been imported from an adjacent country: we wish to speak of those statuettes that in the 6th century served as the feet of mirrors of metal. They mostly present the same motives. The image forming the handle is that of a wo-

young woman, Aphrodite or one of her devotees clad in the long tunic and the himation, who holds in the hands a vase of perfume, a flower or frequently a dove. The type being the same everywhere that mirrors have been found, there is reason to suppose that these mirrors all came from the same workshop. Where was that? This is not difficult to divine. Corinth was early famed for the excellence of its bronze. Its bronze-workers rivaled its potters in skill: but they seem to have especially produced not statues, like the founders of Egina and of Sicyon, but metal vases, arms, furniture and utensils of all sorts intended for domestic use. 3 Such an active industry must have included in its programme the mirror, that indispensable element of female luxury, and what already sufficed to suggest the idea of attributing a Corinthian origin to all those mirrors is the choice of the motive that characterizes them. Was Aphrodite the great goddess of Corinth, where clustered around her temple those hierodules or sacred courtesans to whom Hinder addressed such a pretty song?

Other information has come to confirm that hypothesis. The type in question is represented in the museums by sufficiently numerous examples. For those having more or less a secular condition, the indicated origin is most frequently Corinth; it is the same for the mirrors no less interesting, whose disks are ornamented by figures engraved in lines.¹

note 1. p. 677. Albert Dumont. Les céramiques de la Grèce propre. Vol. II. 1890. Miroirs grecs ornés de figures ou trait (pl. 21), p. 166-214; miroirs trouvés en Grèce ou de fabrication grecque, p. 242-254. (Lists made by Pottier relating to plates xxxi-xxxv of the volume. The name of Corinth recurs far more frequently than any other. A certain number of pieces came from Olympia, Megara and Thebes). De Ridder, Catalogue etc. 1894. numbers 150-157.

If not so, one should not hesitate to place to the credit of the Corinthian workmen those of these attachments found on the Acropolis, that are distinguished by the purity of form and the finish of the work. Like the statuette adjacent (Fig. 346): to the head still adheres a bit of metal circle forming the frame of the disk. Shod with sandals, the young girl throws the left leg forward. The himation is cast diagonally.

diagonally across the bust from the left shoulder to the right side. It does not descend lower than the nape. The two arms represent the pose of the offering. One of the hands raises a flower bud and the other a pomegranate. Nothing is simpler than the arrangement of the hair. Bands enclose the brow, short curls escape from the narrow stephane. The eyes are straight; the nose is elongated, the mouth small with thick lips. There is nothing here in the attitude or in the arrangement of the coiffure or that of the drapery, which recalls that seeking for grace by which are characterized the statues of the Korai, and yet the bronze is of such sufficiently beautiful execution, that it cannot be regarded as more ancient than these marbles: but it came from a different school. The difference between the two styles is particularly apparent in the expression of the face. That is calm and serious. The sculptor has not attempted to animate it by sketching on it a conventional smile.

This same gravity even goes to an air of sadness on a head torn from a statue of about half size (Fig. 347).¹ One cannot hesitate concerning the sex: however I should rather see here the head of a young man.² We have already found this coiffure on virile images (Figs. 329 and Pl. XIV). The hair descends from the crown in wavy tresses and is rolled on a ring of red copper at front and sides. They are gathered behind in a sort of club. A long pin has disappeared, but seems to have held it in place. The head is very strong. The cheeks form two broad planes that converge together. The curve of the mouth drops at the corners. The nose is thin and the chin is round and firm. As for the eyes, they are long and straight, between lids very frankly emphasized. The eyeball is made of a whitish enamel on which the iris is detached in brown, and the pupil is black, represented by a hole. The eyelashes are engraved separately, the lips and eyebrows overlaid with red copper.

note 1. p. 678. De Ridder. *Fronzes de l'Acropole*. no. 767a

note 2. p. 678. Furtwängler pronounces it a head of a woman. (*Meisterwerke*, p. 80).

Our impression agrees with that of the accurate observer, that has subjected all those bronzes to a minute examination: he says that this head seems to reveal a foreign origin.

This origin appears at least probable for another head, that formed a part of a statue of natural size, and which we have already reproduced (Figs. 271, 272).¹ The technics here are the same as on the other bronze, on this beardless head. On both is the same use of enamel, the same procedure of incrustation; but the work is here of a rarer delicacy. The two heads nearly resemble each other in shape and in style. In both the development of the skull between brow and nose exceeds the ordinary measure; but what particularly permits them to be referred to the same school is that on both, nature and life are rendered with the same broad and sober simplicity. Especially by the hairy heads must we be able to name this school as that of Egina.

note 1.p.679. de Ridder. Bronzes etc. no. 762.

Thus entirely anonymous as are the bronzes found on the Acropolis, little statuettes and fragments of great statues, when their execution is studied, one feels almost changed into certainty the suspicion already aroused by the signatures of the master bronze-workers: one can scarcely doubt that the most beautiful of those bronzes are of Sicilian or Eginetan fabrication. Then is a conclusion imposed: it would be particularly by the intermediary of these bronzes, that Dorian art revealed itself to the sculptors about the end of the 6th and in the first years of the 5th centuries. By the introduction of these models into Athens do we explain the appearance of the type represented by the female head of the votive figure of Autandikos (Fig. 299) and the male head that we have compared with it (Pl. XIV). This type sensibly differs from that on which was exhausted the efforts of the marble-workers contemporary with Pisistratus. The artist has finally acquired the feeling of truth of great beauty, of what resides in purity of lines and of a serenity, in which it is reflected and by which is expressed the sanity of a happy soul, and the rich fullness of a flourishing life.

This ideal is that realized marvellously at Athens itself by the illustrious statuaries of the 5th and 4th centuries; but an Antenor, Critios or Nesides, already had a very clear conception of it, when one of them or one of their rivals cut in Parian marble the two heads, which served as for meas-

measuring the degree of mastery, that sculpture had attained in Attica on the eve or the morrow of the battle of Marathon. These works would certainly not have had this character of severe nobility without the very opportune intervention of Dorian art.

Toward the change of the century, what must contribute to diminish the prestige enjoyed at Athens by the brilliant civilization of Asian Greece, and in shaking the ascendancy that it exerted on opinions, were the disasters which then fell on Ionia. The vanquished are pitied, but one does not consider taking them as guides or instructors. Now when bowed and thus eclipsed were the fortunes of Ionia, was the source when even several Dorian cities near Athens saw their wealth and power rapidly increase. Spots burst forth in the theatre, when Phrynichos placed under the eyes of the spectators the taking and humiliation of Miletus; but these same Athenian people admired and followed with curious eyes the brilliant flight of the prosperity of Egina and of Corinto. There was a contrast which could not fail to strike their minds at Athens, and to incline them in a certain measure to submit to the influence of the customs and arts of the Dorian world. Then commenced this change of taste which frequent the Athenians in the first half of the 5th century, as Thucydides remarked, to renounce the Ionian fashions for the coiffure and the clothing.

It was a happy chance that the bronzes of Sicyon and of Egina came thus to be known and appreciated at Athens at the moment, when Attic genius was going to find in the rebuilding of the city and of its edifices, opportunity for grand works of architecture and of sculpture. This genius gained much by initiation into the methods of a school, that applied itself to define the normal proportions of the human figure; but it was no less the Ionian masters that gave the first education to the sculptors of Athens, who had taught them to forsake tufa and the rudeness of its modeling for the refinement of marble. Further not alone the statue, that supreme effort of sculpture, which benefited by this instruction, its effects made themselves felt with no less force and more persistence in the domain of relief.

When we speak of a relief, we do not understand by that

the figures that fill the pediments of temples at Athens and elsewhere. These figures are treated in the round and are actually only half statues, divided in two in their thickness. There is no relief, properly speaking, except where the form to be shown is cut on a ground. It is brought to a unity plane in works with the simplest procedure: it gives nearly a flat outline. Where the art is more advanced, it comprises several superposed planes; when the transition from one plane to another is skilfully managed, the image comes to be modeled to give the impression of what the eye perceives on the living being; but even where it succeeds in producing this illusion, this image always retains its character of a conventional projection and rises from the ground only by a very slight projection.

The mode of representation just defined is that which may be called classical relief, which neither tends to be confounded with the round while retaining a part of the volume of the body, nor to contest by the multiplicity of the planes with the effects of painting: this is that which Athens will give a little later in examples that will be eternally admired, in the works like the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon, and the stele of Hegeso at the Dorylion. From the first years of the 5th century, Attic sculpture is very far from attaining perfection in this kind, with some of the reliefs that we have reproduced. Where were learned the secrets of that art so difficult and so delicate? Did the art of the Peloponnesian schools play a part analogous to that which must be attributed to it in the development of statuary?

In the style of sculpture of the Attic reliefs is nothing of the angular hardness of outline, noted in the bronze statues wrought in rebussee and collected at Olympia, or of the dryness and heaviness from which are not exempt any of the Laconian steles, even those most carefully executed. It would also be in vain for one to seek analogies in the high reliefs in the Peloponnesus and in Sicily, that decorate the pediments or friezes of edifices. In those reliefs the sculptor loves to show the image in front. So presented, this image is like the reduction of a statue: it retains its features. The sculptors of this school, to give more

solidity to the heads of their statues, willingly exaggerated the strength of the bottom of the face. This mode is usually taken by them, and the view of the profile must then lose in beauty. This characteristic trait is found almost everywhere in the reliefs to which we allude; it suffices to distinguish them from those Attic steles, where the artist tried to put elegance into the continuous and refined contour of the profile, into the drawing of the cheeks and the chin. Not then in these reliefs of Dorian art shall we find the origins and antecedents of the Attic reliefs of the ending archaism.

It is necessary to note these origins in the ornamentation of the funerary stele, and there is everywhere that it is found with the same traits, this is manifestly an Ionian importation. There has not been discovered in Attica the least remains of a stele of limestone tufa as its material. Of marble appeared the decorated stele in the tombs of this country, and the insular sculptors introduced and accredited the marble of Athens. Further, the Attic stele of the 6th century was connected to the Ionian stele by an incontestable bond of affiliation, that has made known to us a number of monuments scattered in the Asian peninsula, in the islands of the Egean sea, on the coasts of Thrace and in central Greece. There is the same form in both parts, defined by the length and narrowness of a field diminishing from base to summit. This is sometimes a division into two parts, one being filled by the image of the deceased almost as large as nature, while the other is much lower and contains a supplementary image, that informs the observer concerning the life and tastes of the dead (Figs. 143, 338). These are the same themes and are treated in the same spirit; it is the same mode of interpretation of the contour and of the masses of the body. All these resemblances attest imitation and announce borrowing; but Attic sculptors gave proof of a singular aptitude in profiting by the instruction. They were aided by the requirements of the funerary rites, that the nobles of Athens had received from Ionian tradition as presented by the Homeric epics.¹ An essential and visible part of the tomb, the mound required for its summit and set on a base more or less in height, the mark which was either the

statue or the stele. The statue was a costly honor to which all the dead could not aspire. While scarcely a family in easy conditions could not meet the cost of a marble slab, either painted on the smooth surface or modeled in slight projection, where the effigy of the dead was outlined over his epitaph. If those statues must remain quite rare, by hundreds were erected the steles with images in the cemeteries of the aristocratic class. They were sometimes ordered from those artists of Naxos and Paros, whose signatures have been found in Boeotia and Attica on monuments of this kind; but most of them appear to have been executed by native sculptors. Among the Attic steles of which some fragment has been preserved, few were cut in marble from the island; as much the greater number were in that from Pentelicos or Hymettus.² Thus were created workshops in the vicinity of Athens and Marathon near the quarry, where men came to seek tombstones, and those workshops were the schools where Athenian sculptors attempted the art of reliefs. By a sustained effort, they soon came to equal and perhaps excel their models. The masterpiece of Ionian relief is the frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians: none even in the best parts of that entirety, neither the form is so closely followed, nor has the drapery as much variety as in two or three Attic reliefs, that must be of nearly the same time. There the execution, while retaining the impress of that grace which the Ionian chisel knew how to spread over all the marbles that it touched, it has something firmer and freer than at Delos. One feels there nearer the home when vanished the last awkwardness, and the last stiffness of archaism became more flexible.

note 1. p. 683. *Histoire de l'art*. vol. VIII, chap. VII, 2.

note 2. p. 683. In counting the steles for which Conze gives a precise indication of the material, I find 14 that are of marble of Pentelicos or Hymettus, against 6 in island marble.

Doubtless so far as Dorian art concurred in the education of the sculptors of Athens, it did not fail to be something in the progress evidenced by the works to which we have just alluded; but whatever account must be kept of the direct effect of the masters of bronze, the relief no less remains what is most Ionian in Attic art. By the methods that it supplies as by the taste that marks all its creations, it recalls

Ionia, that Ionia whose heir would be Athens on the morrow of Salamis and of Mycale, both in domains of thought and of art, is in political and military power, in the contest which the Hellenes had to sustain for nearly two centuries against their formidable neighbor, the Persian empire.

Chapter XIII. Sculpture from 776 to 479. Survey of its History and conclusions.

We have followed Grecian sculpture in its organic development from the hour when the feeling for form commenced to disengage itself from the formal stiffness of the geometrical style to that in which it already disposed of means of expression, which permitted it to render the beauty of that form, in the logical secret of its natural construction, in the harmony of its main lines and in the variety of the movements that animate and excite it. The principal monuments of the sculpture have been represented and described, each at its date, which in most cases is rather approximate than rigorously fixed, and each in its place, that assigned to them, when the origin is doubtful, by the affinities that they present with the works found where they came from, sometimes in the ruins of edifices which they had served to decorate. The efforts of these first sculptors are produced simultaneously at different parts of the Greek world, and the interpretation we have given of the form has not been everywhere the same. We have been led thus to distinguish what we have called schools, and we have tried to define them by the characters which they impressed on their works: we have determined the part that each one of them, with its qualities and defects, has taken in this general advance in execution, that was so greatly accelerated in the second half of the 6th century. There is opportunity now to abstract these special features, to consider in its entirety the movement of Greek genius and the course by which it succeeded in attaining the full liberty of execution in relief. We must also ask ourselves, if in the course of this long labor, this genius has actually derived an appreciable benefit from the models supplied to it by the old civilizations of the Orient. When is established the account of what it might owe to that aid, one can form a more just idea of its own power and of its originality.

If there be in man an imperious instinct, it is the inclination that leads him to imitation, the pleasure which he takes in reproducing the forms of inanimate objects, especially those of living beings. We know today how much already delighted in this sport in prehistoric ages, the imitative

of the caverns of our countries, the contemporary of the mammoth and the reindeer. By a stronger reason is made proof of the strength with which this taste manifested itself at the origin of all societies known to us by history. Among all those peoples whose art was the spontaneous product of the national genius, the most ancient images present everywhere the same character, everywhere has the hand that modeled them in relief or traced them on a flat ground, has introduced certain alterations that seem to arbitrarily modify the relations between them, in reality in the different parts of the body to be represented. Now all these conventions are explained by the same tendency of the mind. When that undertakes to copy nature, it does not put in the image what it sees or will see in nature, if when it begins to work it observes without prejudice, it seeks to place there what it knows, and all that it knows of the plan on which is constructed the being that serves it as a model. What it endeavors to transcribe is less the appearance under which that being presents itself at the moment, than the idea formed of it by long experience. An example will illustrate our thought.¹

note 1. p. 226. On this subject see LÖWY. *Die naturwieder-
gabe in der älteren griechischen kunst*. 1900. In the explanation that we give of the character of archaic drawing, of what are termed its conventions, we have profited much by his ingenious and subtle analyses.

There are intimate analogies between the art of childlike peoples and the art of infancy. I have under my eyes a drawing executed by a child of 10 years. He had never learned to draw; but his great enjoyment after hours of labor was to get possession of a pencil and sheet of paper, to draw on it houses, trees and boats, animals and men. He informed me one day that he was going to make my portrait. His eyes passed from my face to his sketch, and soon he very triumphantly brought me his work. The head was presented in profile, and yet there was not one, but two ears to be seen. One of these extended in its amplitude on the side of the face entirely visible, while the other was seen only in the outline that projected before the contour of the eyebrows and the nose. The child had not desired to deprive me of

ear. Knowiak that I had two, he would have thought it a lack of respect by not indicating or at least recalling what he could not place entirely in view.

There is what we have termed convention. If that is truly too naive to have been adopted by any of the arts that we have studied, all have employed during long centuries modes of representation that are no less arbitrary, and those conventions are explained in the sculptures and paintings of Egypt, Assyria and of archaic Greece as in the drawing of a child, by the preconceived and abstract idea imposed on the imagination of the artist and which guides his hand.

We have to consider here only Greek sculpture. Now until about the year 500, the sculptor like the painter of vases, when he shows a head in profile, draws there an eye as it appears in a face in a front view. (Figs. 340, 341). Why is that constant and systematic alteration of the true form? Much before that date, this sculptor made proof of an incontestable skill in some places of his rendering: how did he experience serious embarrassment in seizing the characteristic outline of the eye when seen from the side? If he delayed so long to attempt it, the reason is a different one; it is because in this lateral view in which the organ seems to contract and to be shortened, he no longer finds the eye he admired as the light of the face, that in which the mobile iris with its tender or sombre brilliancy is set forth on the white surrounding it on all sides. He establishes that normal eye in authority with all its length of opening, even where nature refuses to show it to him at another angle and as if shortened. It is the same for other parts of the body. Here is a sculptor that learns to execute a male figure with nude torso. With a people that adores physical vigor, a beautiful torso will be that below a neck well supported, between shoulders to which are attached robust arms, will extend a broad chest, the assumed covering of lungs lodged at ease, that inhale air in great waves and thus afford long breaths to the runner or wrestler. This ample and healthy torso of the athlete strengthened by assiduous attendance at the palestra, the sculptor adheres to exposing entirely to the eyes of the spectator. Thus in more than one relief the chest will be presented in front below

head drawn in profile (Figs. 333, 334). For the legs, the inverse phenomenon will be produced. Indeed by the profile are trained the eyes of the artist, for all that concerns the shape and play of the inferior members: by observation of the profile is fixed in the mind the image of the typical movements of these members. Not on the figure seen in front could he measure the angle in the march or race, leap or in the seated position, that the thighs make with the trunk, and that the lower legs make with the thighs. There is unnecessary the lateral view that he may note and recall these lines and their breaks, as well as the projections of the articulations and of the muscular cords that move the bones.

The same observation for the feet. When it seen in front, it appears reduced and loses its importance. The ends of the toes conceal the middle portion and their roots. The instep becomes flattened. What is seen of the feet and retained by the eye and that of the primitive artist is the elongated outline, that he draws when he sees it sidewise with the elegant curve of its upper contour, the well marked separation of the toes, and their gradual decrease from the great to the little toe. That artist never thought of showing that foot shortened. Likewise where the figure is entirely shown in front view, the feet are frankly shown in profile. (Figs. 246, 247).

Thus what is first engraved in the memory of man, when he attempts the role of copyist and emulates nature, is not the entirety of the organic type with its complexity, with the variety of the reactions exerted on each other by the different parts of the machine. What then struck his eyes and what he retained are the details of the forms: each form was considered separately as if not connected to the adjacent forms: to each of these secondary forms the primitive artist desired to give a place, as familiarly said: he wished to show it at an advantage. These bits and fragments of the reality are juxtaposed without giving the impression of one of those living bodies in which there is intimate solidarity and mutual dependance of all elements composing them.

It is again by the application of these analytical processes, that one must render a reason for another peculiarity

which characterizes the works of primitive art. This peculiarity is sufficiently marked and constant, that one believes himself right to pronounce in this connection the word law, and this term is justified in the sense that it designates a rule to which the sculpture of early ages never failed to conform, when he undertook the representation of the figure in volume, i.e., the statue or the image visible from all sides. This rule is imposed on the artist in Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, and among all peoples of western Asia until the conquest by Alexander, among the Greeks and the Italic peoples until about the year 500, among the ancient civilized peoples of America before they knew European civilization. It is seen to be followed even today in the art practised by uncivilized nations, or to speak more correctly, non-Europeanized in all parts of the world.

Only quite recently, which appears very strange, that attention has been called to this law. Its effects had been proved; but its formula had not been found. This formula is here as presented by the author of what without exaggeration can be called a discovery."¹ "Whatever the attitude given to the figure, whether it be represented as walking, halted, erect, inclined forward or backward, sitting on a seat or on the ground, horseback, kneeling, lying on the back or on front, etc.: in every case the median plane conceived as passing through the top of the head, the nose, backbone, sternum, navel and sexual organs, a plane dividing the body in two symmetrical halves, remains invariable, neither bending nor turning to any side. The body can well lean forward or back: but there is never produced either flexure nor lateral torsion, either in the neck or in the abdomen. The legs can indeed not be placed in the same fashion; a figure can advance one foot more than the other, kneel on one knee on the ground and the other be raised: but the position of the legs never modifies the direction of the trunk nor that of the head. The arms are more mobile than the head and may take very different positions: but this mobility has no influence on the attitude of the rest of the body. The median plane as defined remains unchangeable.

Note 1.p.689. In 1892 a Danish learned man, Julius Jørgen, published a dissertation in which this theory was stated for

the first time (Pilledkunstens fremstilling etc. with a summary of 30 pages in French, that bears the title: - Etude sur la representation de la figure humaine etc. Memoires de l'Academie de Danemark, 5 th series, class of letters, vol. v. no. 4. 1892. After the death of Lange, there appeared in German a translation of this essay, that on the one hand comprised only the chapter devoted to art before 500, but on the other, contained a new chapter, that in which history follows Greek art in its evolution until about the end of the 5 th century. For what concerns Egyptian and oriental art, it is satisfied to reproduce the French summary of the earlier publication. (Darstellung der Menschen in der alteren Griechischen Kunst, by Julius Lange. Translated from Danish by Mathilde Mann. Published with the aid of C. Joergensen and supplied with a preface by A. Furtenberger. 1899).

To designate such an attitude has been employed the noun "frontality" and the adjective "frontal." These words are not very clear by themselves and better might have been chosen. In the determination of the plane the brow has no more importance than the nose, mouth or chest. Perhaps a term borrowed from the vocabulary of geometry would have been more accurate, and that it would have been better to say the law of the median plane than the law of frontality. Yet with regard for the learned man to whom is due the honor of this leading observation, the terms proposed by him have been retained, they have entered into use by reason of signs, that suffice to recall the long definition given above.

Note 1.p.320. We borrow the definition of the law and the brief commentary accompanying the article by Pechat, who was first in France to mention the memoir of Lange, and who added to his survey very interesting views. (La loi de la statue primitive. La loi sur frontalite. In Revue des universites du midi. Vol. 1, p.1-23. 1895.

Like the conventions named above, the law of frontality is explained by the impression then received at the first glance, that man casts on the living form with the intention of copying it. His own body appears quite double, and divided in two symmetrical halves, on the back by the projecting ridge of the backbone, and vertically in front of the nose that bisects the face, and the median line of the

sternum that continues the white line of the abdomen. He has conceived this symmetry as the essential condition of organic life, especially where as in the human species, the type offers the most complication and diversity. With its rigor and its simplicity, this conception has singularly facilitated his task, when he attempted to imitate in relief. "Sight and imagination master more rapidly and more easily the symmetrical than the dissymmetrical form. Further, man generally tends to fashion with stereometric regularity every mass that he desires to diminish. Why should he do otherwise for the mass of wood or of stone that must furnish a statuary representation of the human figure?"

note 2.p.690. Lechat. pp. 101 etc. p.2.)

If this conception thus corresponded to certain unusual and instinctive tendencies of the mind, which among orientals and particularly among the Egyptians has ensured the preservation of this rule until the last day, this is the absolute empire in societies, that customs lasting many centuries have not ceased to exert on clothing, gait, deportment and pose of men, upon the attitudes that they had to take in all the circumstances of life. By thousands are counted the statuettes and statues of all heights, that have come from the temples and tombs of Egypt to seek an asylum in our museums. Here are gods and Pharaohs that are standing with both feet joined or with one foot in advance to walk; there are others seated on thrones. There are personages of lesser importance squatting on the ground with the chain on the knees, or indeed kneeling either on both knees or on one only, the other being raised at an acute angle. Finally are all those amusing figurines of limestone or of wood, brought to Paris by Mariette in 1872, which caused there such vivid surprise by the variety of their poses, as well as by the naturalness and freedom with which they appeared to render the most varied movements. Now those figures, smaller as well as greater, those of cooks and of bakers like those of Osiris and of Isis, of Cheops or of Ramses, are all *laïke* frontal. Some are living or reversed, leaning toward the ground; but in none is the (pelvic) axis compressed or dislocated; on none are the head and neck turned to right or left. In all the plane that we have defined,

if possible is either entirely in one piece, or in describing one or more angles inclines freely to the front or the rear, neither yielding to any torsion nor any lateral flexure. One or two lions are cited whose paws and heads are turned aside.¹ A statuette of a negro child presents the same anomaly. This is because the sculptor has treated animals and negroes with less consideration than the true men, Egyptians or race. For those the attitudes are the more varied and formal as the artist has represented personages of higher places in the social hierarchy; but even among the inferior people, whatever the position assigned to the figure, the principle does not suffer an exception.

note 1. p. 691. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VI. pl. 327-345, 357-358.

It is otherwise in Greek art. At the origin, this principle is applied with the same rigor, as verified not only in those formless figurines of marble that still belong to the two types with which commence the true Greek sculpture, the type of the male or female figure seated on a high seat (Figs. 109-111), and that termed the archaic Apollo, the nude young man with arms fast to the body (Figs. 122-124). It is the same for the secondary types such as the statues of deities in the form of xoanons, (Figs. 22-3) and for those of these worshippers that make their offering to the god or goddess, while one of their hands raises a part of the long and floating tunic (Figs. 125-131). Even on the Kora of the Acropolis is no trace of twisting the loins. It is not until the riders, judging from what remains of their headless bodies, which do not retain a rigorously frontal attitude on their mounts.

Yet in Greece were produced very early deviations from the rule, particularly in figures of small dimensions. There are some already in Mycenaean sculpture. On a bronze statuette of the museum of Berlin that represents either a worshipper or a mourner, the head and neck are visibly turned to the right.¹ For a stronger reason, exceptions are multiplied in the work of the archaic statuary from the 6th to 5th century. From the moment when the sculptor endeavored to create poses like that of the running or flying Nike, he is very near relieving himself from the yoke of the rule observed until then.

If on the Nike of Archermos the image is again almost exactly frontal (Figs. 122, 123), it is only necessary to note the inexperience of the sculptor. Being given the entirety of the pose, to associate it with the movement of the legs, the head must be turned to the right instead of looking to the front. There is an incoherence that is held to correct the successors of the first artist, that had the boldness to brave the difficulties of this then. Here indeed is a bronze statuette found at Dodona, which also represents a woman in the race, either Atalante or simply a young Dorian woman exhibiting her agility (Fig. 348). Whether it be of Peloponnesian origin, as supposed,² it is certainly later than the statue of Pelos. Now the hand that modeled it has not failed to establish there between the members and the head that accord, which the sculptor of Chios did not know how to put into his marble.

note 1. p. 692. *Histoire de l'art*. vol. VI. Figs. 349, 350. In publishing a second statuette of the same type, Furtwängler proposed to recognize in it a mourner. (*Mykenische Bronze statuette aus Klein-Asien*. (Sitz. Acad. Munich. 1899. II, p. 559-566)

note 2. p. 692. *Histoire*. I. p. 327-328.

Further, this is not an isolated fact. Once that art was emboldened to attempt to reproduce the most violent movements, to succeed in this it must free itself from those fetters, whose restraint it had not felt at first. Without forcing the axes of its figures to bend in all directions, now could he model in the round those persons in the attitude of combat, which from the moment when his chisel began to fill the friezes or pediments of temples, abounding with his high reliefs, Zeus brandishing the thunderbolt, deities of Olympus and giants in combat, the wounded stretched on the ground in the convulsions of agony or rising on a knee and making an effort to deal a last blow? Here are two little bronzes of Olympia that represent Zeus casting the thunderbolt (Fig. 349). The head is turned toward the enemy menaced by the lightning ready to glean. Here the vertical plane traversing the middle of the bust and prolonged above the shoulders, passes through the top of the head and does not divide the face. It is the same with the statuette that came from Dodona.¹ On the Athena Promachos is the same attitude

that causes a more or less marked rotation of the neck (Fig. 203). If one desires to seek examples among the monuments of greater dimensions, he will only have to cast his eyes on the fragments of the Gigantomachy of the temple of Pisisistratos. Now neither the Athena that occupied the centre nor the giant extended at her feet are frontal. (Figs. 210, 220). Athena bends her head forward and sidewise to the enemy that has just struck her. As for the latter, his bust is twisted above his shoulders, and recedes to the left to avoid the spear that will tear his flesh.

note 1. p. 294. Colvinton. Pistole. vol. 1. Fig. 166.

From the time to which the statues belonged, emancipated by the effort made to render the warmth and beauty of the impassioned movement, the sculptor already takes the rule at his ease, which in the timidity of his beginnings he so carefully observed, and that he still obeys by habit in his current practice. Here is a fragment, the head called the Ramoin head (Fig. 223). We know neither the pose nor the attributes that the artist had given to the statue, whose fragments we alone possess: but the flexure of the neck allows to be divined a certain freedom in the attitude. The personage presents his face in front: his body was placed in profile or three-quarter. Also see the sphinx of Sothe. (Fig. 377). The head is turned there to look at the spectator.

For this end of the 6th century, we could also cite other monuments on which the law of frontality has not been respected. On several of these, the inflections of the traditional rule were not even provoked by the action that the sculptor had undertaken to represent. Until the representation of persons in repose, he deliberately broke this exact correspondence of all parts of the body, this perfect equilibrium, whose idea was imperiously imposed on his predecessors. From this day the art was won. Greek art had made there a decisive step: it had overcome the obstacle before which all was arrested, however ingenious and adroit it might be, the art of the pedicels on the river banks of the Nile and of the exonerates. Now did they fail where the Greeks succeeded.

It is to be satisfied by words, than to give a reason for that difference by saying that the Greeks were better educated for the arts of design, than the Egyptians, Chaldeans and

Assyrians. Egyptian art and Chaldean art, and though it may be a second hand art, Assyrian art has merits to which we have rendered justice. There is in their work sometimes a spirit and grace, sometimes power and majesty: one divines everywhere the accuracy of the eye and the feeling for life. To equal their predecessors, for the Greeks were necessary. ~~It~~ at least two centuries of stubborn labor, during which they were very efficiently aided by suggestions coming to them from the outside. If they surpassed those that showed them the way, they owed that advantage less to exceptional and special gifts than to an exceptional state of mind, to organization that Grecian society gave itself again after the end of the Dorian invasions, to the very particular customs then established.

In the oriental monarchies, all works from the king to the slave were fixed by customs that owed their undisputed authority to the very remote antiquity in which their origin was lost. In spite of revolts, wars and conquests, and changes of dynasty, matters changed very little or only very slowly. From birth to the tomb there, men were subject to certain ritual obligations and certain rules of propriety and of etiquette, which regulated all his acts, at least in external and public life, controlled his pose and even determined the form and color of his clothing.

It is entirely otherwise in the Greek world. The city is there the political unit. Cities are close together in territories of very limited extent, on the coast of Asia, in the islands and in European Greece, on all the shores of the Mediterranean on which are founded Hellenic colonies: the smallest have only some hundreds and the largest only some thousands of citizens. Unlike those on the coast, all have not the resource of seeking employment for their activities on the sea or its distant parts: many are hemmed in by the mountains that enclose them within a narrow domain that a man on foot would traverse in a few hours' walk. A society thus divided, it seems would have to fear being devoted to irremediable weakness: but this condition will form its superiority, when it shall enter into contests with great empires of the Orient by the incentive of competition. It stimulates all his faculties and makes man more ambitious

and more energetic, more enterprising and resistant, than he would be in the other civilized societies then existing on the surface of the planet. In the interior of the city each citizen could, and wished to attain the first mark by his virtues or his talents, either in the magistracy and the dignities conferred by fate or suffrage, or to tyranny in time of trouble. Between one city and another is the same emulation: each desires to have the most brilliant poets, the most skilful artists, the noblest edifices and the most beautiful festivals. This preeminence so strongly desired, each competing individual or State sought to attain by an effort of a manner varying according to the places and circumstances, but which nowhere restricts either a court ceremonial or the restraint of a very definite dogma, entrusted to the jealous care of a priestly caste. All these people indeed had the same religion; but from one city to another the names of the gods and the worship differ sensibly. Certain deities became greater and made conquests outside the district to which they were at first confined; on the contrary, others lose their prestige and tend to fall into oblivion. Between these ideal types created by the imagination is also there a perpetual revolution, a sort of contest. In the city is the same phenomenon. The nobles commenced by dispossessing the kings of their hereditary privileges to divide their enjoyment among themselves; then is the inferior class that also aspires to ensure its rights, that of voting, the right to aspire to all civil or military functions. These struggle for life, pursued without truce on all stages, in the region of pure thought as on the ground of practical reality, does not arrange formal poses in which are immobilized gods and men in other surroundings. It imposes on all an initiative always alert and with very free inducements. In all images of them related by the peripatetics and represented by authors, one must find a gay and rich diversity, the essential and most original character of this adolescent Greece.

With the need that it felt to act and develop itself in all directions, Greece had from the first hour the lively intuition of the benefit, that intelligence and will found in disposing of a healthy and robust body, which they could

apply to all tasks without its ever refusing its service. The taste for games of strength and skill in that race dated back to even the time when the epic period began. In the course of the succeeding centuries, the labors of the palestra assumed a place of importance more and more marked, in the education of the free man. The founding of the great gymnastic games and the concourse of people attracted by them strongly evidenced the value that the entire nation attached to the methods of training, strengthening and making the members supple. About the end of the 7th century, the bodies so fashioned commenced to appear in the full light of the arena in all the splendor of virile nudity. There under the eyes of the multitude, as in those halls of the gymnasiums where they prepared themselves for the exhibitions of the public competitions were they seen, accustomed to all the play of muscles required of them by the leap and the race, the discus and wrestling, to stiffen and extend, to bend and curve in all directions. Creation and masterpiece of a wise discipline, a sort of poem in flesh and bone, this body of the athlete could not fail to become soon the preferred model of the sculptor. By it that artist will become inspired, either when he has to represent a young god in the appearance of a beautiful young man, to erect the statue of an athlete on the family tomb, or finally to immortalize a victor of Olympia or of Delphi by carving his image in wood or in marble. This nude form that he will have so many occasions to reproduce, he has seen and studied in the freedom of spontaneous movement: he will not content himself long to keep it imprisoned and as if frozen in the coldness of frontal attitudes. Art could submit always to the voice of that convention where, as in western Asia, the body for decency always remained concealed by the clothing, and also where as in Egypt in freely uncovering itself because of the heat of the climate, it did not attract to itself attention by a systematic display of all its energies: but in Grecian society all contributed to divert the artist from perpetually bowing before the rule that his rivals had freely accepted. Laws and customs aroused him to conquer complete independence in the interpretation given to nature, and we have seen of what happy boldness, even before breaking

all bonds, he knew how to prelude his complete enfranchisement.

When one passes from the statue to the reliefs in which personages are distributed in groups, he also sees there are applied rules entirely conventional, that have controlled the arrangement of the composition. Those rules have the same origin as those, whose reasons we have attempted to give. We cannot enumerate all of them here: we shall content ourselves by analyzing two, that are particularly curious.

We have explained the law of frontality by the pleasure that the mind takes in verifying the symmetry that exists between the various organs in a living being and by the aid found, when it attempts to imitate nature, in the use of a symmetrical arrangement. This taste for symmetry has suggested to the primitive sculptor the idea of ^{the} arrangement, that archaeologists designate by the term isokephalic, whose elements were furnished by the Greek tongue. In the very archaic reliefs, the heads of all personages are placed at the same level: they are all equally close to the moulding, that forms the upper limit of the field. Nothing easier than to place them in alignment, when all these persons are upright and are walking (Figs. 153, 154): but when there are very obvious differences in the attitudes, one can attain that result only by an alteration of the normal proportions. That persons erect and on foot may not exceed by the head and the entire bust those seated on couches, the artist does not hesitate to reduce their height. Nowhere has the sculptor taken less trouble to disguise the trickery than in the decoration of the architrave of Assos. In comparison with Hercules and Triton near them, the Vereids, though goddesses as they are, have the air of dwarfs, and on another slab is no less marked the contrast between the great bodies of the heroes extended before the banquet table and the small servant that fills the cups (Figs. 101, 102). The sculptor of the tomb of the Harpies has taken the same method, but with more skill (Fig. 145). There the men and women face to the chairs on which are enthroned the heroic dead, and have their heads in the same plane as the chthonian deities to whom they bring their offerings: but some reflection is necessary to perceive what is incorrect there. This is on the

one hand, that the forms of the mortals have as much amplitude as those of the dead: there is not as at Assos a contrast that shocks the eye. Likewise the seats with their footstools raise the seated persons and thus reduce the improbability of this equality arbitrarily established.

At Delphi on the frieze of the treasury of Cnidos, progress is still more visible. In the battle scenes there are dying men lying on the ground: there are warriors half conquered that fight, leaning on one knee. The heads of some touch the ground: those of others are profiled at the middle of the field, where their places are indicated by the movement of the bodies to which they belong. Here is all that remains of the initial convention: the gods and goddesses of the eastern facade, although seated, have their heads placed on the same line as the combatants under their eyes, who dispute the corpse of a hero: but they are mingled with the mortals; they form a separate group that fills an entire half of this frieze by itself (Figs. 170, 171). The eye stops on that group: it studies and admires it for itself. The spectator does not even think of asking what difference in stature is implied by the arrangement adopted here. In the 5th century the masterly art of the designer of the Panathenaic procession having to treat the same theme, will take the same method. When the sculptor introduces into his vast composition the deities of Olympus, as if to give them the enjoyment of this beautiful spectacle, he will not hesitate also to force the proportions there. This is perhaps that Phidias, like his predecessor, to cause this improbability to pass, counted on the habits of mind created by another convention which was no less generally accepted than the isokephalic. When in a votive or funerary relief the sculptor placed facing each other gods or deified dead and mortals that came to render homage to them, it appeared proper to him to establish between these personages a difference in appearance to render apparent to the eyes at once the difference in dignity: he gave the divine personages a much greater height (Figs. 175, 314). This means of indicating rank is too simple, that without preliminary understanding the primitive artists did not everywhere resort to it. One recalls a number of paintings of the 14th and

15 th centuries, Flemish and Italian, in which before a Virgin of great dimensions the donors of the image are represented very small in the posture of adoration. Among the Greeks, archaic art had accustomed the eye to attribute the same stature to gods and men. If in works of classical art, it is no longer by this naive artifice, that must be indicated the inequality of conditions, if this must be particularly emphasized by the superior beauty and majesty, that the artist knows how to lend to immortals, the first impression has still left its trace in the imagination: this is disposed to represent the gods as greater than men. The gods are actually larger in the reliefs in question, since seated as they are, they carry their heads as high as the standing figures next them; but while they do not rise, this difference in height is but vaguely perceived as if half suspected.

By these examples has one an idea of the course that Greek sculpture followed from the 8 th to the beginning of the 5 th centuries. Until the end of this period convention is everywhere in the representation of the isolated figures as in the arrangement adopted to place proportion in several figures, that the artist engages in the same action. It is again in the detail of the forms of the body and of its coverings as in the use of color applied with the brush. However much he leans forward, the most rapid runner does not touch the earth with his knee, as did the Nike of Archermos. (Fig. 125). Having to render a complex movement whose actual mechanism is difficult to seize, sculptors and painters were agreed to adopt this attitude; even the exaggeration of the pose prevented any mistake concerning the intentions of the artist. The free borders of fabrics, where they fell in large masses, drew a line, broken in places, the irregular length of the folds; but on the living model these breaks do not have the formal regularity, that they affect in the draperies of archaic monuments. On the high reliefs in tufa that decorate the pediments of the most ancient edifices have been found everywhere traces of red or blue coats. (Pl. III). Nothing is more arbitrary than the choice of these tones. The creators of these images do not conceive form without color; but on the other hand, painting was not sufficiently advanced that they could think of reproducing the

true tints of flesh and hair with their insensible gradations. There they contented themselves with entirely conventional tints. These sufficed to recall that in nature every form has its color. At the same time by the contrasts produced by their juxtaposition, they indicated and emphasized the grand divisions of the body.

Progress had been made to gradually free themselves from the yoke of all those initial conventions; those corresponded to the primary image of the external world impressed on the mind of man, an incoherent image, in which are often exaggerations and voids. To correct and complete it, one can only succeed in this if he feels the insufficiencies, and if he confines himself to resuming and rectifying it, line by line before nature. By these repeated comparisons an imitator prepares himself to substitute for what he believed that he saw at first, what he sees when his eyes are trained, and he has truly learned to see. Now it is with an artist, when he desired to observe nature and was placed at the first trial to undertake that study in the conditions more favorable than can be imagined, indeed like the Greek people. Nowhere else in the ancient or modern world, has the nude form been so obligingly presented to the eye of the sculptor. When the modern sculptor desires to work from nature, he can only count on a professional model paid by the hour, however good his style may be, give him what was given gratis to the Ionian or Dorian statuary by attendance at the palestra. The body is wearied in the studio, on the table on which it stands and is arranged. Whatever effort is made to retain the pose properly, the muscular tension soon relaxes or is exaggerated. The required movement cannot have the warmth of freedom of spontaneous movement.

By these frank confidences of the living form and the advances that it lavished on the artist, the Greek sculptor applied himself without relaxation to consider this form under all its aspects, as well in the simplicity of the main lines defining it, as in the complexity of the internal levers, connections and springs, whose work and play are observed through the contractions and vibrations of the flesh. In the first place, he had only a fragmentary vision of the organic forces that he desired to copy. His sole care had been

to preserve the importance of the traits that had first struck him, and he was not occupied in harmonizing them, in composing an entirety that should have the unity that nature puts into all her creations. The artist could only immerse this unity in a work, when he had begun to conceive the living being as an entirety with its various parts closely and permanently connected together. But only then, under pain of only presenting a faithless image of the body, he was compelled to forbid himself to favor one part or bring it forward at the expense of the others. This conviction having been once received in his mind, he passed from the abstract to the concrete. In the image that he attempted to model, each organ, each member and each bundle of muscles must appear, he understanding not as he represented them to himself in that summary analysis by which he had commenced, but as they actually showed themselves in a given position of the body, that the eye of the spectator viewed at a certain angle.

By virtue of this synthesis, from generation to generation in works of sculpture, there was seen first to diminish and then disappear one after another all the conventional deformations. The different elements of the person were coordinated; they were subordinated and harmonized one after another to the movement of the whole. The artist discovered that the eye of the torso must not be presented in a figure seen in profile, as if they were in front, the foot must be foreshortened. Observation led him to form a more correct idea of the symmetry and balance of forms in the structure of the human body and in the attitudes so diverse, that induces it to take the play of forces which animated it. At the origin it was found convenient to suspend and to attach in a way all those forms to an axis, that lent itself to no lateral flexure. The idea of this regulating axis was not lost, an idea that nature itself had even suggested: but it was conceived as fitted to bend in every direction at the slightest direction of the will. Matters were the same for the minor conventions, as they might be termed, some examples of which we have given. There were certain poses, like those of flight and of running, where the artist had exaggerated the violence of the movement. In time he corrected that ex-

excess without any loss of the clearness of the image. The most complex movements were rendered as nature gave them. After restoring to the body its equilibrium and the freedom, when it is quite erect in its most spirited movements, no less could be done for the drapery covering it. The Greek costume did not impose on this a determinate cut, fixed by the needle. Men were pleased to see it modeled on the form that it enclosed and in its unrolling and its free fall it accented by the mobile variety of its flowing surfaces of its folds more or less concave, all vibrations and all changes of charm. This freedom of the clothing without seam, of the light linen fabric or the soft tissues of wool, it was desired to find, and he succeeded in making it pass into the ornamentation of the cloth. All that was artificial and stiff in certain arrangements first adopted that were gradually effaced; soon after the time at which this study ends, there remained nothing more of this. The same tendency is manifested in the use that Greek statuary made of color. It never completely renounced this; but when it abandoned tufa for marble, it did not delay to leave off those coatings of a crude tone, which were applied on all grounds, that motley whose violence gave to the figures such a singular and unread appearance. As he became more skilful in seizing all the refinements of the form and of rendering them by the work of the tool, he made less demand for the collaboration of the painter; he contented himself with demanding from him a patina for the nude, that softened the hard whiteness of the marble, and that on the other parts of the figure accented certain traits, and distinguished from each other the different parts of the clothing. In the polychromy is always a conventional part; but this convention becomes there sufficiently discreet and skilful to be scarcely visible.

In this progress of Greek art, never interrupted after the first Olympiads and always accelerated, what part is properly attributed to the examples and the instruction that the Hellenes could receive from the peoples of the Orient? All historians have proposed this question; but they are far from being agreed on the reply suited to it. Even the fact of these relations is not contestable. We found them already established at the Mycenaean epoch, and they have never ceased since then. They could not begin to extend thus for centuries, without that

of the two groups first civilized acting on each other, and transmitting to it certain ideas with their signs, letters of the alphabet or figured types; but when men differ in opinions is when it is required to estimate the intensity of this action and its useful effects. Here is not the place to subject to a critical discussion all the data of the problem. We only occupy ourselves here with art, the arts of design and especially that of sculpture. How and in what measure among the Greeks did this suffer the influence of foreign models? That is what we desire to determine with some precision.

Among the very ancient civilized societies, that could have been the masters and inspirers of Greece, only two merit being taken into account, Egypt on the one hand, and on the other Chaldea with its pupil and heir, Assyria. As for the others, such as Phoenicia and Lydia, with whom the Greeks also had constant relations, from Egypt and Chaldea they derived the rudiments of their industries and their arts. In this movement of transfer the only role that they played was that of intermediaries. Then in this inquiry it is necessary to go back to the sources themselves, to the two great civilizations of which each carried truly inventive and personal genius into the creation of form and that creation of types.

Of these two civilizations, only one may have been on several occasions in direct contact with Greece, this is that of Egypt.¹ This contact already occurred from the time of Seti I and Ramses by the people of the sea, in the number of whom appear the Achaeans, the proper ancestors of the Greeks. They seem to have been placed, at least at times, under the supremacy of Egypt. Thus they were ensured of the right to frequent its ports and carry on commerce there, in exchange for a nominal homage and perhaps a small tribute. There are seen represented in the paintings of the Theban tombs metal vases, which by their forms and ornamentation recall those collected at Mycenae. Aegean pottery is also represented by beautiful specimens in several cemeteries of the Delta. On the other hand, one can no longer count the objects of Egyptian origin that have been collected either on the main land, in the islands or at all points where have been exhumed the ruins of cities of the Mycenaean age. What has been gathered there in the ruins of palaces contemporaneous with Minos and his dynasty, is not

alone glass, scarabs, statuettes of ivory of or glazed terra cotta. Even a stone statue has been found there with its hieroglyphic inscription, and then we can ask ourselves whether the importation of works of this kind did not arouse their imitations, from which were born that Cretan school, that some centuries later with Dipoinos and Skyllis should initiate the earliest artists of the Peloponnesus into the methods of sculpture.²

Note 1.p.705. All the data on this subject supplied by Egyptian or Grecian sources, have been collected in the Essay with very sure criticism and erudition, inserted by D. Mallet in Vol. XII of *Memoire publie par les membres de la mission archeologique francaise au Cairo* (1893) under the title; *Les premieres etablissemments des Grecs en Egypte*. (7th and 6th centuries). Also see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, p.76, 83, 1002-1005.

Note 2.p.705. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p.428-429.

The relations between Egypt and Greece lessened when Egypt was taken between Ethiopia and Assyria and driven into itself, while Greece was profoundly troubled by the Dorian invasion.³ They were resumed more actively than ever before, when to attach to his fortunes auxiliaries whose arms and tactics promised him victory over his rivals, Psammetichus began to invite into Egypt Carians and Hellenes (about 650). In the impulse of their colonial expansion, the men of the great industrial and commercial cities of Ionia responded in a multitude to that call. Fortified agencies like the Mall of the Milesians and Larynne were created by them near the different mouths of the Nile. Naucratis, one of these, reached extraordinary prosperity especially under the reign of Anasis (569-525), the strongest favorer of the Hellenes among all the Saite kings. Founded by nine associated cities, 4 Ionian and 4 Dorian and Eolian, Naucratis very quickly became what Alexandria would be after the Macedonian conquest. In its warehouses were heaped, to be distributed then into the interior of the country, products of Greek soil lacking in Egypt, oil and wine, while were stored their wares of every sort destined for exportation, spices and perfumes of Arabia, skins, eggs and plumes of the ostrich as well as ivory from the Soudan, and finally objects of luxury, that from time immemorial were fabricated in the workshops of Egypt. As for the Greek mercenaries, most of them were quartered in an intrenched camp very near Memphis. Further, neither the soldiers

distributed in the various garrisons of the kingdom, nor the merchants of the free ports of the Delta alone represented the entire Grecian immigration. The Milesians had an agency in the ancient city of Abydos; Samians had pushed to the back of the great oasis and were fixed there permanently. Greek merchants were isolated or distributed in little groups then everywhere in the cities and towns of Egypt. Like the Greek dealers of today, mostly natives of Janina or vicinity, whom I have met in the entire Ottoman empire, as well in Syria as in Anatolia and Roumelia, they lived by petty commerce and retail sales. Ionians and Carians married Egyptian women; thus were created a class of half breed, many of whom performed the part of interpreters. As valets and couriers they accompanied foreigners that visited Egypt as tourists.

Note 3.p.405. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VII, p.145, 219-220.

Those travelers had become very numerous in the 6th century. Returned to their country (the Greek scarcely exiled himself without hope of return), the merchants that had made a sojourn in Egypt told marvels of the wealthy country; described its singular customs; boasted of its superb edifices and the religious ceremonies for which the avenues of sphynxes served as an enclosure, the vast courts and porticos of the temples. They confirmed the idea, that in these sanctuaries was preserved the treasure of wisdom and science slowly accumulated, whose secret was possessed by the priests, entrusted to that mysterious writing with strange signs extending in long columns on the large fields of the pylons and on the faces of the obelisks. Under that impression, curiosity was aroused; men desired to go and see what truth was in all these fine tales. Whoever pretended to the name of a clever man embarked for Naucratis and returned after some months, much impressed by the imposing spectacle presented by that Egypt, to which the Saite princes had restored all appearances of power and prosperity. The list would be long of all men of importance, from Solon ^{and} Pythagoras to Anaxiles and Hecateus of Miletus, who visited Egypt. The journey to Egypt for men of leisure that desired to complete their education, was what the journey to Athens will be at the end of the republic and the beginning of the empire for young sons of good family.

Artists could not fail to be in the first rank of those eager

visitors; perhaps they had most to learn. The architect admired the amplitude and nobility of the edifices. He borrowed from them neither the type of the Doric temple nor that of the Ionic temple, which were fixed before Egypt was opened to the Greeks, at least in their main lines; but he took there perhaps certain motives of ornament and one of the varieties of his capital, that which we have termed *Ionian*. In any case, the view of those enormous edifices, constructed of limestone, sandstone and granite, incited a change in material, passing from wood and cruce bricks to cut stone of greater dimensions. Without the memories brought back from Egypt, the temples of Artemis and of Hera at Ephesus and Samos would not have had those colossal dimensions and that magnificence which astonished contemporaries.¹

Note 1. p. 707. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII. p. 371, 373, 654-656, 661.

Particularly to the sculptor was the sight of all those monuments a revelation; in certain respects his art was then less advanced than that of the architect. In all the works of Egyptian sculpture that offered to the eyes little figurines, figures of natural size or enormous colossal figures, the Greek sculptor found the same interpretation of the human form, an interpretation that further at least in the statues only comprised a very small number of attitudes, infinitely repeated with slight variations. When the Egyptian artist was asked under what aspect should be shown this human body, whose image he desired to multiply and make eternal, he was held to the simplest solutions of the problem, those which even had the more chance of being adopted by an art yet uncertain of its course, such as Grecian sculpture in the 7th century.

If in place, those Egyptian statues interested Ionian artists like Knoecos, Theodoros and Telecles, who sojourned in Egypt, they did not remain unknown to sculptors that did not make that journey. About that time more than one image left the valley of the Nile to make admired in Grecian cities the brilliant qualities of Saitic art, which knew how to put elegance and freedom into the rendering of the types that preceding schools had transmitted to it. Under the princes of the 26th dynasty was a true renaissance of sculpture. Amasis honored himself by sending to friendly Greek cities some works of the best artists of Sais or of Memphis. He had taken as his wife *Phacike*, a Greek from Cyrene. In gratitude for the aid that she had received in

from Aphrodite in a pressing danger, she fulfilled a vow made to send her native city a statue of the goddess. Executed in Egypt, this statue must represent Aphrodite with the features of Hathor. Herodotus still saw it at Cyrene, and after what he said of the place that it occupied, one has reason to believe that it had been erected in the open air, which would give reason to think that it was cut in sandstone or granite.¹ Other gifts of the same kind are attributed by the historian to the proper initiative of the king. Also to Cyrene he had given, besides his portrait doubtless painted on a cedar board, a gilded statue of Athena, i.e., of Neith, a statue that could only be of wood. Perhaps also statues of Neith were those two statues of stone, that he presented to the sanctuary of Athena of Lindos in the island of Rhodes. To be agreeable to his ally Polycrates at Samos, he had consecrated and even doubled his own effigy. When Herodotus visited the famous temple of the Samian Hera, the two statues of wood were still there, placed at the two sides of the portal.²

Note 1.p.708. Herodotus. II, 181.

Note 2.p.708. Herodotus. II, 182.

Herodotus mentions these gifts because his notes of travel had retained their memory; but there is reason to think that other cities not found on his route had received quite similar ones about the same time by one way or another. There was shown in the temple of Hercules in Erythrae a statue of the god, which passed as having come on a raft pushed by the waves from Tyre to the coasts of Ionia. What this legend proves is, that men no longer knew at Erythrae when and under what circumstances this image had been brought there; but according to Pausanias its execution was sufficiently characterized as to leave no doubt of the country of its origin. "The statue," he says "resembles neither the so-called Eginetan figures nor the most ancient Attic statues. If one can affirm anything in regard to it, this is that it is really of the Egyptian style." ¹

Note 1.p.709. Pausanias. VII, v, 3.

What must have particularly attracted the attention of Greek sculptors in these statues, in those seen on the banks of the Nile and those sent to them as far as into Ionia, by the civilization of Egypt as its messengers and agents of power, is the method of working, whose impression they bore. It seems to be

proved today that the Egyptian sculpture did not have a single canon, as Diodorus believed, i.e., a system of proportions rigorously applied, to all images from the ancient to the new empire.² The proportions vary in the same period between paintings and statues, and even sometimes though more rarely, from one statue to another; from one period to another they sensibly differ. It is no less true that the statues, at least for the same time, present a very marked analogy to each other from this point of view. In considering images that Psammeticus and his successors had multiplied in the edifices that were constructed and restored, the Greek artist must have very quickly recognized that those images implied in the schools that had executed them the common idea, that there are fixed relations of dimensions between the different parts of the human body, when that is properly constituted. The same unit of measure seemed to have been adopted everywhere. Now it was far from being so for the images of wood or of stone that the Greeks had previously erected in their cemeteries or consecrated in their temples. For example, let one take the series of nude male figures, that have been termed the archaic Apollos; there are very marked differences of proportion between them, that do not come from a difference in age. To judge by their execution, several of these figures are nearly contemporary; but one is short and stumpy; another is of average height; a third is slender and tall. As much can be said of another series, that of the young women of the Acropolis of Athens.

Note 2.p.709. Diodorus. Vol. I, p.765-769; 774.

For whoever that then knew how to foresee the future, this apparent incoherence of archaic Greek art would have been the indication and announcement of the freedom of genius and of the loyal sincerity, that would later form the superiority of Grecian art; but if the docile submission of the Egyptian artist to certain rules eventually risked the petrification of this art into routine, it no less gave to the entirety of its work a general altitude, which was not presented in the same degree by the first essays of Grecian statuary. The Hellenic travelers in the mental tendency in which they landed in Egypt must be struck by the contrast. This aroused them to ask if they should continue as they had previously done, or as Diodorus says, "to take advice only from the caprice of their glance," or if it

would not be an advantage for them also to attempt by the study of individuals chosen among the best developed men of Greek race, this analysis of forms and of their normal relations, that had been so successful for the Egyptians. Curious and subtle as they were, when the Greeks once entered this path, they proceeded at a rapid and sure pace. One cannot doubt that they then commenced to meditate on this system of the body, which they called symmetry, and this research soon interested them so vividly, that in the second half of the 5th century one of the first sculptors of the time, Polycletus, took pains to state in a technical treatise on his theory of proportions;¹ But long before the master of Argos applied this theory to the execution of his celebrated statue of the Doryphoros, this question of the module, long since solved by the architect, was finally placed before the sculptor, and each school had sketched on its own account an approximate and provisory solution. This was not expressed by a numerical formula; but it is suspected and glimpsed, when the entirety of the work of the same group of artists is considered.

Note 1.p.710. The existence of this treatise is attested in the most formal manner by Gallienus (De plac. Hipp. et Plat. 5), who distinguishes the *ergon* from the *logos*, and says that the word canon was employed to designate both the statue and the treatise.

Egypt must be for much in the movement produced in this sense about the end of the archaic age. When he admired the statues of Sais and of Tanis, the Greek sculptor could not think of borrowing from them all parts of the system of proportions that he divined there; he would be badly restricted by the representation of the characteristic traits of a race, that the originality of his customs and the climate had made very different from that inhabiting the valley of the Nile. What the Egyptian sculptor could suggest with emphasis to the Ionian artist is the idea itself of the canon, that idea thus summarized by one of the masters of French sculpture:—"This is a system of measures which must be such, that one can determine from the dimensions of one part those of the whole, and from the dimensions of the whole those of one of the parts."¹ The Greek sculptor could not fail to reach this conception at length by

observation and by the proper effort of his thought; perhaps it was even already vaguely sketched in his own mind; but it became clear and imposed itself on him with an entirely different force, when he took into account the services that this directing idea rendered to Egyptian art. This is proved by what Diodorus relates of Telecles and of Theodorus. Charged with furnishing to the Samians a statue of the Pythian Apollo, each executed a half separately, one at Samos and the other at Ephesus. Brought together, these two parts were so well adapted to each other, that the entirety seemed to be the work of a single hand.² For my own part, I should be inclined to see in that one of those apophryphal anecdotes found in so many writers of the late period. One further comprehends what caprices Telecles and Theodorus would have obeyed in risking this trick. This was a sort of bet made before a public much interested in questions of art. In winning it, the two brothers made their compatriots understand the value of those procedures, and that Egyptian art so much boasted of to them. At the same time they posed as having penetrated all its secrets in the course of their journey.

Note 1. p. 111. E. Guillaume. Article Canon of the Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts.

Note 2. Diodorus. I, 98, 5-6.

What Greek statuary owed to Egyptian statuary is not alone this orientation. If there are two types for which the Ionian or Dorian sculptor at his beginnings appears to have a marked predilection, one is the male figure, standing and nude with the arms hanging by the sides and naunches; also whether of one or the other sex, a seated and clothed figure with extended hands, the plan resting at the top of the thighs. Now these two types are those that have most place in the current repertory of Egyptian sculpture. Is that merely a simple coincidence? One cannot stop at that explanation. Doubtless Greece had never known the Egypt, which had no less sculptured figures standing and seated; but in Greece in the 7th century both presented themselves in conditions and with characteristic peculiarities, that did not permit a doubt that the art of Egypt had some part in the foundation and development of these types.

Let us take the nude female figure of archaic Greek art and compare it with some one of the numerous figures of men or gods to whom the Egyptian chisel has given the same attitude.¹ There

is indeed a difference; all the Egyptian statues have about the loins the short drawers that is called the *shenti*. Entire nudity was not the custom of Egypt; it seemed unbecoming there. Remove the drawers and you will then see only resemblances. The general resemblance pertains to the identity of attitudes; but there are certain details of pose and form for which one can scarcely render a reason for the accord of the methods taken except by the hypothesis of a direct imitation. All the Egyptian figures have the left leg thrown slightly forward. It is the same on the archaic Apollos, and yet in Greece toward the right side must be directed all the movements promising a happy effect.² As men turned to the right for prayer, for the cup that served for the festival or sacrifice, the helmet containing the lots, the cithara intended for celebrating the gods passed to the right. Ulysses, disguised as a mendicant, began at the right to pass into the ranks of the suitors, so that this might be a good arrangement.³ With the right foot must one enter the temples.⁴ Even by that preference accorded to the right side was very ingeniously explained the change made among the Greeks after some time in the direction of writing; they had received it from the Phoenicians passing from right to left; after some hesitation they decided to write only from left to right.⁵ It then seems that strongly predisposed was the Greek sculptor to make his figures step off with the right foot, as he most frequently did in the reliefs and statues of the classical age. If in his most ancient works he took the contrary method, this is because in his first essays, he had fixed his eyes on the models, whose grave nobility impressed him with respect. Under the power of that feeling, he did not hesitate to borrow from them, in entire abnegation of himself with the beliefs and habits of his people, an arrangement that he found adopted everywhere. He even went so far as to apply it to a type, that of the female figure erect and cloaked, that further seemed to owe nothing to Egyptian statuary. In the second half of the 6th century, it is still the left leg that is thrown forward in most of the works of the *Aurora* of the *Acropolis*.

Note 1.p.712. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I, 43, 44, 120, 242, 243, 438, 443, 468, 469, 484.

Note 2.p.712. It was a good custom to commence with the right foot.

Note 3.p.712. Homer, *Odyssey*, XVII, 245.

is indeed a difference; all the Egyptian statues have about the loins the short drawers that is called the shenti. Entire nudity was not the custom of Egypt; it seemed unbecoming there. Remove the drawers and you will then see only resemblances. The general resemblance pertains to the identity of attitudes; but there are certain details of pose and form for which one can scarcely render a reason for the accord of the methods taken except by the hypothesis of a direct imitation. All the Egyptian figures have the left leg thrown slightly forward. It is the same on the archaic Apollos, and yet in Greece toward the right side must be directed all the movements promising a happy effect.² As men turned to the right for prayer, for the cup that served for the festival or sacrifice, the helmet containing the lots, the citrera intended for celebrating the gods passed to the right. Ulysses, disguised as a mendicant, began at the right to pass into the ranks of the suitors, so that this might be a good arrangement.³ With the right foot must one enter the temples.⁴ Even by that preference accorded to the right side was very ingeniously explained the change made among the Greeks after some time in the direction of writing; they had received it from the Phoenicians passing from right to left; after some hesitation they decided to write only from left to right.⁵ It then seems that strongly predisposed was the Greek sculptor to make his figures step off with the right foot, as he most frequently did in the reliefs and statues of the classical age. If in his most ancient works he took the contrary method, this is because in his first essays, he had fixed his eyes on the models, whose grave nobility impressed him with respect. Under the power of that feeling, he did not hesitate to borrow from them, in entire disagreement as it was with the beliefs and habits of his people, an arrangement that he found adopted everywhere. He even went so far as to apply it to a type, that of the female figure erect and clothed, that further seemed to owe nothing to Egyptian statuary. In the second half of the 5th century, it is still the left leg that is thrown forward in most of the forms of the Acropolis of Athens.

Note 1. p. 712. Statues de V'art. Vol. I, 45, 49, 120, 242, 424, 438-442, 443, 462, 469, 474.

Note 2. p. 712. It was he who began to commence with the left foot.

Note 3. p. 712. Hérodote. Odyssée. VIII, 266.

Note 4.p.712. Vitruvius. III. 4. Pythagoras made the same recommendation; he also desired that his disciples should commence by putting on the right shoe. (Jamblichus. Vie de Pythagoras. 518).

Note 5.p.712. Curtius. Histoire grecque. Vol. II, p.59-60. (Translation of Burcke-Leclercq).

Here is another trait in which is less clearly betrayed the same docility of the pupils. On a figure with suspended arms, there are several ways of placing the hand. One can allow the five fingers to extend, which thus continues the movement of the entire member. One can also close the fist and thus show in the hand a force ready to act. Egyptian art stopped at an intermediate point. On most of its images it bent only four fingers, holding the thumb before them in its entire length. There is a position that the hand does not assume of itself. When in the vertical position with swinging arms, if the hand contracts and the fingers do not fall freely, the longest bend over the thumb to conceal it from the eyes. The arrangement that the Egyptian sculptor invented was not indicated to him by one of those instinctive poses, that he only has to seize at its passage. If this be so, is it probable that the Greek sculptor also seeking for the hand an elegant presentation, and seeking this independently, would have naturally attained the entirely arbitrary arrangement of which his predecessor thought (Figs. 133,134)? On the contrary, there is no difficulty if it be admitted for that convention, as for the primacy of the left foot, the Greek workmen again only took counsel with Egyptian models.

If we commenced by insisting on these two partial accords, it is because they appear very significant to us. In the rendering of the oldest of these Greek marbles are found many other traces of the influence felt. If there be one statue which justifies this assertion, it is one of the statues of the Ptoion. (Fig. 263).? So to speak, it is one of the details that recalls Egypt. The arrangement of the hair causes us to think of the effect of the khaft or rather of that of certain Egyptian wigs.² On the head it is the flat eye extended and slightly raised at its outer end, the wide and cold mouth, and especially the timid and almost gloomy air of the entire face, the complete absence of expression. In the remainder of the body is the same

lack of accent, the same analogy of execution. The chest is round and there is no indication of the lower thoracic framework. The flesh of the abdomen forms a confused mass in which is accented no direction of any muscle. Finally, the navel is very sunken, nearly as much as on Egyptian figures. The figure is broken at the knees, but it does not appear that the sculptor has made the joint more apparent than at the elbow, where it is almost suppressed. It is the same for the wrist. The hand and forearm are heavy and adherent. With all its defects, there is a certain accuracy in the entirety of its proportions, and there is still a trait in which this figure approaches Egyptian figures. Other monuments of the same series would further afford opportunity for remarks of the same kind.

Note 1.p.714. Purtscheller pointed out the interest presented from this point of view by these figures (Meisterwerke, p.713, 714). In regard to Apollo of Tenea, which is already farther from the Egyptian models, he has resumed this comparison of the exotic and the Greek type. (Beschreibung der Glyptothek. p. 47-49. 1900).

Note 2.p.714. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I. Figs. 438, 440, 443, 461, 479, etc.

For the nude male figure, the proof of imitation is then made. Being clothed, seated figures do not lend themselves to so minute a comparison; but without speaking of the pose of the hands, which is the same as in Egypt, here again are analogies that we must mention. Several statues of this type came from the temple of the Didymean Apollo. (Figs. 109-111). Now they were found in place, arranged along the sides of the avenue leading from the harbor to the sanctuary, like the case in Egypt before the principal edifices, where were images of gods and of kings, or figures of sphynxes and rams. If the princes and rich merchants of Ionia, when they desired to consecrate their images in the vicinity of the altar of the great national deity, grouped them as done in Egypt; placed on the same seats and distributed in the same order, this is when they visited Sais or Memphis, they had received a vivid impression of the tranquil majesty of the royal colossuses thus arranged along the borders of the sacred ways.

There is a certain minor work that appears to be inspired still more directly by Egyptian art, than are these great

statues. This is the case of a terra cotta group that came from Samos, and that is believed to represent the divine pair of H Hera and Zeus (Fig. 350). By the manner in which the two personages are brought together, it would seem that the Samian potter may have taken as model one of those funerary monuments of the ancient empire in limestone, in which the husband and wife are seated in the same attitude and near each other.¹ The same Samian potters amused themselves by copying the grotesque type of the bod Bes, but modifying his features, whose image in glazed clay was brought from Egypt or Phoenicia and is found in the tombs of the islands.²

Note 1.p.715. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.I.Fig.441, Pl.IX.

Note 2.p.715. Böhlau. Aus Ionische und Italische Nekropolen, p.155-157, Pl. III, 4).

To complete the list of the materials brought from Egypt, it is also necessary to enumerate the types of fictitious or real animals, that it transmitted to the Greek artists. The first are, for example, those of the sphynx. and the griffin, scattered from the Mycenaean age among all the coastal peoples of the Mediterranean. One can state as much of the lion, that from a very early time ceased to inhabit continental Greece, and which no less in all times furnished to Greek art one of its favorite themes. we find very frankly marked the influence of Egyptian art in the appearance that the Greek statuary of the 7th and 6th centuries gave to that wild beast, whom they could not study in nature. See at London the lion that came from the avenue of the Branchides (Fig. 118) and the lioness of Corfu (Fig. 268). In these two monuments all refers us to Egypt, to the lions of the Saitic epoch.³ In both is the same attitude, the same very simple modeling in broad planes, the same mode of enclosing the mouth by bristles, the same procedure employed to recall by the deep folds hollowed around the eyes and the jaws, now mobile is the skin of the jaws and face in those great felines.

Note 3.p.715. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I, Fig. 492.

It is singular that for the type of the sphynx, whose Egyptian origin is not doubtful, Greek art may at first have freed itself from the Egyptian model. From that it had retained only the first idea, the union in the same being of the human form and that of the lion; but it is feminized by being furnished

with a pair of wings. Finally, at a very distant date, it had already commenced to render it as crouching, the tail behind and resting on the ground, while the bust is raised on the front paws.¹ The sphynx in Egypt always crouches on the ground with the members extended.²

Note 1.p.716. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI. Figs.417,418.

Note 2.p.716. The same. Vol. I.Figs. 41,207,483,484,493.

If for this secondary type, Greek art seems from the first hour to have wandered from Egyptian tradition, we have shown what it owed to that for the formation of other types, that have enjoyed a more important role in the development of statuary. We have sought to divine what memories and doubtless what notes and sketches the Greek artists brought from Egypt. The most intelligent could not be contented by hastily passing through the valley of the Nile, seeing only what appeared to all strangers. It only depended on them, and certainly some understood this, to profit by the opportunities offered to them, to become initiated in the methods of Egyptian technics, a prolonged sojourn in a city like Naucratis. One was there both in Greece and in Egypt. On a neutral soil, the two civilizations mingled without becoming confused. By the excavations, it is proved that certain entirely oriental industries like that of glazed clay, were acclimated at Naucratis, and that they were carried on there by Greek counterfeiters.³ At Naucratis was made a rich find of small bronzes, that all have a very marked Egyptian character; these are native deities, lions, boxes with covers ornamented by figures of reptiles in relief.⁴ Perhaps there the Samian sculptors were initiated in the process of hollow casting. At the same time, besides those workshops of which some belonged to the natives and others competed with them, there were in the city skilful ceramists, that fabricated vases whose ornamentation was entirely Ionic in spirit and motives; there were sculptors who modeled images of the protecting deities of the colony and of their worshippers.

Note 3.p.716. Mallet: Les peintres et établissements, etc. p.218-228

Note 4.p.716. The same. p. 270-271.

There is not a single fragment of a work of great dimensions. Nothing has been found of the statues, that must have been erected in these temples of Apollo of Miletus, of Aphrodite, the Dioscures, Hera, Zeus and Athena, mentioned by the authors or

revealed by the dedications of the inscriptions; but there have been collected statuettes of limestone or of alabaster colored by the brush, and which nearly all came from the site of the two oldest sanctuaries, those of Apollo and of Aphrodite.¹ Now in the series formed of these figurines, what first attracts the attention are examples of the two types of archaic Greek sculpture, in which seems to us to be the most strongly felt the influence of Egyptian statuary.

Note 1.p.717. The largest of these figurines when entire scarcely exceeded 1.97 ft. Many had only half that height or even less.

There is first the nude male figure, the so-called archaic Apollo. Of statuettes of this kind collected at Naukratis, there rarely remains more than the torso, never the head; but here is a figurine purchased in Egypt soon after the excavations ended.³ Material and dimensions, pose and execution, all are identical with what is found in the fragments of only attested Naukratic origin. According to all probability, from one of those same trenches came the monument in question; it was concealed by the Arab laborers in the course of the works (Fig. 351). The head and the body are well preserved; only the left arm and the lower part of the legs are lacking. The work is that of a Greek chisel. What demonstrates this is not only the absence of the kilt or of the wig and the fact that the personage is entirely nude; it is also the lines of the face; in the lines of this profile where the nose forms a strong projection in front with a receding chin, there is nothing that recalls even distantly the Egyptian type.¹

Note 2.p.117. Egypt. Explor. Fund. F. Petrie and E Gardner. Naukratis. Part 1. 1886. Part 2. 1888. Pl. I, 3, 4, 9, II, 3.

Note 3.p.717. Kieseritzky. Apollo von Naukratis. Jahrb.d.K. Inst. 1892.p.179-184.

Note 1.p.718. The lines of the face of the Apollo are not those of any statue that we have reproduced; what best recalls them is the profile of Artemis on the vase on Pl. IV of Melische Thongefasse by Conze.

In the very peculiar appearance of this head, what is evident is the spirit of independence of the Greek artist, the personal effort by which he seeks beauty. On the contrary, in all the rest of the figure, is no longer found that very soft execution,

that sort of carelessness which in a Eeotian Apollo appears to us as evidence of the influence of Egyptian models. Here also the legs and arms are fleshy without muscles. Beneath this flesh is nowhere felt the skeleton, neither in the members nor in the bust. The sides only indicate the collar-bone. The same observations also apply to the other torsos of the same origin, that are scattered in different museums.²

Note 2.p.718. Kieseritzky has given one of them belonging to the museum of Boston. p. 181.

The seated and clothed figures are in smaller number.³ One cannot be surprised that the sculptor of Naucratis has also taken from Egyptian statuary this theme, that is found in the statues of the Branchides, but this sculptor lived in Egypt, and he has carried farther the imitation than could those of his compatriots, who knew this art only by the Egyptian statues exported into Greece. He has taken from the Grecian sculpture certain poses, that belonged to even the habits of the Egyptian body. Such is the statuette, in the character of the head as in that of the clothing, in which one cannot recognize a Greek at all. (Vignette at end of the Chapter). The man is seated, legs bent and raised, so that the knee joint makes almost a right angle with the ground. This is a very common posture in Egypt, where are seen numerous figures carrying thus before them a naos or some other object, a vase or tablet.⁴

Note 3.p.718. Naucratis. I, Pl. II, Fig. 13; Pl. XIV, 3, 7.

Note 4.p.718. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I, Figs. 23, 52, 444, 446, 471, 501, 505. Also poses familiar to the art of Egypt are found in two figurines from Naucratis, one of limestone and the other of glazed faience, that represent the figures seated on their heels. (Naucratis. I, pl. II, 10, 20). The first is intact, and nude, and nothing indicates that it is of Egyptian fabrication. The head is wanting to the second; the personage has before him a table of offering on which are placed four objects resembling fishes. There is indeed a motive entirely Egyptian. The opinion of those that exhumed those statuettes is however, that all with perhaps one exception came from a Grecian workshop. (Naucratis. I, p. 13).

If before leaving the valley of the Nile, we have halted at Naucratis, this is because the figurines collected there have confirmed the inferences derived from monuments like the Apollo

of Ptoion, or the seated statues of Diôymus. Something of the style and of the taste of Egypt have passed into these Greek works, we felt; but this action revealed its effects, where and how was it exerted? We can on this subject state only conjectures more or less probable. It is not the same for Naucratis. The Greek artist was too near such cities as Sais and Tanis, not to have had more than one occasion to visit them. At Naucratis itself, he had under his eyes Egyptian artisans occupied in furnishing to Ionian merchants the small articles, which they sent into Greece, figurines of glazed faience or of ivory, jewels, small bronzes, all that could be termed articles from Egypt. The two arts lived side by side, the prestige of superiority being on the side that had the best tools, and which appeared most advanced. Later, after the Macedonian conquest, when Grecian art had become in some fashion the common art of all civilized humanity, the Egyptian types will be seen to tend to become Hellenized.¹

Note 1. p. 719. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I, p. 722; Figs. 55, 487, 488.

Men have also desired to find in archaic Grecian art the trace of a Chaldeo-Assyrian influence;² they have sought it in certain works of the Ionian sculptor, such as the seated statues of the avenue of the Branchides and the reliefs of the so-called tomb of the Harpies. At least for the statues in question, there is an objection to this comparison. We have stated what connects them to Egypt; this is the place assigned to them on the sacred way; now is it probable that the sculptor that arranged them thus in memory of Egypt, at the same time for the execution sought, his models in Assyria? Further, neither in these statues nor in the reliefs of Xanthos, does one see the flesh contract and harden in the members, as it does on the legs and arms of Assyrian warriors, into great muscular ropes, having the appearance of metal cables rather than that of supple and living fibres. Same observation for clothing. If in the Ionian reliefs as in the female statues of the Acropolis, the sculptor pleased to ornament the dress, to decorate the bottom and especially the borders by designs where the brush follows the lines of the chisel, never was the work of this decoration carried so far in the marble, as it was at Nineveh in the soft alabaster of the hills of the valley of the Tigris; never was it executed there with such minute refinement of de-

details; but what most of all makes the difference is, that from the first hour the Greek sculptor has a presentiment of the method, that he will later take with the fabric, to arrange contrasts between the plain areas of the cloth and those grooved by folds and filled by shadows. On the contrary, the Assyrian sculptor, until his most advanced works, has never had even a suspicion of this sort of effects.

Note 119. Rayet. *Etudes d'archaeologie et d'art*. p.114-115.

If then there be some apparent resemblance between certain Ionian sculptures and all that Asian sculpture, it is necessary to see there only a coincidence, a simple accident. The two arts are not animated by the same spirit.¹ Besides one does not see where and when could have been produced between a contact so close and sufficiently prolonged, for one of the styles to make its effect felt on the other, and leave there a permanent trace. The Sargonides and the last Chaldean kings traversed Syria as conquerors more than once, and they even invaded Egypt; but in the dash that sometimes carried them toward the Mediterranean, they never passed the plain of Cappadocia and of Lycaonia. Asia Minor never was a province of their realms. Babylon and Nineveh were separated from Miletus and Ephesus, one by vast deserts and the other by the cañons and abrupt slopes of the lofty chains of Taurus. Before Asian Greece was attached to the empire of the Achemenides, scarcely rare Greek adventurers, like Antimenides, brother of the Greek poet Alcaeus, had visited those distant cities as mercenary soldiers.² When the Ionians became the subjects of the great king, and their deputies sometimes on business had to take the road to Susa, the style of their art was too fixed, for the impressions left in the minds of some travelers to be modified by the glance hastily cast on the old capitals of Asian civilization. Hence Ionian art is sufficiently original and brilliant for it to commence to react on the arts of the Orient; Greek architects and sculptors appear under Darius and Xerxes to have been associated in the construction and decoration of the edifices of Susa and of Persepolis.¹

Note 1.p.720. This is affirmed very decidedly by one of the most refined connoisseurs of Grecian art, Newton. (*Travels and Discoveries*. 1865. Vol. II, pa 153-154.

Note 2.p.720. Alcaeus, author of a history of Chaldaea and As-

Assyria, summarized by Eusebius (Chronique, p. 25), mention is made of a certain Pythagoras, who had served in the army of Ar-
 erdis, second successor of Sennacherib. (Frag. hist. graec. Vol.
 IV, p. 282.

Note 1. p. 721. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. V. p. 427-429, 525, 536, 828, 846.

When after the long reign of the geometric style, the Greek
 artist had the desire to attempt to reproduce the living form,
 all that he could know of the great monuments of the art and
 of the peoples of western Asia were the sculptures, that for
 want of a more precise designation we have credited to the
 Hittites, that mysterious people that appear to have dominated
 for centuries from the valley of the Orontes in Syria to the
 western slope of ^{the} Cappadocian plateau. Some of these reliefs w
 were sculptured on the sides of the rocks in the peninsula, a
 and others being cut on slabs of stone and ornamenting the wa-
 lls of seignorial residences. Rock-cut reliefs of this sort w
 were very near Smyrna and in the depressions of the Lycaonian
 plain. Others are found, as well as edifices decorated by those
 images, in the high valleys of the rapid rivers descending to
 the sea from Lycia and Cilicia. More than one Greek of the co-
 astal cities, that the needs of his business or a taste for t
 traveling had led into the interior of the peninsula, must have
 seen some of those works with a curiosity evidenced by Herodo-
 tus, when he speaks of the pretended figures of Sesostris shown
 him on the routes from Ephesus to Phoea and from Sardes to S
 Smyrna;³ but in all those images is nothing that could be real-
 ly useful to the artist, to embolden and direct his hand. All
 this art is only a pale reflection of that of the Semites of
 Mesopotamia and of Assyria. The forms are there simplified to
 excess; little invention and no variety in the themes.

Note 2. p. 721. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IV, book 6.

Note 3. p. 721. Herodotus. II, 108.

If the Greek sculptor divined from those feeble copies the
 character of the types created by the Asian statuary, that it
 was not of a nature to guide his efforts, was there not a chan-
 ce that some authentic works of the best Chaldeo-Assyrian art
 might reach him across the breadth of the interposed lands? We
 have stated how statues and portraits were sent by a Pharaoh
 to various temples, had presented themselves to the eyes of t
 the Hellenes; but Nineveh and Babylon never had a king, that

was a lover of the Hellenes in the fashion of Amasis, and besides the art works of the Semites of Asia did not lend themselves as well to export as those leaving the workshops of Egypt. Nothing easier than to embark for Cyrene or Rhodes images painted on cedar boards or light statues of wood; but was it easy to transport to great distances either the heavy Chaldean statues in diorite or the figures in soft and friable stone, that have been taken from the ruins of Assyrian palaces? As for the reliefs with historical themes, those were what are called in legal language immovables by destination; they could not be detached from the edifices that they decorated.

Yet, either by the intermediary of the Phoenicians or that of the Cappadocians and Lydians, the Greek cities of the coast were in relations with the great industrial centres of Chaldea. Thus there came from thence raw and finished products, that by the fords of the Euphrates the caravans passed to the markets of Syria or were directed to the passes of the Tarsus to the lower valleys of the Hermos, Cayster and Meander; but in the exotic wares which thus came to the sea, art was scarcely represented only by little objects like cylinders and other intaglios, (many of which were found at Cyprus), shells and carved ivory, jewels, bronzes, gold and silver cups with figures engraved in line; especially fabrics covered by embroideries, rugs and dyed clothes for personages or with rich and fanciful designs. From these articles of luxury and these fabrics, the Greek artisan appears to have borrowed more than one secondary form, for example, like the winged sphynx, which is foreign to Egypt.¹ If to the Egyptian griffin is referred that of Mycenae, that of archaic Greek art, the griffin with eagle's head and the griffin with horned lion's head are rather derived from types common in Chaldea and in northern Syria.² There is reason to believe that the centaur also came from Chaldea.³ Likewise the winged horse, the Greek pegasus.⁴ The Greeks have represented the lion only after other images furnished to them by the peoples that saw him in the natural state; now they must have been inspired as much by the lion of Asia as by that of Africa. Chaldeans, Assyrians and Syrians placed the figure of the lion everywhere, on their fabrics, their weights, their seals and jewels, as in their monumental sculpture.¹ Their furniture gave the idea of those heads and lion's paws that are seen in Greece

on seats of state, decorating the top and bottom of the posts.² The tripod, to which the Grecian taste gave such elegant forms, had the same origin.³ In Assyrian sculptures are seen placed the offering of the sacrifice, and in those ceremonies the worshippers often held in the hand a sort of disk, that might have served as a model for the Greek phiale; the latter is also a vase for a ritual use.⁴ Where one can scarcely doubt a direct imitation is when he meets, entirely alike in all parts, a conventional representation like that of the lightning, which Assyria places in the hand of one of its gods, and with which Greece arms its Zeus.⁵ The Grecian lightning on the most ancient monuments, like the Assyrian, is made of three short bolts (Fig. 352); the same form and the same number of elements. This is the triple lightning of which the Latin poets also speak, without mistrusting that the type seen made its appearance several thousand years earlier on the banks of the Euphrates. Among the current motives of archaic decoration is more than one, a band sown with rosettes, palmatiums, a plant border on which alternate expanded lotus flowers and buds, to which the same origin may be attributed with every probability; they were especially taken from Babylonian tapestries. Even the signs of the cuneiform syllabary, like the characters of Arab writing in the middle ages in the West, were perhaps called to play the part of ornaments. It is believed that they are recognized in the great black lines, raveled out at one end, which are symmetrically grouped and extend around many Rhodian plates found at Camiros.

Note 1.p.722. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.II, Figs.83,85,248.

Note 2.p.722. The same. Vol.II, Figs.86,289,447.

Note 3.p.722.The same. Vol. III. Fig. 412.

Note 4.p.722. The same. Vol. II. Fig. 279.

Note 1.p.723. The same.Vol.II.Figs.88,190,245,248,267-270,Pl.XI.

Note 2.p.723. The same. Figs.28, 237, 339, 390.

Note 3.p.723. The same. Figs. 68, 155, 393.

Note 4.p.723. The same. Figs. 303. See Fig. 28.

Note 5.p.723. The same. Figs. 13, 313.

By these indications, one sees now and in what measure Chaldeo-Assyrian art could not be useless in growing Grecian art. The aid lent to it is reduced to little in all accounts. It indeed served the decorator, whose repertory it notably enriched;

but so to speak, it gave nothing to the sculptor. It supplied him with a certain artificial type, that while having its marked place in the works of statuary, only appears in the second plane; but it did not have occasion to show itself to him in his most important creations, in those long series of reliefs in which is displayed at its ease his bold style, powerful and sometimes brutal. Nothing permits the suspicion that the Greek artist, before the moment when his own style was found, ever contemplated those animated by the agitations of such an intense life. Nowhere is a trace of an impression received and retained by his mind.

During the two or three centuries patiently employed by Greek genius in mastering the living form, this was then not without deriving a certain benefit from foreign instruction; but it learned most from Egyptian civilization. There are certain figures from the earliest workshops of Miletus and of Naxos, that by their attitudes aroused in us the memory of those found at the thresholds of the temples of Thebes and of Memphis. On the surfaces of those marbles, in the just proportion of their members and in the current modeling of their flesh, we believe in having seen play a reflection of the thought and taste of Egypt.

If we are occupied in noting the least vestiges of foreign influences, this is not to contest or to diminish the originality of Greek sculpture; on the contrary, it is to place it in a better light. What it made of the sphynx, what a proud and sad expression it gave that, we have seen by the sphynx of the Naxians at Delphi, placed on its lofty column (Fig. 185), and by that of Spata, guardian of an Attic tomb (Fig. 337). In the centaur a little later, it could blend the two types with marvellous skill, that of the horse, arranging so well the passage of one into the other, that even the monster had its beauty. Where is manifested even more frankly the superiority of this genius is in the manner in which it comprehends the rendering of the form. As soon as it escaped from the period of the rude sketches, that are rather signs than images, of real beings, it carries into the interpretation of this form a sincerity that pleases and touches, in spite of what awkwardness may yet be in the execution. That if being placed in presence of the imposing entirety of works of wise and rhythmic art, like that of

Egypt, he is sufficiently struck by the merits of that art to become for the moment almost a copyist, he does not delay to recover himself. There is a certain archaic Apollo, whose face without expression and body without apparent bones or muscles, would give without complete nudity the impression of a work executed by an Egyptian chisel; but these too docile imitators do not form a school. In the rest of the series, although the entire pose and certain details recall the memory of Egypt, one feels that the sculptor has for models the young men of his people, that he seeks to represent them as he sees them in the palestras, where they show uncovered their nervous and robust bodies. From one statue to another, the bones are better defined beneath the skin; the flesh assumes more firmness; the muscles are more frankly drawn; thus are accented all the traits which characterize an active and vigorous race, in which all the springs of the machine from generation to generation have been supplied and strengthened by the training of the gymnasium. At the same time the face is illumined. If it commences by grimacing in attempting to smile, we have seen it before the end even of the archaic age, already become impressed by an intelligent and noble serenity.

It is the same for the seated figures, which also appear to refer to an Egyptian prototype. As the figures stand in Greece, they gradually become less stiff and more animated. At first pressed together closely, the legs separate and sometimes are crossed. The hands were formerly placed flat on the thigh, but are detached. One arm and then both are raised and thrown forward; they sketch gestures of appeal or of welcome, whose meaning is fully defined by the expression of the face.

The Egyptian sculptor attributes nearly the same age to all his figures of men and of women, of gods and of goddesses. This age is what may be termed a mean age, that of beginning maturity. All the images created by art owe to this convention an abstract character, which in a manner places them outside of life. The sculptor in Greece has never taken that method. If his Apollo and the male statues erected on the tomb affect an air of youth, the bearded giants of the pediments of tufa already have the faces of the mature man that touches on old age. Likewise, in the series of the Kores of the Acropolis, if a certain body and a certain head recall the gracefulness of youth in its first

flower, other marbles give the impression of amplitude and of material gravity. From his first attempts, the Greek artist has his eyes fixed on nature; he aspires to study it and to render it in the diversity of its multiple aspects.

The temples of Egypt offered for the admiration of Grecian travelers only immobilized figures, in which the movements were reduced to the minimum. Some were in the attitude of repose and others were standing vertically, a commencing walk, but a slow one with measured steps. As for abrupt movements, like those of the race and of wrestling, Egyptian art tasted the freedom and the picturesque variety; it liked to reproduce them in those paintings and reliefs, where as in a clear mirror was reflected all the public and private life of this people; but it did not admit, that it could suit those images of the gods and of deified kings, those statues in which they endeavored to realize their ideal of tranquil nobleness and of majestic gravity.

From the beginning, Greece carries an entirely different spirit into art. This difference in inclinations and of tastes allows itself to be already divined, even in the works in which the Greek sculptor seems to keep himself nearest the Egyptian prototype. See the statues representing a man standing and in repose. Those figures in Egypt are usually placed against a pier;¹ now that pier does not play the part there which it will sometimes play in Greece, and much more frequently in those copies of the Roman epoch, that reproduce in marble the originals in bronze. This is not a necessary support; with their perfect equilibrium and the firm bearing due to the spread of the two large feet, the Egyptian statues risk nothing by omitting that support. If it has been imposed on them, this is not by a necessity of construction, but by a reason of esthetics. The artist has believed that the addition of that stone parallel to the figure will also increase the impression, that he desires to give of a powerful solidity. An entirely contrary feeling has decided the Greek sculptor not to appropriate this arrangement of his model. Nowhere in the entire series of archaic Apollos, even in those seeming the most ancient, is found this support. The sculptor does not yet know how to move his figures and to make them walk; but while waiting, at least he desires them to appear to have no need of that shore to keep

them on their legs.

This sculptor will not remain there; he loves movement by instinct, and as he attains skill, he will undertake more and more to try to render it in all its boldness and variety. He will not make this attempt in relief alone, after the example of the Egyptian sculptor, where the attachment of the figures to a ground permits giving them all attitudes without anxiety for overhangs. Also for his statues, he will not adhere to the easy equilibrium of the figure seated or standing vertically upright on his feet placed flat. To create the sculptured type of the light and joyful Nike, he will dare to attempt to reproduce the movement of the race, which bends and throws forward the entire body. The attitude that Archermos gave to his Nike is entirely conventional; but the lineage of those images already pulsing with life, although still formal, will be continued by the Victories of Olympia and of Samothrace. True statues are again in high reliefs in the pediments of the treasury of Megara, of the most ancient temples of the Acropolis and of the temple of Athena built by Pisistratus; now in those sculptures of Hercules with lowered head as he throws himself on the monsters that he overthrows; the giants and the gods strike each other and meet in a furious combat. Finally, there are isolated figures, the murderers of Hipparchus; the entire body throws itself before the enemy; the arms are raised or are extended to give or to parry mortal blows. Again a little time and at Delphi as at Olympia, rise the statues of the wrestlers and pugilists, disk-throwers and runners, that art has seized in the heat and beauty of their professional poses. Gods and goddesses will have charms no less free. It is Apollo that rises, slender and haughty, with the bow in his hand, before the serpent Python; his sister Artemis carts through the forests on the traces of wild beasts, as rapid and as bounding as the dog that runs by her side.

If the sculptor in the 7th century received from Egypt some suggestions that he held with deference, these did not turn him aside from his course, from what was suited to engage the ideas and habits of his people. He pursued this course without ever stopping, at a pace at first slow enough, but which did not delay to become more rapid, when the artist had conquered the primary difficulties of the profession and had marble at

his command.

Nowhere has he known how to combine more personal independence and more spirit of initiative with a more pious respect for tradition. Whether it concerns architecture, sculpture or other forms of art, this is the trait which best characterizes for Greece the long effort of the faculty of relief and all its work of creation.

However far one goes back in the series of the works of Greek sculpture, a time is not reached when all the artists were subject to the empire of the same discipline, the same formula. This is what we have already had occasion to observe in regard to two of the series in which the common type is represented by the greatest number of examples, the series of the archaic Apollos, and that of the young women of the Acropolis.

What makes all these works so attractive, in spite of their inaccuracies, are the differences that distinguish the figures executed at the same time by artists of the same school. How these schools with the nudity of their Apollos applied themselves to place in all its light the severe nobility of masculine beauty, or that to group around Athena images whose elegance could please the goddess, they attempted to seize the secret of the charm that exhaled from the woman, always and everywhere they sought the form and arrangement, the procedure which would aid them in finally making the image equal to the model. Toward the end of the 7th century, they had created only a very small number of types, also very badly defined. The shelly limestone was a most mediocre material, and they were far from carrying into the execution of their figures the certainty that the Egyptian artist placed in them, and even that of Chaldea and of Assyria. Assume that a connoisseur of about that time to whom were shown together three works chosen among the most careful then produced by the arts in question, already great sculpture would certainly have appeared to him as least advanced of the three, and yet it was soon going to excel its two elder sisters. Egyptian and Assyrian statuary could even refine their execution and introduce some ingenious variations in their ordinary themes; but for all essentials, for the character that they gave to the representation of life, their course was taken. This was their strength for the moment; but in other respects

it was their weakness and their inferiority. On the contrary, the Greek artist seemed to hesitate, but this was only apparent. It concealed the firm purpose of not being easily content, of constantly questioning nature until the moment when there was no inflexion of the form or boldness of movement, that sculpture could not render with full mastery. This passionate sincerity in research is because the individual effort placed fervency in the results obtained, which ensured thenceforth the future of Greek art, and formed its superiority.¹

Note 1. p. 728. This was very well seen by Brunn. (Griech. Kunstg. II, p. 77.)

This duty that the sculptor imposed on himself, of always calling on the evidence of nature directly consulted, would not have had its danger if each generation had undertaken to recommence anything anew, without taking into account the work accomplished by its predecessors. In those conditions would have been a waste of strength, adventures without result, abrupt arrests of art, and perhaps even for instants a fall and recoil. If nothing of the kind was ever produced, this was because in no people was the spirit of invention so happy as among the Greek people, to respect tradition, and that consequently there was nowhere such continuity in progress. This is what is found when one studies the history of Greek letters, in the evolution of the principal kinds. For example, let one take that of the Attic drama, which fills the entire 5th century. Most frequently the tragic poets scarcely occupy themselves in seeking subjects not already brought to the theatre. Without the least scruple they resume those borrowed from the old foundations of epic poetry, already treated by one or several poets. They find an advantage in this, that of addressing themselves to forewarned auditors, who accept in advance, however strange it may be, the general data of the theme and thus relieve the author from the preparation of explanations. All that the public demands, thus placed in presence of some old fable known by heart, is that this be renewed and rejuvenated by the manner in which it is received. To become interested in the action, it will suffice to see some episodic personage intervene, who has not been engaged in it before, to taste the refined and novel shades that modify the character of the personages of the first plane, finally to feel itself on the way to an ending known

in advance by incidents differing from those serving to cause it in the earlier works. It is the same for all pertaining to the technics, the construction of the piece. From Thespis and Cratinos to Eschylus, from Eschylus to Sophocles, from Sophocles to Euripides and Agathon, the staging of the piece becomes more complex; the dramatic element tends more and more to outweigh the lyric element; finally what we term intrigue assumes an importance entirely different than in the most ancient tragedies, in which the situation represented scarcely accords with the circumstances; but this development only operates by almost insensible degrees. Even in the works that give us the impression of an initiative freely taken by an innovating poet, the part of the innovator on the whole is sufficiently weak in comparison with that representing the contribution direct or distant of predecessors, and will strike us even more, if instead of being reduced to judge of a very small number of dramas escaped from the wreck as by miracle, we possessed the entire series of those played in the theatre of Dionysus for these hundred years or more. Then we should be seriously embarrassed to note the time when occurred a certain change in either the use of metres and rhythms, in the conduct of the action, or in the machinery of decoration. By a reason even more just than in the actual state of our knowledge, criticism in the history of the theatre must renounce the establishment of clearly cut divisions, to fix for each case the date when those poets, so intimately connected with each other, have passed from the primitive and simple form to one more learned and more complex; even by reason of the wealth of documents at its disposal, it will see itself forced to limit its ambition to measure the distance separating the end from the starting point, the King Edipus of Sophocles or the Electra of Euripides from the Suppliants and the Persians of Eschylus.

It is the same in the domain of art. As the poets have done, the sculptors accepted docilely the traditional themes. They adopted and repeated for a long time the types that the first Greeks, who handled the chisel created to make eternal the images of the gods and of the men of their race. Their eyes were rapidly familiarized with those types; there was no person that did not seize the meaning at the first sight. Clothing or the absence of clothing, pose, movement of the entirety, all that

for each figure was determined by the primary data. The artist was thus relieved from the care of invention, or rather he could devote it entirely to the details, to those of the movement and of the form, that he constantly occupied himself in diversifying and improving. For example, here is the nude male figure. the two legs were at first stuck together. A first sculptor thought of giving the personage a freer air by better detaching from the right leg the left leg, that was then thrown forward. At the origin the two arms were likewise fixed to the sides. Another image-maker will detach them from the body; then one will see statues appear on which those arms will bend at the elbow, or the forearm will extend toward the spectator. Any attribute whatever, placed in the open or close hand, will justify the movement. The female figure, erect and clothed, will lend itself to the same observations. Its legs are concealed beneath the drapery and always so remain. As for the arms in the most ancient examples of this type, in those where are recognized faithful copies of the old wooden idols, they hang beside the hips. One of them is folded to place it on the breast; but is not held there. This arm is ordinarily the right one and is extended to present the offering, while for the other is imagined the elegant pose with the tips of the fingers raising the folds of the long falling tunic. An effort of the same kind in this series, while retaining to the figures composing it the same general appearance, succeeds in making an extreme diversity in the arrangement. The principle of the costume is everywhere the same, and to clothe his women the Sculptor uses only the tunic and mantle; but by the ingenuity with which he successively tries all the different combinations that are suitable according to the manner in which are combined those two pieces of clothing, there are no two statues in which the fall and the folds of the fabric present exactly the same arrangement.

This method of partial and progressive touches is applied by the sculptor to rendering the living form as well as the drapery and for tracing the movement. Of all the series that we have studied, the most interesting from that point of view is that of the archaic Apollos, because of the nudity of the body. If it be compared to those figures preceding the last years of the 6th century, it is observed that in the one the artist

seems particularly to indicate on the torso the separation of the muscular masses, while on the other he seems to have desired to insist on the modeling of the members, and to accentuate the reliefs caused by the joints of the elbow and knee. Further, he was more particularly attached to animate and color the face. Thus from the heavy blankness of the most ancient heads, he came to the expression of grave and calm nobility, from which Greek statuary will never depart in its adult age.

Among this people, thus ^{was} carried on the education of the sculptor. He only proceeded step by step, taking as a starting point the images that his predecessors had given for the human body, and comparing them to nature with a curiosity more and more daring, profiting by every success and correcting each defect revealed by this constant comparison of the copies with the original. A moment came when he was emboldened by the success of patient and persistent labor, he felt himself able to dare more, to invent types in which the form presented itself under new aspects, where the movement was more vivid and more free. Each of these innovations is an event that does not pass unperceived. We believe that we have found in the inscription of Arcnemos the trace of the innate joy that the artist of Chios felt at Delos, when he showed to visitors at the sanctuary the first statue of the Winged Victory, that the chisel had yet drawn from the marble. The sensation must have been the same when were produced types like those of the combatants on the pediments of tufa and marble and in statuettes of bronze, that assumed all those poses required by the violence of the action in which they were engaged. Henceforth the barriers are cleared and the impulse is given. Trained by a slow and laborious apprenticeship, the imagination without ever ceasing to connect the creations of the day to those of past days, can advance with boldness in the career of invention. The succeeding age will see multiplied the types, in which the human person will show itself in all the roles imposed on it, and in all the attitudes in which it is placed, either by the actual life of the Greek people, or that ideal representation which the poets present in the rich variety of the myths in which their fancy played.

The study of the monuments had not warned us of the part in this progress of the statuary, of the part arising from the d

discreet but persistent will of the individual, that we could divine from a habit which distinguishes the Greek sculptor from the other artists of antiquity. There is not a single signature of an Egyptian, Chaldean or Assyrian sculptor. On the contrary, the Ionian commences very early to sign his works. Iphicrates of Naxos did so from the end of the 7th century, and Archermos of Chios in the first years of the 6th. Their example is followed by rivals of other schools, and from the middle of the latter century, however small the importance of the work, stele or statue, the author scarcely refused himself the satisfaction of inscribing his name on the base. Most of the votive figures contained on the Acropolis of Athens before the fire of 480 were signed.

In the valley of the Nile as in that of the Euphrates, the sculptor had already become sufficiently skilful to be able to frequently to give himself the pleasure of noting by a strong and correct line the singularity of a face or a pose, the elegance or expressive energy of a movement; one recalls many Egyptian figurines, very realistic images of common people occupied in domestic labors,¹ and on the reliefs of Nineveh, the beautiful lions, leaping or wounded and dying, from the chase of Assurbanipal.¹ When they carved those amusing statuettes and those animals with such living charm, those oriental sculptors executed personal work; but this was in some sort without desiring or knowing it. They had yielded to the seduction of nature, to the attraction exerted by the play of form over every man, that has learned to handle with ease the chisel or the chisel; but these same artists, when they sculptured the images of the national gods or of the reigning prince, were satisfied to produce with execution more or less skilful and careful, types long consecrated. Docile interpreters of tradition, placing nothing in those official works that they had invented in the exact sense of the word, why should they have signed them? It was entirely otherwise for the Greek sculptor. In the 7th century, he does not choose his types; he repeats those transmitted to him by the anonymous workmen, that formerly carved in wood the first idols; but from that time, each time that he takes the tool in hand, he has the firm desire to be an inventor, even if at first only to correct the inaccuracy in detail, to rectify a badly rendered form, make a member more flexible,

imagine a happy movement, to cast the light of expression on the lines of the face. He is conscious of the merit of his effort and holds to do himself honor by it. For the same reason as the writer, the artist avows his work and informs of it; before his contemporaries and posterity, he proclaims himself the author..There is a clear announcement of the passion that this people will have for affairs and art. Those of its sons that will translate its feelings and its ideas by beautiful forms, it will be not less proud of them than of the poets that interpreted the conceptions and dreams of his youth; he will place them as high in his esteem as the historians, philosophers and orators, that in the days of its mature age, will place at the service of its subtle thought a learned and graduated prose, the most marvellous instrument of analysis ever at the disposal of the human mind.

Note 1.p.732. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.I.Figs.7,47,48,439,444-454, Pl. X.

Note 1.p.733. The same. Pl. II. Figs. 269,270.

Those years of full maturity in the course of which the glory of a Polycletes and of a Phidias will equal that of an Eschylus and of a Sophocles, we touch upon with the most recent statues that we have represented. The moment has then arrived, when before we enter on the work of the fruitful and glorious century, which will complete all that has been commenced so well, it is proper to state the accounts, as said in books. At the time of this settlement, what is the balance of each of the schools, that by their simultaneous or successive works and efforts, have contributed to carry the art of sculpture to the point where they leave it, awaiting the approaching masterpieces? What are those that tend to impoverishment, and on the contrary, those that seem called to see their fortune increase and their importance become greater?

The Asian Greeks and particularly the Ionians, who at first in the illustrious cities of the coast and in the neighboring islands like Chios and Samos, then a little later in the Cyclades at Paros and Naxos, have placed everything in train concerning sculpture. Types on which will be exerted archaic art, and there is none of which they have not offered the most ancient models. In this labor of creation, they have been aided by monuments presented to them by that Egypt, which they frequented

before the other Greeks; but if the impression that they have received there has been very useful to them, they have not restricted the flight of their originality. This body that as it were was sleeping in the Egyptian statues, they have aroused. From the material in which they sought the image, they have required it to lend itself to the reproduction of all the boldness of spontaneous movement. In even the works in which inexperience betrays itself still in more than one defect in design, they show themselves sensible of the beauty of the living flesh. From the beginning they have made a visible effort to represent it under its different aspects, to render what it has of vibrant and nervous firmness in the torso and members of the gymnast, or of the tender freshness of the cheeks and bosoms of women. They have first attempted to animate and illumine the human face by the grace of a smile. This preoccupation does not seem to be manifested as soon among the sculptors in the Peloponnesus, nor ever to have been so vivid in them. To be convinced of this, it suffices to recall how dull is the appearance of the Hera of Olympia (fig. 212). The Argive Apollo of Delphi is also without expression (Pl. IXU. At the same time in the ancient world, the Ionians were first to comprehend what a part the sculptor could derive from the fabric;¹ they first obtained some of the effects of drapery that are admired in their successors. Finally, it was in these same workshops that men learned to use the two materials, bronze and marble, on which the bite of the chisel will imprint with more decision the accents of life; they introduced into Greece the processes of hollow casting and opened the quarries of the Cyclades, chiseled "the Parian guardian of pure outline."¹

Note 1.p.734. In Egypt, where the clothing was composed only of light and frequently transparent tissues, never sought to drape its figures, the Chaldean sculptor appears to have had at times a suspicion of the effects that he could derive from the play of the fabric. That can be observed on that beautiful stele of Karamsin, that the Morgan mission has brought to the Louvre.

Note 1.p.735. Theophile Gautier.

The services rendered are then unequalled, and to the Ionians returns the principal honor in this beautiful burst of genius, from which was born Grecian statuary; but on the morrow of the

Median wars, Ionia counts no more, so to speak. It had already suffered when Harpagos took it by storm after the defeat of the Lydians, and pillaged those of its cities which had not opened their gates; but taking up arms as incited by Histieus and Aristagoras had yet more injurious results. A part of the population was massacred and another was transported into the interior of Asia; those that remained in the country were miserable and discouraged. The temples were delivered to the flames. Of the statues which decorated them, those that had not been broken took the road to Susa. Miletus was no more than ruins. Chios, Samos and Lesbos were enslaved in spite of their insular location. The Ionian cities in the 5th century will be freed from the yoke of Persia by the victories of the Athenians; but this will be to enter into the maritime empire of Athens. Never after the defeat of Lade, shall they ever become again what they had formerly been.

Life withdrew from a society so severely tried. Besides, where it is more active and intense, goes to seek employment for its faculties, those who think and write, who carve and paint. Of the last of the sages of Ionia, Anaxagoras of Clazomene and Xenophanes of Colophon, one established himself at Athens and the other in Sicily. Ionian sculptors had already commenced to emigrate after the first Persian conquest; then Bathycles of Magnesia went to labor at Sparta. The disasters which followed the revolt closed other workshops and dispersed the artists in quest of work. Telephanes of Enocea demanded it on the distant workyards of Susa and Persepolis, from the architects of Darius and Xerxes, while Endoios and others with names unknown to us turned to Athens and European Greece. An Ionian of Thasos, the painter Polygnotos, made his entire career at Athens. Artists were still born in Ionia, but outside Ionia they found the masters to which they attached themselves, the movements that they continued. From the day that Ionia lost its independence, its role ended in the domain of art as well as on that of thought.

In whatever proportions as in the Peloponnesus after the invasion of the northern tribes, the blood of the Dorian was mingled with that of the ancient inhabitants of the country, Pelasgians, Achaeans and Ionians, the men of Sparta and of Argos, of Corinth and of Sicyon, of Megara and of Egina, are of the same race as the dwellers along the Hermes and the Meander.

European and Asian Greeks speak dialects of the same language and adore the same gods. Their imaginations are amused by the same myths, whence in all parts of sculpture only is the embarrassment of choice among so many themes prepared for it by poetry. Here as there the same traits and the same charms characterize the ethnic type, whose traits the sculptor pretends to reproduce. All the works that we have described, to whatever school we have attributed them, are then the monuments of the same art; but it appears to us that the Dorian and Ionian sculptors, while working from the same models, have not studied in exactly the same spirit. The Dorian masters have been less careful than their rivals for the delicacy of the flesh and the elegancies of the clothing. From the first in the primary statues that they sketched, there is a marked care in seizing the relations that nature has placed by the agency of the skeleton between the different parts of the body; one divines the firm proposal to render those relations apparent to the eye by the freedom with which the framework is accented under the skin. The entirety of the human form appears to them as the work of a learned architect; in the images which they undertake to present, they attempt rather to make apparent the solidity of the internal carpentry than to reproduce the superficial decoration of the structure. The sculptors engaged in that path were established in the cities, which were very prosperous in the 7th century under their tyrants, the Temenides, Cypselides, Orthagorides, and after the fall of those dynasties, those cities had retained their independence while seeing their wealth diminish; From the end of the Dorian invasions, in profound trouble interrupted in Peloponnesus the development of civilization, and thus could be created a tradition of art to which sculptors born in that country or trained in its workshops will remain faithful until in the classical age. In the 5th century Polyctetes of Argos with his square statues, as they were called, will occupy himself first of all Greek artists in determining with precision the proportions, that the human body should present, to conform to the ideal model after which it was constructed by the Creator. He will be the first to establish a canon, as it is called, a rule for forms.

While the Ionian schools languished and died, while in the rest of Greece the Peloponnesian schools brought to the application

of their principle of consistency that could not fail to cause them to produce works strongly conceived and of an original character, the Attic school of sculpture did not cease to grow; it prepared itself to take the lead in the movement. This school, the latest of the archaic schools, has benefited by all the useful results of the work carried on in Greece for about two centuries in the domain of sculpture, by the genius of precocious Ionia, and on the other hand in those Dorian cities where a less brilliant spirit was served by a more persistent will. Before having received anything from foreigners, the Attic image-makers already in sculpture in tufa had made proof of happy natural gifts; thus their progress was rapid when about the middle of the 6th century, they became pupils of the Ionian masters. From them were borrowed marble, and they learned to warm it with fire and life, to bend it to the improvisations of movement, to cause to gleam there in the lines of the face a reflection of the soul, that animates the body, and finally to place expression in even the drapery. By their example they were charmed by the grace. This grace, "more beautiful than even beauty," as the poet says, they desired to diffuse its charm in various works, statues or reliefs, which the chisel modeled about the end of this great century and during the first years of the new century, which must again surpass its predecessor; but in pursuing with too much ardor the search for elegance, they risked falling into affectation, when was found useful reasoning in the works of Dorian art. By the reflections that these aroused in the Attic sculptor, those retained him on a dangerous slope; they allowed him to correct his route, as sailors say.

About the time of the Median wars, statuary at Athens still seems to ~~hesitate~~ between the imitation of the two styles, Ionian and Dorian, whose influence it has felt; but it creates and develops among this people, which seemed at that moment to be the favorite of fortune, in conditions that will soon allow it to make a decisive step and to fully display its originality. Not that its imagination failed because a profound change occurred from one day to the morrow in the life of Attic art, in

the choice of themes that it pleased to treat and in the methods that it used. No more in letters and arts than in the matter of politics and of social evolution, human affairs are not

suited by those abrupt repressions. Where Athens was finally released from all anxiety, undertaking to restore the ruins in which the Persian invasion had made in its Acropolis and all around the sacred rock, when it labored to restore the destroyed images of its gods and heroes, when in the treasury that it erected at Delphi, it attempted to represent under traits borrowed from the national myths, the victories that it had just won over barbarism, it addressed itself to artists already known for those urgent tasks. Of the sculptors employed by the city, the oldest had learned their profession in the last years of Pisistratus, or at least under the rule of Hipparchus and Hippias. We know this from Critios and Nesiotes. By dedications collected in the rubbish on the Acropolis, we learn that they had already produced much, before the city was sacked by Marodonius; now to them was entrusted after the territory was freed, the care of replacing the two statues of Harmodius and of Aristogiton, works of Antenor, that had taken the road to Susa. The case must have been the same for many other artists, and all of them, Critios and Nesiotes like their rivals now forgotten, could not have modified their habits of work and procedures in execution, in the course of two campaigns, in which all the citizens paid with their persons, served on the fleet or in the army, instead of handling the roughing tool and chisel.

Athens, whose initiative decided the final success in the great duel of Europe and Asia, is now however no longer the same as when a little earlier it succeeded in relieving itself from its tyrants only by the disagreement of the two kings of Sparta. From the day of Marathon, a vague presentiment of the high destinies awaiting it could be aroused in the thoughts of its statesmen; but when by the fault of Pausanias, Sparta lost the lead in the operations, and the vessels of Athens and its allies went to free the Greek cities of Ionia, those hopes gave place to thoughtful ambition, which believed itself sure of the future. With its passionate vivacity, this people did not delay to seize the directing ideas of the politics, whose main lines were thenceforth fixed in the minds of its chiefs; it associated itself heartily with them, and to hasten the realization, it spared neither trouble nor its blood. Thus was established in all minds the conception of the rule of Athens that

Thucydides had explained in the funeral oration that he placed under the name of Pericles. Henceforth is no son of this glorious city, who does not believe himself superior to the other Greeks, and who to impose on them the supremacy of Athens, counts on his own energy and the skill of its generals, on the wisdom of its counselors, and on the creative powers of its poets and artists. Everywhere is the same pride and confidence, in the oarsman and the soldier, as in the general that commands the fleets and armies of the republic, as well in the simple citizen as in the orator, who in the assembly or at the funeral of the soldiers that died for the country, speaks to his auditors of their duties and opens to them vast views of a more brilliant future. The Median wars impressed on Athenian souls the shock which excited and even exalted all its faculties. How could also the arts of relief not feel the abrupt reaction from that disturbance and from those profound vibrations of innate forces? Masterpieces will only appear thirty or forty years later in the Athens of Pericles; but already that of Aristides, of Themistocles and of Cimon prepared to produce them; it made the framework, sought the types and sketched the forms. From certain marbles that certainly appear to have been sculptured soon after the Athenians had returned to their burned city, already exude the exquisite fragrance of increasing perfection.

Additions and Corrections.

Page 21. According to the brief report published in Arch. Anzeiger of 1902 by Wiegand (p. 147, 155), the German excavations do not seem to have found any trace of the most ancient wall of Miletus, of that which resisted the assaults of the Lydians. The oldest wall of which they found some traces has no archaic character.

Page 144. The ancients knew very well how sculpture began. They said that Daedalus invented the art of working wood, then the saw, paring knife, plumb line, auger, glue and fish glue. (Pliny. H.N.VII, 57,7). These tools are those of the joiner.

Page 159. In Crete in the course of the Mycenaean age, the sculptor made frequent use of gypsum or plaster. It does not appear that the artists of the archaic period worked in that material, no more in Asian than in European Greece; with all the varieties of limestone supplied to them by the Greek mountains, they had only the embarrassment of choice.

Page 300. No. 1. Homolle has changed his opinion; he ranges himself now with those that contest the attribution of the statuette of the base in question. "I am now convinced," he writes, "that the winged figure from Delos must be separated from the base that bears the signature of Archermos, which belonged to the old temple of Artemis, and which played the part of an acroteria on it." (B. C. H. 1901.p.496. Note 1).

A. 469. Of the collection Tyskiewicz, the bronze statuette that we have reproduced (Fig. 239), has passed into the Collection Dutoit, and it is now in Paris, at the Petit Palais of Champs Elysees.(Collignon. Gaz. de B. A. 1903.Vol.XXX,p.120-121).

Page 472. With regard to the works that appear to be inspired by the Apollo Phileios of Kanachos, we have forgotten to mention a bronze statuette found at Naxos.(Collignon. Histoire. Fig. 122). It has been described with great care by Max Frankel. (Arch. Zeit. 1879. p.84-93, pl. VII). The dedication was inscribed in characters of the Naxian alphabet; but that does not prove that the bronze was cast at Naxos; it might come from Argos or from Sicily.

Page. 474. line 4. Instead of Chior, read Chios.

Alphabetical Index.

- Abdera, stele of, 354-355.
 Acræ, torso of statue. 482.
 Actium, statues found at. 513-514.
 Ageladas of Argos. 446-469.
 Agemo, statue of. 448-449.
 Agrigente, statue at. 492-494.
 Alxenor of Naxos. 360-519.
 Angelion. 433.
 Antenor; female statues by. 189, 461, 564, 594, 598;
 statues of slayers of tyrants. 561-563.
 Antigone of carystos. 246, 304, note 1.
 "Antre;" Cave of Zeus of Ida; bronzes from. 420-422.
 Aphrodite; on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 373; with the dove,
 406-408; of bronze, 443; Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens, 625-6.
 Apollo; contest with Hercules for tripod of Delphi, 363; on
 frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 372, 374, 379; in decoration
 of a polos, 390; of Amyclea, 394-398; archaic type, 403-404;
 Apollo Phileios of Kanachos, 470-473; Apollo Helios at Sel-
 inonte, 484; image at Ptoion, 508-511; Apollo Thermios, 515-6;
 on two Attic reliefs, 652-654.
 Apollonia, stele of, 346-347.
 Aqueducts; of Samos, 24-28; of Athens, 29-37; of Theagenes at
 Megara, 37-40.
 Archermos of Chios; genealogy, 299; Nike, 299-307, 741; works
 at Delos and in Attica, 305, 366, 551, 692, 701.
 Ares, on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 373, 381.
 "Argenture;" Silvering of bronzes, 179, 470, 473.
 Argos. Argive sculptor on treasury of Cnidos (?), 382; two apol-
 los at Delphi, 452-455; his school of sculpture in 6th cen-
 tury, 466-470.
 Arisba, wall, 19-20.
 Ariston, stele of, 132, 224, 661, 664-666.
 Aristion of Paros, sculptor, 552.
 Aristocles of Cydonia, 433, 470.
 Aristocles the younger, 470, 666 (?), 674.
 Aristotle; on Polycrates, 25; on the pentathles, 120.
 Artemis; dedication of Delian, 148; on frieze of treasury of
 Cnidos, 373, 374, 379; Artemis Brauronia at Athens, 624-5.
 Ascaros of Thebes, 507.

Alphabetical Index.

- Abdera, stele of, 354-355.
 Acras, torso of statue. 482.
 Actium, statues found at. 513-514.
 Ageladas of Argos. 446-469.
 Agemo, statue of. 448-449.
 Agrigente, statue at. 492-494.
 Alxenor of Naxos. 360-519.
 Angelion. 433.
 Antenor; female statues by. 189, 461, 564, 594, 598;
 statues of slayers of tyrants. 561-563.
 Antigone of Carystos. 246, 304, note 1.
 "Antre;" Cave of Zeus of Ida; bronzes from. 420-422.
 Aphrodite; on frieze of treasury of Onidos, 373; with the dove,
 406-408; of bronze, 443; Aphrodite Pandemos at Athens, 625-6.
 Apollo; contest with Hercules for tripod at Delphi, 363; on
 frieze of treasury of Onidos, 372, 374, 379; in decoration
 of a polos, 390; of Amyclea, 394-398; archaic type, 403-404;
 Apollo Phileios of Kanakos, 470-473; Apollo Helios at Sel-
 inonte, 484; image at Ptoon, 508-511; Apollo Thermios, 515-6;
 on two Attic reliefs, 652-654.
 Apollonia, stele of, 346-347.
 Aqueducts; of Samos, 24-28; of Athens, 29-37; of Theagenes at
 Megara, 37-40.
 Archermos of Chios; genealogy, 299; Nike, 299-307, 741; works
 at Delos and in Attica, 305, 368, 551, 692, 701.
 Ares, on frieze of treasury of Onidos, 373, 381.
 "Argenture;" Silvering of bronzes, 179, 470, 473.
 Argos. Argive sculptor on treasury of Onidos (?), 382; two apol-
 los at Delphi, 452-455; his school of sculpture in 6th cen-
 tury, 466-470.
 Arisba, wall, 19-20.
 Ariston, stele of, 132, 224, 661, 664-666.
 Aristion of Paros, sculptor, 552.
 Aristocles of Cydonia, 433, 470.
 Aristocles the younger, 470, 660 (?), 674.
 Aristotle; on Polycrates, 25; on the pentatles, 120.
 Artemis; dedication of Delian, 148; on frieze of treasury of
 Onidos, 373, 374, 379; Artemis Brauronia at Athens, 624-5.
 Ancaros of Theres, 507.

- Assembly of the gods on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 371-373.
- Athena; on pediment of treasury of Cnidos, 363-380; on frieze of the treasury, 369, 371, 374-375; temple of Athene Ergane at Delphi, 392; overthrowing a giant on metope of Selinonte, 490-492; on pediment of ancient temple at Athens, 552-556; standing (Promachos), 609-614, 620-622; seated, 614-616; Ergane, 618-619.
- Athens; walls of 6th century, 12-13; aqueducts and development of the city toward east and north, 29-37, 53-67.
- Athenis of Cnidos, 299, 307-308.
- Athletes; their role and what was thought of them, 118-119; which were most beautiful, 120; statues erected to them, 123-5.
- "Bains;" Baths, public, 51-53.
- Bathycles of Magnesia, 396, 398.
- "Bijoux;" Jewels on female statues of Acropolis, 604.
- Bion of Miletus, 505.
- "Bois;" Wood, properties as a material, 144-145; technics, 146-151; necessity for painting, 212; stone reliefs showing technics of wood, 441.
- Boupalos of Cnidos, 299, 307-308.
- Bronze; properties as material, 143-144; use in Greece, 167-181; primitive figurines, 419-425.
- Camiros; cemetery, 90-92; limestone figures in, 325-327.
- Canon, 711.
- Cariatide; of treasury of Cnidos, 384-389; of treasury of Siphnos, 389-394; of throne of Apollo of Amyclea, 398.
- Catana; marble head, 495.
- "Cavaliers;" Horsemen, statues of, 632-637.
- Centaur; at Assos, 260-266; its caldæan origin, 722.
- Chalcis; bronze of, 675-676.
- Chaldeo-Assyrian; what this art could give to Greece, 719-724.
- Chares, statue of, 273, 276, 278.
- "Charites;" Graces; of Boupalos, 308; in a relief of Thasos, 350; in the decoration of a polos, 390.
- "Chaussure;" Shoes; of Korai of Acropolis, 602-603.
- Cheirsophos; 422-423.
- "Chien;" Dog; on funerary steles, 347, 360.
- Chrysapha; stele of, 439-441.
- Chryselephantine statuary, 186-189.
- Clark, J. T.; labors at Assos that he assigns temple, 257-258.

- Clazomene; cemetery, 92-95; statues from, 324-325.
- Clearchos of Rhegion, 433-435, 481.
- Cleobis and Biton at Delphi, 452.
- Cleoitas of Sicyon, 470.
- Clisthenes; tyrant of Sicyon, 57, 434; relations with Delphi, 459-460.
- Cnidos; history, 362, 384; treasury at Delphi, 322-329; head of Aphrodite on its coins, 463.
- Coiffure of statues of the acropolis, 583-590.
- Combat around the corpse of a warrior, 370, 379-379.
- Corcyra; terra cottas, 200 note 1; 517-518.
- Corinth; mountains, 46-47; ports, 64-65; industries, 474-475; potters, 516-517; bronze mirrors, 677-678.
- Coroplatn; 191.
- Courajod; views on polychromy of sculpture, 230.
- Crete; its part in the beginnings of sculpture, 419-422; 426-434.
- Critios; sculptor, 563-564.
- Crobyle; 644.
- Cybele; on stele of Dorylea, 345; on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 368-373; on stele of Marseilles and of Kyme, 409.
- Cyprus; tomb at, 88-90; persistence of sculptures in working only limestone, 159-160.
- Dedalus; 427-429; 741.
- Delphi; sanctuary much frequented by Ionians, 361-362; monuments of Delphi, 362-394, 452-466, 565-572.
- Demosthenes, on tomb of the Bouseloides, 73.
- Dernys of Kitylos, 530-522.
- Didyma; temple of Apollo, 270-272.
- Dionysos on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 374, 381, note 1.
- Dioscures; represented on public fountain, 42; carrying off daughter of Leukippos, 366, 369-370; on a relief from Sparta, 412; bringing herds taken from Messenia, 455-456; in legend of Argonauts, 456.
- Dipoinos; 428, 433-434; 524.
- Dipylon; cemetery of, 72.
- Dirce; fountain of at Thebes, 33.
- Dodona; bronzes of, 116.
- Doliana; marble of, 166.
- Dontas; 433.

- "Dorure;" Gilding; of bronzes, 178.
 Dorykleidas; 433.
 Dorylea; stele, 342-345.
 Doris of Samos; 247.
 Drama, Attic ; 729-730.
 Egypt; influence of its statuary on grecian statuary, 704-719.
 Eleuthera; torso from, 429-430.
 Endois; Sculptor, 552, 616-618, 660 note 1.
 Enneacrounos; fountain, 30-33.
 Eolus; on frieze of treasury of Onidos, 368, 373.
 Ephesus; sculptured columns on temple of Artemis, 321-324.
 Eresos; walls, 18.
 Errephores; 597-598.
 Eudemos; sculptor, 278 note 2, 287.
 Eupalinos of Megara; 24.
 Euphronios; his paintings of the reliefs of treasury of Onidos, 364.
 Europa; carried off on treasury of Sicyon, 456; on temple of
 Selinonte, 488-490; comparison of the groups, 503-504.
 Euthydicos; Kora of, 223, 592-593.
 "Fer;" Iron; welding, 181-182; no statues made of cast iron, 182-3.
 Fountains; arrangement of public, 30-31; 40-47.
 "Foudre;" Thunderbolt; of Asian origin, 723.
 Frontality; law of, 688-700.
 Funerary statues; 82-83, 656-657; steles in Attica, 658-667.
 Furtwängler; restoration of throne of Apollo of Amyclea, 396.
 Ganosis; 221-222.
 Giants; mode of representation, 380, 556, 570.
 Gela; semetery, 102.
 Genre; subjects of, 136-139.
 Gerome; his Tanagra, 234-235.
 Gigantomachy; on frieze of treasury of Onidos, 367, 372-375, 378-
 379, 381; on metopes of Selinonte, 490-492; on pediment of
 ancient Hecatompedon at Athens, 552; on one pediment of tem-
 ple of Apollo at Delphi, 508-570.
 Girard; brought to the Louvre a statue of Hera, 290.
 Gitiadas of Sparta; 438.
 Glaucos of Onios; 181-183.
 Glaukies of Egina; 505-506, 522.
 Gorgasos and Damophilos; at Rome; 500.
 Gorgon; image of, 283-285, 445; killed by Perseus, 484, 480;

- mask of, 620, 623.
- Griffin; in decoration, 169; where Greece obtained it, 622.
- Gymnasium; in 6th century, 49-51.
- Gymnastics; part it had in formation of race and creation of types, 117-125.
- Harpies; so-called monument, 129, 331-342; figures applied, 425.
- Haussonillier; excavations at Branchides, 270, 272, 283, note 2.
- Hecatompedon; of 6th century, 540-541, 552-554.
- Hegyllos; 433.
- Hephaestus; on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 375, 380.
- Hera; of Samos at the Louvre, 149-150; 220-221; on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 272, 374; preserved head of statue at Olympia, 436-437.
- Hercules; pediment with Hercules fighting the Hydra of Lerne, 224, 532-533; on reliefs of temple of Assos, 258-260; contesting tripod with Apollo, 363; apotheosis, 366; fighting with gods against giants, 366, 373, 378; combat with Kyknos, 410; contest with Triton, 534-549; combat with lion of Nemea, 654.
- Hermes; on relief from Tnassos, 350; on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 369, 378; in decoration of a polos, 390; on an Attic relief, 652.
- Hermes; the, 548-549.
- Herodotus; walls of Paeceia, 20; aqueduct of Samos, 24-25; port of Samos, 62; connection of the Lydians, 341; fall of Pisistratides, 546-547.
- "Heteans;" Hittites; art without influence on Grecian art, 724.
- Himera; gutters of temple, 499.
- Homolle; discoveries at Delos, 299-300, 317; discoveries at Delphi, 361-394, 565-572; restoration of throne of Apollo of Amyclea, 396.
- Hoplitochrome; monument of, 648-651.
- Hymettos; marble of, 165-166.
- "Incineration;" Cremation; 82, 84, 96, 99, 105-107.
- "Inhumation;" Burial; 68, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 99, 101, 103, 105.
- Iolaos at Assos; 260.
- Iphicartides; base of, 309.
- Isokephalia; law of, 699-700.
- Italy; Renaissance and diversity of its schools, 240-243.
- Ivory; dyeing, 177; use in sculpture, 184-189.
- Jacobsen; head, 640, 642.

- Kalkmann; studies of costume, 578 note 1.
- Kallinnos; fountain, 30-33.
- Kallion of Egina; 524, 525.
- Kanachos; statue of Apollo Didymean, 271, 470-474.
- Kalyvia Kouvara; Apollo, 400-403.
- Kavvadias; excavations on the Acropolis, 219.
- Komos; 282.
- Kypselos; chest of, 474-476.
- Laconia; marble from, 167; statuettes and reliefs from, 438-447.
- Ladas; the runner, 134-125.
- Lamprae; tomb, 83.
- Lange; 689 note 1.
- Latona; on pediment of treasury of Cnidos, 363, 380.
- Lepsius; researches on marbles, 162 note 1.
- Lesbos; walls of its cities, 17-20.
- Lion; muzzle on fountains, 42-43; as spouts, 391, 499, 518;
 attacking a deer or bull; at Assos, 261, 264-265; at Delphi,
 387, 568; at Athens, 540-544; rampant at Miletus, 285-286;
 harnessed to chariot on frieze of treasury of Cnidos, 373, 379;
 borrowed from Egypt, 715; and from Chalco-Assyrian art, 722.
- Lousoi; bronze from, 450-451.
- Luxury of Ionians; 416.
- Lycia; people inhabiting it and monuments found there, 530-542.
- Magnesia on Meander; 394.
- "Maison;" House; at Athens, 54-56; rich house according to paintings on vases, 57-62.
- Marathon; tumulus of, 84-87.
- Marble; of Thasos, 17; properties as material, 142-143; employed at Samos, 294; techniques, 153-159; quarries, 161-167; polychromy, 219-226; not used in Sicily, 501.
- Marseilles; steles at, 408-409.
- "Marteau;" Hammer; statues broken in pieces with, 173-174; raised work in metal, 137.
- Megara Hyblaea; walls, 5-8; cemetery, 99-100; fragment of statue, 482.
- Megara; aqueduct, 37-40; treasury at Olympia, 460-461; male statue found there, 507.
- Melos; Apollo of, 320-321.
- Meniscus; 606-608.
- Methymne; walls, 18.

- Midas; bronze figure on his tomb, 345.
 Mikkiades of Chios; 299; his Nike, 299-307.
 Miletus; situation and prosperity, 268-270; coins with image of Apollo Philesios, 472.
 Miltiades; 634-635.
 Mirrors; handles, 425, 676-678.
 Mitylene; walls and port, 63.
 Moschophrase, 225, 627-628.
 Murray; restorations of sculptured colons of the temple of Ephesus, 322 note 2.
 Mycenae; metopes of temple, 461.
 Myrina; clay figurines, 207-208, 210.
 Naucratis; industries, 171-172; contact produced there between Greek and Egyptian art, 716-718.
 Naxos; marble, 161, 164, 308; votive column at Delphi, 392-394; bronze from, 741.
 Nereids; at Assos, 259.
 Newton; excavations at Branchides, 272.
 Nicandra; statue, 308-309; 313.
 Nesiotas; sculptor, 563-564.
 Nike; of Archermos, 299-307, 741; question of wings, 304-305; serving as acroteria on treasury of Phocaea at Delphi, 391; at Athens, 626, 629.
 Nisyros; law of, 71.
 Nymphs; on relief from Thasos, 350.
 Olympia; most ancient objects found at, 117.
 Onatas of Egina; 506, 523, 525-526.
 Orchomenos; Apollo of, 320, 507-508; stele of Alxenor, 360.
 Orientation; of tomb, 103-104.
 Overbeck; his *Schriftquellen*, 248.
 Paestum; walls, 8-10.
 Panegyrics; 139-140.
 Paros; walls, 13-14; marble, 161-165.
 Pasiteles; his book, 246.
 Patina; artificial on bronze, 175-178.
 Pausanias; location of Enneacrounos, 32; aqueduct of Tneagenes, 37; what defines the city, 47; casting bronze, 168-170; statues of cast iron, 182-183; his defects and qualities, 245-246; assertions on sculptures of temple of Delphi, 565.
 Pedotribe; 119, 121.

- Pegasus; on metope of Selinonte, 484; Chaldean origin, 722.
- Pentelicos; marble of, 163, 165.
- "Perouse;" Perugia; bronze reliefs found there, 409-411.
- Perseus; slaying the Gorgon, 484, 486.
- Pharsalus; stele of, 357-358.
- "Pniale;" Vase; Asian origin, 723.
- Pnocea; walls, 20-21; treasury at Delphi, 391.
- "Pied;" Foot; of Attic statues, 604.
- "Pierre;" Stone; technics of soft, 150-153; varieties, 159-160; volcanic at Assos, 160-161; necessity for painting on soft stone, 212.
- Pisistratus; works executed by him at Athens, 29, 33-37, 53-55; general judgment on his government, 546-551; devotion to Athena, 554; relations with Dorian States, 673.
- Plato; opinion of gymnastics, 119; on conditions for developing the sense of the beautiful in young men, 140-141; observation on use that the Greeks made of what they borrowed from barbarians, 172.
- Pliny; patina of bronzes, 177; character of books that he devoted to history of art, 245, 247. note 1.
- "Plomb;" Lead; uses in sculpture, 185-186.
- Plutarch; patina of bronzes of Delphi, 176.
- "Polos;" Cap; 365.
- Polycrates; his enterprises, 24-25; part probably taken in completion of temple of Hera, 288; relations with Athens, 290.
- Polygonal masonry; 2-3, 21 note 6.
- Polymedes of Argos; 452.
- Ports; arrangement of, 62-65.
- Pottier; excavations at Myrina, 207.
- Ptoion; 403, 508, 714.
- Guatremere de Quincy; restoration of throne of Apollo of Amyclaea, 396.
- Rampin; head, 638-640, 794.
- Rayet; excavations at Branchides and Miletus, 269 note 1, 270.
- Reinach; excavations at Myrina, 207.
- Rhoecos of Samos; sojourn in Egypt, 172; innovations in bronze industry, 173, 289-290, 322.
- "Routes;" Roads; in Greece, 65-67.
- Samos; aqueduct, 259; harbor, 62-63; cemetery, 94-95; situation, commerce and relations with foreigners, 287-288; weak influ-

- influence of its art on Attic art, 668.
- Samothrace; relief from, 348.
- "Sanglier;" Wild Boar; passing on reliefs of Assos, 262; on stele of Syme, 328-329; on treasury of Sicyon, 456, 457.
- Scribes; statues of, 630-632.
- Selinonte; walls, 11; cemetery, 100-101; metopes, of temples, 482-492; 504-502; bronze statue from, 494-495.
- Sellers, Miss; translation of Pliny, 247 note 1.
- Serpent; its part in funerary reliefs, 440, 446.
- Sicule; tomb, 102-103.
- Sicyon; treasury at Delphi, 454-460.
- Silenes; in decoration of polos, 388.
- Siphnos; treasury, 389-391.
- Smilis of Egina; 292, 524.
- Solon; laws on funerals, 71, 656.
- Spnynx; at Assos, 260, 262, 264; what Greece made of the type, 320-322; 716; when it took wings, 622; on the votive column of Naxians at Delphi, 393-394; on a metope of Selinonte, 488; on tombs, 657.
- Skyllis; 428, 433-434, 514.
- Stele; funerary, 128, 132-134, 658-667.
- Stephane; 587.
- Syme; stele at, 328-330.
- Syracuse; most ancient cemetery, 97-99.
- Tanagra; cemetery, 95-96; statuettes from, 138-139; stele from, 520-522.
- Tarente; cemetery, 103.
- "Taureau"; Bulls; groups devoured by two lions at Athens, 218, 540-544, 559-560; that carried off Europa, on treasury of Sicyon and at Selinonte, 457, 488.
- Tectalos; 433.
- Tegea; female statue from, 430-431.
- Telecles; 289, 711.
- Telephanes of Phocaea; 356.
- Temple; places for arranging sculpture and themes suggested, 111-115.
- Tenea; Apollo of, 398-400.
- Terpsicles; sculptor, 278 note 2, 287.
- Terra Cotta; fabrication of figurines, 190-210; polychromy on figurines, 226-229; at Samos, 293-294.

- Tnamos; walls, 14-17; relief of Apollo and the Graces, 348-353; relief representing seated woman, 353; type of Hercules on a relief and on coins, 353-354.
- Tneogenes, tyrant of Megara, 37.
- Theatre; at Athens before Median wars, 48-49.
- Theocles; 433.
- Theodoros of Samos; sojourn in Egypt, 172; innovations in bronze industry, 173, 289-290; false attribution to an inscription found on the Acropolis, 296 note 1; signature on Acropolis, 360, 551; at Sparta, 443; statue executed by him and Telecles, 711.
- Thera; Apollo at, 318-320.
- Thermos; its temple, 515-516; 518.
- Thessaly; monuments of Ionian sculpture, 355-360.
- Thucydides; on extension of Athens, 29-30; on customs of Etruscians, 514.
- Tomb; themes it furnishes sculpture, 126-136.
- "Tour-" Potter's Wheel; 4-22.
- Tripod; contest for at Delphi, 363; of Asian origin, 723.
- Treasury; of Megarans at Olympia and its sculptures, 218; at Delphi, treasury of Cnidians, 302-391, of Enocea, 391; of Sicyonians, 454; of Athenians, 572-574.
- Treu; views on polychromy of statues, 235.
- Triton; fighting Hercules at Assos, 259.
- Tufa; true meaning of word, 145 note 1.
- Typhon, group of, 217, 534-540.
- Tyrants; part taken by them in development of art, 23, 33-40, 55-57.
- Varro; his survey of history of the arts, 247.
- Vase; Francois, 43, 58.
- Velanidezza; cemetery, 73-82; steles found there, 79.
- Vestments; of female statues of the Acropolis; 576-583.
- Vourva; cemetery, 74-82.
- "Voute;" Arch; at Paestum, 10-11.
- Xenocrates of Sicyon; 246.
- Xenophon; on athletics, 120; on various aspects of beauty, 141.
- Xoanon; 144-150.
- Zeus; cave on Mt. Ida, 116; on frieze of treasury of Cnidians, 371, 374; head from Olympia, 463-464; Itomatas of Ageladas, 468-469; bust at Athens, 540-544.

Plates without Text and Vignettes.

I. Plates without Text.

Frontispiece. portrait of G. Perrot. Painting and engraving by Jean Patricot.

- I. Kneaders of bread and laundresses. Beotia and Cyprus. 138.
- II. Female statue signed by Antenor. Museum of Acropolis. 189.
- III. Triple Typhon. Limestone group from pediment found on Acropolis of Athens. 217.
- IV. Female statue. Museum of Acropolis of Athens. 219.
- V. Female statue. Museum of Acropolis of Athens. 221.
- VI. Terra cotta statuette found at Camiros (island of Rhodes). British Museum. 227.
- VII. Treasury of Cnidos. Head of Caryatid. Delphi. 386
- VIII. Treasury of Siphnos. Head of Caryatid. Delphi. 390.
- IX. Statue signed by Polymedes of Argos. Front. Delphi. 452.
- X. Statue signed by Polymedes of Argos. Profile. Delphi. 454.
- XI. Apollo Didymaeos. Bronze statue found at Piombino. Museum of Louvre. 472.
- XII. Female statue. Museum of Acropolis of Athens. 585.
- XIII. Female head. Museum of Acropolis of Athens. 590.
- XIV. Head of young man. Museum of Acropolis of Athens. 644.

II. Vignettes.

At beginning of Notice to Reader. Portrait of Chipiez.

At end of same. Apollo of Amyclea. Coin of Sparta of 3rd century B.C.

Flower on title page. Palmatum of terra cotta from Attic tomb.

Chap. VI. Hydris found in an Attic tomb.

Chap. VII. Interior of tomb at Megara Hyblea.

Chap. VIII. Nike. Bronze statuette. (Athen. Mitt. 1886. Pl. XI).

Chap. IX. Mask of Silenus found in Attic tomb. (Collection Piot).

Chap. X. Fragment of terra cotta decoration of temple of Athena, Ergane at Delphi.

Chap. XI. Coin of Miletus, struck under Faustina the Younger. Bronze.

Chap. XII. Fragment of frieze of treasury of Cnidos.

Chap. XIII. Figurine found at Naucratis. Terra cotta.

Illustrations in the Text.

1. Fortress of Katsingri in Argolis - - - - -	3
2. Megara Hyblea. Cross section of wall on c c (Fig. 3).- 6	6
3. Megara Hyblea. Plan of town and gate- - - - -	7
4. Paestum. General plan- - - - -	8
5. Wall of Paestum. Elevation of tower and curtain- - - - 9	9
6. Wall of Paestum. Section of tower- - - - -	9
7. Wall of Paestum. Elevation of a gate - - - - -	10
8. Selinonte. part of defenses of acropolis - - - - -	12
9. Paros. View of a wall- - - - -	13
10. Paros. Plan of a tower - - - - -	14
11. Thasos. Plan of walls- - - - -	15
12. Thasos. View of acropolis- - - - -	16
13. Thasos. Sketch of wall - - - - -	16
14. Thasos. Wall in the plain- - - - -	17
15. Section of enclosing wall- - - - -	18
16. Mitylene. View of wall - - - - -	18
17. Eresos. Postern of wall- - - - -	19
18. Arisba. View of wall - - - - -	20
19. Samos. Plan of site of ancient city- - - - -	25
20. Samos. Longitudinal section of tunnel of Eupalinos - 26	26
21. Samos. Cross section of part of tunnel built - - - - 26	26
22. Samos. Terra cotta tile of the tunnel- - - - -	26
23. Samos. Plan of ancient reservoir under chapel S. John 27	27
24. Fountain of Callirhoe. From vase - - - - -	30
25. Fountain of Callirhoe. Actual state- - - - -	33
26. Aqueduct of Theagenes. Cross section - - - - -	38
27. Aqueduct of Theagenes. Longitudinal section- - - - - 38	38
28. Aqueduct of Theagenes. Masonry of reservoir- - - - - 39	39
29. Aqueduct of Theagenes. Section of reservoir- - - - - 39	39
30. Aqueduct of Theagenes. Parapet of reservoir- - - - - 40	40
31. Public fountain on a hydria- - - - -	41
32. Public fountain on a hydria- - - - -	45
33. Public fountain on a hydria- - - - -	46
34. Basin at spring of Acrocorinth - - - - -	47
35. Theatre of Bacchus. Perspective and plan of wall - - 49	49
36. Interior of gymnasium. From vase - - - - -	51
37. Women in shower bath - - - - -	52
38. Women bathing in running water - - - - -	53

39. Ruins of house of one room - - - - -	55
40. Ruins of house of two rooms- - - - -	55
41. Plan of traces of ancient houses and Koile quarter -	55
42. House of Peleus on Francois vase - - - - -	59
43. Restoration of house of Peleus. Perspective and plan	61
44. Velanidezza. Wall of funerary enclosure- - - - -	73
45. Velanidezza. Plan of cemetery- - - - -	74
46. Velanidezza. Excavations of cemetery - - - - -	75
47. Vourva. Plan of cemetery - - - - -	76
48. Velanidezza. Section of g a- - - - -	76
49. Tablet of painted clay - - - - -	77
50. Vourva. Pedestal of funerary statue- - - - -	82
51. Lamptrae. Restoration of funerary stele- - - - -	85
52. Marathon. Vases found in tumulus - - - - -	87
53. Marathon. Urn found in tumulus - - - - -	87
54. Cyprus. Marion. Plan and section of tomb - - - - -	88
55. Cyprus. Xylotymbo. Plan and sections of tomb - - - -	88
56. Cyprus. Xylotymbo. Sectional plan, perspective of same	89
57. Cyprus. Curium. Skeleton in a tomb - - - - -	90
58. Camiros. Plan of cemetery- - - - -	91
59. Camiros. Cross and longitudinal sections of tomb - -	92
60. Sarcophagus of Clazomene with lid- - - - -	93
61. Samos. Plan and section of stone sarcophagus - - - -	95
62. Tanagra. Funerary cippus - - - - -	96
63. Syracuse. Cross section of tomb- - - - -	98
64. Syracuse. Sarcophagus- - - - -	98
65. Megara Hyblea. Perspective and section of tomb - - -	99
66. Megara Hyblea. Tile covering of tomb - - - - -	100
67. Selinonte. Cross section and plan of tomb- - - - -	100
68. Selinonte. Cross section and plan of tomb- - - - -	101
69. Gela. Fragment of sarcophagus of terra cotta - - -	102
70. Tanagra. Mourner, terra cotta statuette. Height 7.09 ft. - - - - -	129
71. Abae. Phocis. Terra cotta mask. Height 13.4. ins., breadth across shoulders 8.21 ins, thickness 0.25 in	131
72. Stele of Aristion. Height 7.87 ft. Marble- - - - -	133
73. Stele of unknown origin. Height 6.72 ft. Marble- -	133
74. Spart.. Funerary stele. Marble. Height 1.41 ft.- -	134
75. Funerary stele. Marble. Height 4.27 ft.; width 3.05	135
76. Fragment of funerary stele. Width, bot. 2.2, top, 2.1	

77. Female baker. Terra cotta. Height 3.74", width 3.9" 139
78. Omitted in text- - - - - 139
79. Statuette of Hera found at Samos. Marble. Height 6.3" 146
80. Statuette. Terra cotta. Height 1.41 ft.- - - - - 147
81. Lower part of limestone statue found near temple of
Apollo Ptoos. Height 1.64 ft.- - - - - 147
82. Statue of Artemis, dedicated by Nicandra. Marble.
Height 5.75 ft.- - - - - 148
83. Statuette of woman found at Eleusis. Marble. 1.25' 149
84. Head of man. Natural size. Height 1.48 ft. Soft-
limestone- - - - - 151
85. Statuette of soft stone. Height 1.48 ft- - - - - 153
86. Man's head. Height from chin to top of head 6.3".
Hard limestone - - - - - 155
87. Head of lioness. White marble. About 12.6" long - 161
88. Marble of Pentelicos. Section under microscope - - 163.
89. Marble of Paros. Section under microscope- - - - 163
90. Bronze statuette. Height 7.87 ins- - - - - 169
91. Head of griffin. Bronze. Height 7.87 ins.- - - - - 171
92. Man's head. Bronze. Height from chin to top 2.68"- 173
93. Lead figurines from Menelaion. About 2/3 size- - - 185
94. Archaic statuette. Terra cotta. Height 9.84 ins- - 194
95. Archaic statuette of terra cotta. Height 6.09 ins- 195
96. Interior of Ulysses and Penelope, plaque of terra
cotta. Melos. Height 7.48 ins. - - - - - 196
97. Statuette of terra cotta. Height 10.63 ins.- - - - 197
98. Statuette of terra cotta. Height 11.81 ios.- - - - 199
99. Chariot race on border of mantle - - - - - 225
100. Moschophoros. Marble of Hymettus. Height 3.15 ft.- 227
101. Assos. Temple architrave. Contest of Hercules and
Triton. Height 2.67 ft.- - - - - 259
102. Assos. Hercules pursuing the centaurs- - - - - 261
103. Assos. Apotneosis of Hercules- - - - - 261
104. Assos. Sphinx- - - - - 262
105. Assos. Bulls fighting- - - - - 263
106. Assos. Lion attacking deer - - - - - 264
107. Assos. Metope. Height 2.68 ft. - - - - - 265
108. Assos. centaur - - - - - 267
109. Sacred way of Branchides. Male statue of marble.
Height 5.15 ft.- - - - - 272

110. Sacred way of Branchides. Statue of Chares. Marble	-273
111. Sacred way of Branchides. Funerary statue . Marble Height 4.0 ft. - - - - -	-275
112. Miletus. cemetery. Funerary statue, Marble. 2.5 ft.	279
113. Hieronda. Funerary head. Marble. Height 1.25 ft.- -	281
114. Male head. Marble. Height 1.54 ft. - - - - -	282
115. Relief. Marpel. Height 1.74 ft. , length 2.92 ft.- -	282
116. Hieronda. Gorgon. Height of slab 2.99 ft.- - - - -	283
117. Hieronda. Gorgon and lion. Length 3.05 ft. - - - -	285
118. Avenue of Branchides. Lion. Marble. Height 2.56 ft. length 3.54 ft.- - - - -	286
119. Samos. Terra cotta group. Height 3.54 ins. - - - -	294
120. Female statue. Marble. Height 4.76 ft. - - - - -	295
121. Fragment of female statue. Marble. Height 174 ft.-	297
122. Nike of Archermos, Front. Marble of Paros-2.95 ft.	300
123. Nike of Archermos. Back. - - - - -	301
124. Gorgon running. From a base- - - - -	302
125. Nike of Archermos. Restoration by Treu - - - - -	303
126. Gorgon from Olympia. Bronze. Height 4.72 ins.- - -	307
127. Base with figure of Iphicrates. Height 1.9 ft. -	309
128. Delos. Female statue. Front- - - - -	314
129. Delos. Female statue. Back - - - - -	315
130. Delos. Female statue. Front- - - - -	316
131. Delos. Female statue. Back.- - - - -	317
132. Delos. Female head. Height 9.84 ins. - - - - -	318
133. Apollo of Thera. Marblea Height 4.03 ft. - - - - -	319
134. Apollo of Milo. Marble. Height 7.02 ft.- - - - -	321
135. Temple of Ephesus. Female head. Height 11.81 ins.-	322
136. Temple of Ephesus. Fragments of male figure. Height of upper part 24.0'ins.; of lower, 15.36 ins.- - -	323
137. Female torso. Limestone. Height 2.03 ft. - - - - -	324
138. Seated deity. Limestone. Height 4.33 ft. - - - - -	325
139. Seated deity. , limestone. Height inside frame 10.24"	326
140. Man and lion. Limestone. Height 9.84"- - - - -	327
141. Man holding kid. Limestone. Height 5.51 ins. - - -	328
142. Sphinx of Marion. Limestone. Height of side of head 2.41 ins. - - - - -	329
143. Stele of Syme. Marble. Height 7.22 ft. - - - - -	331
144. Harpy tomb. Marble. Height 1.96 ft. - - - - -	332
145. Harpy tomb. Western face. Height 3.35 ft.; length	

146. Harpy tomb. Eastern face.- - - - -	-335
147. Harpy tomb. Northern face. Length 7.48 ft. - - - -	-337
148. Harpy tomb. Southern face- - - - -	-339
149. Stele of Dorylea. Marble. Height 2.33 ft.- - - - -	-343
150. Stele of Dorylea.- - - - -	-344
151. Stele of Apollonia.-Marble. Height 4.3'; wide 1.6' -	-347
152. Relief from Samothrace. Height 1.51 ft.- - - - -	-349
153. Relief from Thasos. Principal slab marble. Height 3.06'; length 6.85'- - - - -	-351
154. Relief from Thasos. Limestone. Length 3.02 ft. - -	-352
155. Relief from Thasos. Limestone. Length 2.72 ft. - -	-353
156. Relief from Thasos. Marble. Height 9.45" - - - -	-355
157. Stele of Abdera. Fragment. Marble. Height 1.58'- -	-357
158. Stele from Orchomenos. Limestone. Height 6.73 ft.-	-361
159. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Facade restored- - - -	-364
160. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Entire tympanum. Length 19.0 ft., height 2.39 ft.- - - - -	-365
161. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Middle of tympanum - -	-365
162. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Figure from- - - - -	-366
163. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Western facade - - - -	-367
164. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Western frieze - - - -	-368
165. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Southern frieze- - - -	-369
166. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Southern frieze- - - -	-369
167. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Southern frieze- - - -	-370
168. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-371
169. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-372
170. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern facade - - - -	-373
171. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern facade - - - -	-374
172. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-375
173. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-376
174. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-377
175. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-377
176. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-377
177. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Eastern frieze - - - -	-379
178. Treasury of Cnidos. Capital and torso of Caryatid-	-387
179. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Decoration of polos of	-389
180. Treasury of Cnidos, Delphi. Decoration of polos of	-389
181. Treasury of Siphnos. capital and head of caryatid. Height 2.17 ft.- - - - -	-390
182. Treasury of Phocaea. Fragment of gutter. Height 9.1"-	-391

183. Treasury of Phoea. Acrotera. Height 1.48 ft.- - -	-391
184. Treasury of Phoea. Fragment of frieze. Height 63"	-393
185. Delphi. Votive column of Naxians. Capital and sphynx.	
Height of sphynx with plinth 8.1'. Length, plinth 4.6'	395
186. Edipus and Sphynx. Interior of cup with red figs.-	-397
187. Apollo of Tenea, front. Marble. Height 5.02 ft.- -	-401
188. Apollo of Tenea. Profile. - - - - -	-401
189. Male statue. Marble. Height 5.96 ft. - - - - -	-402
190. Male statue. Head and bust - - - - -	-403
191. Aphrodite and dove. Front. Marble. Height 2.12'-	-406
192. Aphrodite and dove. Profile- - - - -	-407
193. Stele of Marseilles. Limestone. Height 1.61 ft.- -	-408
194. Stele of Marseilles. Limestone. Height 1.44 ft.- -	-409
195. Bronze facings - - - - -	-410
196. Bronze facings - - - - -	-411
197. Bronze facings. Combat of Hercules and Tyknos.	
Height 1.64 ft.- - - - -	-413
198. Bronze overlay. Height 5.51 ins. - - - - -	-421
199. Bronze overlay. Height 2.36 ins. - - - - -	-422
200. Bronze cow. 3/5 full size- - - - -	-423
201. Bronze horse. 3/5 full size- - - - -	-423
202. Bronze horse. 3/5 full size- - - - -	-424
203. Bronze horse. 3/5 full size- - - - -	-424
204. Female bronze statuette. Height 5.26 ins.- - - - -	-425
205. Bronze ornament. Front. Length 7.89 ins- - - - -	-426
206. Bronze ornament. Back- - - - -	-427
207. Bronze plaque of cymbals. Height 6.3 ins.- - - - -	-429
208. Torso from Eleutheria, front. Tufa. Height 1.9' -	-431
209. Torso from Eleutheria, back- - - - -	-433
210. Female statue, front. Tufa - - - - -	-434
211. Female statue, back. - - - - -	-435
212. Head of Hera. Limestone. Height 1.64 ft- - - - -	-437
213. Female statuette, front. Marble. Height 1.57 ft. -	-438
214. Female statuette, profile- - - - -	-438
215. Stele of Chrysapha. Marble. Height 2.86 ft.- - - -	-439
216. Votive stele. Marble - - - - -	-442
217. Female statuette. Bronze. Height 3.4 ins.- - - - -	-443
218. Mask of Gorgon. Marble. Diameter 12.6 ins- - - - -	-445
219. Base with 4 carved sides. Marble. Height 2.2 ft. -	-446
220. Base with 4 carved sides. One face - - - - -	-447

221. Base with 4 carved sides. One face - - - - -	448
222. Male head. Marble. Height 2.46 ins. - - - - -	449
223. Funerary statue. Marble. Height 2.88 ft. - - - - -	450
224. Bronze norseman. Height 6.69 ins. - - - - -	451
225. Female bronze statuette. Front. Back and Profile. - -	
Height 5.12 ins. - - - - -	453
226. Statue of Polymedes. Marble. Height from base. 6.45' -	455
227. Treasury of Sicyon. Metope. limestone. Height 1.9 ft.	
length 2.02 ft. - - - - -	457
228. Treasury of Sicyon. Metope. Height 1.9'; length 2.88' -	458
229. Treasury of Sicyon. Metope. Height 1.9' - - - - -	459
230. Treasury of Sicyon. Metope. Height 1.9'; length 2.88' -	461
231. Treasury of megara. limestone. Height 2.4 ft. - - - -	462
232. Mycenae. Fragment of metope. Soft limestone. Ht. 1.31' -	463
233. Female head. Bronze. Height 5.91 ins. - - - - -	464
234. Silver coin of Onidos - - - - -	465
235. Head of Zeus. Front. Height 6.69 ins - - - - -	467
236. Head of Zeus. Bronze. Side. - - - - -	468
237, 238. Zeus Ithomatas on silver coins of Messenia - - -	469
239. Zeus casting thunderbolt. Bronze. Height 6.35 ft. - -	471
240. Apollo Didyeus. Bronze coin of Miletus - - - - -	473
241. Apollo Didymeus. Bronze coin in time of Gordian - - -	473
242. Apollo Payne-Knight. Bronze. Height 7.87 ins. - - -	475
243. Fragment of statue. Limestone. Height 1.77 ft. - - -	483
244. Fragment of female statue. limestone. Height 1.8' - -	484
245. Selinonte. Metope of temple C. Limestone with frame.	
Total height 4.82 ft, length 3.78 ft. - - - - -	485
246. Selinonte. Metope of temple C. Height 4.82', L. 3.78' -	487
247. Selinonte. Metope of temple C. H-t 4.82', L-H 3.64' -	488
248. Metope of unknown temple. Selinonte. Limestone.	
Height 2.16 ft.; length 2.21 ft. - - - - -	489
249. Selinonte. Metope of ^{unknown} temple R. Limestone. Height	
2.76 ft., length 2.1 ft. - - - - -	491
250. Selinonte. Metope of temple F. Limestone. Height of	
fragment 1.69 ft. - - - - -	493
251. Selinonte. Metope of temple F. - - - - -	493
252. Male statue. Marble. Height 1.58 ft. - - - - -	494
253. Male statue. Bronze. Height 2.78 ft. - - - - -	495
254. Head of statue, front - - - - -	495
255. Head of statue, side - - - - -	496

256. Male head. Marble. Front. Height 8.66"	- - - - -	-499
257. Gela. Relief. Terra cotta. Height 9.84"	- - - - -	-500
258. Female head. Terra cotta. Height 3.94"	- - - - -	-501
259. Female head. Terra cotta. Height 2.46"	- - - - -	-501
260. Orchomenos. Male statue. Limestone.. Height 4.15"	-	-509
261. Orchomenos. Male statue. Outlines.	- - - - -	-510
262. Male head. Limestone. Height 12.99"	- - - - -	-511
263. Male statue. Limestone. Height 4.25'	- - - - -	-512
264. Male statue. Bronze. Height 4.74'	- - - - -	-513
265. Thermos. Decoration of tile-	- - - - -	-517
266. Thermos. Decoration of tile-	- - - - -	-517
267. Corcyra. Statue of Artemis. Terra cotta. H-t 1.7'	-	-519
268. Corcyra. Lion crouching. Limestone	- - - - -	-520
269. Thermos. Lion's head. Terra cotta-	- - - - -	-520
270. Dermys and Kitylos. Funerary stele. Limestone. Front and side. Height 4.82', width 1.7'	- - - - -	-521
271. Male head. Bronze. front. Height 10.63"	- - - - -	-526
272. Male head. Bronze. Side-	- - - - -	-527
273. Hercules slaying the nydra of Lerne-	- - - - -	-533
274. Combat of Hercules and lion. Limestone. Length 8'	-	-537
275. Third head of Typhon. Height 1.15'	- - - - -	-539
277. Hecatompedon of 6 th century. Two successive elevs Combat of bull and lion. Limestone. Length 15.6'	- - - - -	-542 -543
279. Combat of Athena and giant. Marble of Paros-	- - - - -	-553
280. Wounded giant. Marble of Paros	- - - - -	-555
281. Head and bust of Athena-	- - - - -	-557
282. Head of bull, fragment. Marble	- - - - -	-559
283. Lion devouring a deer. Marble. Length 7.86'	- - - - -	-568
284. Torso of woman. Marble. Height 3.71'	- - - - -	-569
285. Torso of woman. Marble. Height 3.71'	- - - - -	-571
286. Torso of combatant. Marble. Length 3.9'	- - - - -	-572
287. Nike. Marble. Height 3.7'	- - - - -	-573
288. Torso of woman. Marble	- - - - -	-575
289. Statue of woman. Marble. Natural size-	- - - - -	-577
290. Statue of woman. marble. Almost natural size	- - - - -	-578
291. Statue of woman. Marble. Smaller than nature	- - - - -	-579
292. Statue of woman. Marble. Larger than nature-	- - - - -	-581
293. Statue of woman. Marble. Profile	- - - - -	-584
294. Statue of woman. Marble. Smaller than nature	- - - - -	-587
295. Head and torso of woman. Marble-	- - - - -	-589

296. Female head. Marble-	591
297. Head and bust of woman. Marble	592
299. Base and lower part of statue dedicated by Euthydicos	593
300. Statue of woman. Head and bust. Marble	597
301. Statue of woman. Marble. Less than nature-	599
302. Statue of woman. Marble. Less than nature-	601
303. Statue of woman. Marble-	603
304. Head and bust of woman. Marble	605
305. Head of young man. Marble. Height 5.74'-	607
306. Painting on vase	610
307. Statue of Athena Promachos. Bronze. Height 5.92"	611
308. Statue of Athena Promachos. Bronze. Height 5.92"	612
309. Statue of Athena Promachos. Bronze. Height 1.18'	613
310. Restoration of above statuette	614
311. Statue of Athena. Marble. Height 4.65'	615
312. Painting on vase	617
313. Fragment of statue of Athena. Marble	619
314. Votive relief. Marble. Height 2.2'; width 2.13'-	621
315. Statuette of Athena. Terra cotta	622
316. Statuette of Athena. Terra cotta	622
317. Gorgon's head. Marble. Height 9.84"-	624
318. Statuette of Artemis. Terra cotta-	625
319. Statuette of Aphrodite. Terra cotta-	627
320. Head of Aphrodite. Marble. Height 10.63"-	629
321. Male statuette. Marble	631
322. Statuette of scribe. Marble. Height 1.31'-	633
323. Desk of above scribe	634
324. Horseman. Marble. of Paros. Length 2.51'-	635
325. Fragment of equestrian statue. Marble. Height 3.54'-	
Height of torso 1.8'	635
326. Fragment of horse. Marble. Height 2.0'-	637
327. Fragment of equestrian statue. Marble. Length of body of horse 2.49'	639
328. Head of young man. Marble of Paros. Height 11.42"-	641
329. Head of young man. Marble of Paros. Height 1.03'-	643
330. Male head. Marble of Paros. Height 9.06"-	645
331. Head of young man on painting-	646
332. Statuette of young man. Bronze. Height 10.63"-	647
333. Relief. Marble of islands. Height 3.42"-	649
334. Hermes. Marble. Height 1.36'-	653

335. Deity mounting a chariot. Marble. Height 3.93' - - -655
 336. Homage to a deity or dead person. Marble. L. 2.13' -657
 337. Sphinx of Spata. Marble of Paros. Height 1.48' - - -659
 338. Fragment of Attic stele. Marble of Paros. H-t 2.23' -660
 339. Stele of Antiphanes. Marble of Pentelicos. H.5.11' -661
 340. Fragment of funerary stele. Marble of Pent.H.1.24' -662
 341. Upper part of stele of Aristion - - - - - - - - -663
 342. Fragment of funerary stele. Marble of Bent.H.1.12' -664
 343. Fragment of funerary stele. Marble of Paros. H.11.0-665
 344. Fragment of Attic stele. Marble. - - - - - - - - -666
 345. Group from tripod. Bronze. H. 5.91"- - - - - - - - -675
 346. Statuette support of mirror. Bronze. Height 7.87"- -677
 347. Head of young man. Bronze. Height 5.12"- - - - - - -679
 348. Statuette of woman. Bronze. Height 4.72" - - - - - -693
 349. Little bronzes from Olympia. Height, 1, 5.93"; 2, 5.91";
 3, 3.46" - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -695
 350. Terra cotta group. Height 5.91"- - - - - - - - - -715
 351. Statuette of man. Alabaster. Height 6.71"- - - - - -717
 352. Zeus casting thunderbolts, from painted vase - - - -723

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK XIII. Archaic Greece.

Note for the Reader VII-XV.

Chapter VI. Civil Architecture 1-67.

- I. Fortification 1-22.
2. Installations in cities . Streets and squares.
Aqueducts and public Fountains. 22-67.

Chapter VII. Funerary Architecture. 68-197.

1. Decadence of funerary architecture; how explained. 68-72.
2. Attic tomb. 72-87.
3. Grecian tomb in countries other than Attica. 87-101.
4. Comparison of Attic tomb and tomb outside Attica. 101-107.

Chapter VIII. Archaic Greek sculpture, its principle and general characteristics. 108-236.

1. Principal themes of sculpture and conditions of its development. 108- 141.
2. Materials and natural polychromy. 141-219.
3. Artificial polychromy. 212-236.

Chapter IX. Sculpture from 776 to 480. Divisions and plan of this study. 237-251.

Chapter X. Sculpture from 776 to 480. Asian Greece and the islands of Egean sea. 252-419.

1. Asian Greece, its limits and character. 252-256.
2. Reliefs of temple of Assos. 256-268.
3. School of Miletus. 268-287.
4. School of Samos. 287-298.
5. School of Chios. 298-324.
6. Monuments of Ionian art outside Ionia and Cyclades. 324-404.
7. Monuments of Ionian art in European museums. 405-412.
8. General character of Ionian sculpture. 412-419.

Chapter XI. Dorian schools. 420-528.

1. Most ancient bronzes of Olympia. 420-426.
2. Sculpture in Crete and Cretan sculptors in Peloponnesus. 426-435.
3. Dorian sculpture in Peloponnesus and at Delphi. 436-476.
4. General character of Dorian sculpture. 476-480.
5. Sicily and Magna Grecia. 480-506.
6. Beotia and the rest of central Greece. 506-528.

Chapter XII. The Attic School. 529-684.

1. Situation of Athens and character of its development. 529-531.
2. Sculpture in soft stone and beginnings of sculpture in marble. 531-5

3. Sculpture in marble at Athens. Monumental sculpture. 546-574.
4. Sculpture in marble. Female type of votive statues. 574-608.
5. Female type in image of goddess. 608-626.
6. Male type. 622-648.
7. Votive reliefs and funerary steles. 648-667.
8. What Attic art owed to Ionian and Dorian schools. 667-684.

Chapter XIII. Greek sculpture from 776 to 480. Summary
of its history and conclusion. 685-739.

Additions and Corrections. 741.

Alphabetical Index. 742-748.

List of plates without text and vignettes. 749-750.

List of cuts and plans inserted in text. 751-754.

Table of Contents.. 755-756

The End.

HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY

Volume IX

HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY

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Volume IX

Archaic Greece.

Glyptics. Numismatics

Painting. Ceramics

Containing 22 plates and 367 engravings

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HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY.

Volume IX.

Book XIII. Archaic Greece.

Chapter XIV. Glyptics.

1. Renaissance of Glyptics in the 7th Century.

Between the end of the Mycenaean period and the first Olympiads, during the entire duration of what has sometimes been called the middle ages of Greece, so to speak there is no sculpture.¹ While the so-called geometrical style reigns, whatever the image that ~~the~~ creates, the artist only employs straight lines variously combined and clearly defined curves. When he undertakes to reproduce the figures of men and animals, he reduces them to purely schematic traces, whose elements are rectangles, trapezoids, triangles and circles.² These tendencies and habits of the hand he carries everywhere, that he fashions statuettes of stone, bronze and terra cotta, or he paints personages on the bodies of his vases of clay. The example that he offers thus can only form a law for the workman, that accepts the task of decorating by engraving the very limited field of the pendant of a necklace or of the bezel of a ring of metal.

Note 1. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII. p. 104-153.

Note 2. p. G. The same. Vol. VII, p. 172, VIII. p. 420-424.

If very early in Chaldea as in Egypt and later in Mycenaean Greece, men undertook to incise very hard stones known by the name of gems, this was particularly to engrave ~~their~~ images, that allowed these to be employed as seals. When the seal is pressed on damp clay or wax, there is an image in relief, and it was understood at first, that it must be impressed on the material with which it is placed in contact by the fingers that held it. This projecting image will have a distinctness to which the inverse image cannot pretend, whose outlines will be lost in the shadows of the hollows modeled in it. Then for long centuries, there were scarcely made only sunken engravings or intaglios. Now what is an intaglio if not a reversed relief, a relief in which the form of the object represented, instead of projecting externally, penetrates and is sunk in

the material serving it as support? In these conditions, the image is more difficult to execute than where it presents itself naturally. Contemporaneous with the vases of the Dipylon and the crude figurines that have been found in the most ancient layers of the soil of the Altis at Olympia, the engraver in the 9th and 8th centuries could only attempt to seek to engrave in the thickness of an agate or a cornelian some one of those images of man or of a wild beast, that on certain lenticular intaglios of the preceding age sometimes have such a broad design and such a beautiful movement.¹ Neither the painter nor the sculptor could furnish him with models suited to guide his eye and his tool in the delicate work of transposition. In Greece the sculptor had then lost even the idea of the wise and complex artifice of the relief; he did not even suspect the methods, those that the Mycenaean artist by a sort of intuition had often applied with a rare good fortune. All that one could then expect from the effort of the engraver was, that he should reproduce some one of the types and motives, the most frequently found in the votive statuettes as well as in the ornamentation of vases, furniture and jewels.

Note 1.p.2. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI. Plaque XVI.

Such indeed is the character of the intaglios, also in very small number, which can be attributed to this epoch. Of those intaglios of very poor and very dry execution, we have given but a single unique specimen.¹ Perhaps it would not appear improper to present some other examples. Those are then found in works, more interesting by the variety of their themes and by the merits of their execution, than glyptics commenced to produce in the 7th century, and which it multiplied in the 6th. Thus will be better measured the course passed over and the progress realized.

Note 1.p.3. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, vignette on p. 153. Also see vol. VI, p. 859-860; Figs. 426, 1, 2, 3, 4; Figs. 434, 15, 14, 16. Still insufficiently informed, we have reproduced as belonging to the Mycenaean age some stones, that now appear to us to date rather from the succeeding period.

Note 2.p.3. Our chief guide in this study will be Furtwängler, and we shall make numerous extracts from the great work published by him under the title: *Die antiken Gemmen, Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst in klassischer Altertum*. (Vol. I, 67 plates

in heliogravure. Vol. II, explanations and plates. Some figures in text from drawings. Vol. III. History with figures in text in facsimile or from drawings). The author has first classified the materials scattered everywhere, and that on account of the difficulty experienced in consulting them, were almost inaccessible to workers. The work cost 15 years of labor. To undertake it was first necessary to collect impressions taken from all the great public collections; from this matter Furtwängler chose as best preserved the most interesting by execution or theme, the 3600 pieces reproduced in his plates and text; but where especially appears the mastery of the archaeologist is in the history, in the divisions that he has established, in the definitions given of each style and of each epoch and each school, in the comparisons instituted between the monuments of glyptics and those of contemporary sculpture and painting. One could criticize certain details, and add as discovered other examples to those cited there; but the new monuments will have to be inserted in the lists arranged by Furtwängler. While most frequently limiting ourselves to summarizing the ideas stated in the work in question, we shall attempt elsewhere than in his plates of intaglios, that will justify our assertions, and to place under the eyes of the reader unpublished pieces. M. Furtwängler has but very discreetly drawn from the treasures of the cabinet of Paris. Its resources have been placed at our disposal with earnest liberality by the learned man to whom it is entrusted, my dear colleague, M. Ernest Babelon.

In the decoration of these seals, that are mostly cones or frustums of cones, there is nothing not already presented to our eyes in the monuments that we have assigned to this period. Here, as on the fustioles and on the most ancient products of the ceramics that ended in the pottery of the Dipylon, it is a purely linear design with straight lines intersecting at in different ways or circles that ornament a point placed at their centre. (Fig. 1). Elsewhere these are animals, especially horses or ibexes (Pl. 2, cylinder), on which the forms are contracted as on the oldest bronzes of Olympia. Finally, elsewhere, human bodies have suffered the same transformation (Pl. II, 8). Nowhere is it carried farther than on a square seal of steatite from Cnossos, which is engraved on three faces. Face I, a personage standing that holds in one hand a zigzag or serpent.

(Pl. II, 9). Face II; a person that draws a bow against a centaur armed with two branches of a tree, in front is a frog; b below the centaur are signs difficult to define (Pl. I, 1). Face III; the labyrinth (Pl. II, 20).² A last trait by which is accented the relationship, that connects these intaglios either to the vases or to the brooches,³ that seem to us to date from the age in which there made itself felt in all continental Greece, the influence of a system of decoration originated in central Europe, is what we term the fear of the void.⁴ Observe all those objects of badly defined character that fill the field between the two men and all around them on the great stone of Melos (Fig. 2).

Note 1.p.4. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. Figs. 198-203.

Note 2.p.4. Compare the representation of Pl. I, 1 with that found on a band of gold published by Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, Vol. I, Fig. 41, and that of the labyrinth on the Coins of Gnosos.

Note 3.p.4. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, figs. 118-132.

Note 4.p.4. The same. p. 168, 184, 195.

It must be in the second half of the 8th century that art commenced to reascend the slope which it had descended after the Dorian invasion. It was among the Ionians as proved by their sculpture, that first manifested itself the sentiment of nature and the desire for attaining beauty by the expression of life. The Ionians belonged to the oldest stock of the Greek race. Perhaps they were established in the valleys of the Hermos, Payster and Meander from the time when the Achaian kings reigned at Mycenae, Sparta and Cnossos. If later those proto-ionians were rejoined and reinforced in Asia Minor by other groups of the same race, that fled before the Dorians, those emigrants had escaped prolonged contact with the half barbaric peoples, that had planted in European Greece the geometrical style with its monotony and its strange dryness. In that Asian Greece not overthrown by the invasion, Mycenaean art before expiring could leave to the workmen with a rich repertory of varied motives, an entire heritage of procedures and of manual tricks, that otherwise must have been lost because of the desertion of its workshops.

The Ionians had yet another advantage over the western Greeks; they were nearer the Orient, more within reach of the old civ-

civilizations of Chaldea and of Egypt whose arts offered them suggestive models, a number of forms which they could employ for translating the ideas personal to themselves. By the routes of caravans that traversed Taurus and the plateaus of Asia Minor, they received the products sent from the valley of the Euphrates. As for Egypt, the Ionians had reached it before the end of the 8th century and in the first half of the 7th. By the services rendered by them to Psammetichus, they had taken root in the delta. They were at home in Naucratis. They frequented Sais and Memphis. In these conditions oriental art could not fail to exert a very evident influence on archaic Greek art and the monuments of glyptics, in spite of the small space that their smallness could give to the caprices of ornamentation, they bear the very distinct mark of this action of exotic types.

The first efforts of reviving glyptics are represented by nothing better than a group of intaglios found in the island of Melos.¹ They were taken from a cemetery from which came several painted vases, whose discovery made an event in archaeology.² What characterizes these vases is, that the painter took the subjects of his paintings from Grecian mythology, while in the ornamentation enclosing these paintings are very visible reminiscences of both Mycenaean and of geometrical decoration. The Melians of the 5th century, as known through Thucydides, boldly claimed a Spartan origin, and during the war on the Peloponessus, they were attached to the group of Dorian States, that made a campaign against Athens and the Ionian cities, its allies or subjects;³ but if Sparta had formerly furnished the chief of the expedition that went after the 11th century as asserted, to colonize Thera, Melos and the east of Crete, this band of emigrants was very mixed. With some Spartans, it comprised Minyans and Pelasgians, i.e., elements that like the Ionians belonged to the most ancient stratum of the Greek peoples.¹ During several centuries, until the moment when after the foundation of the maritime empire of Athens, the Greek cities divided into two hostile leagues, and in Asian Greece and in the adjacent islands, one did not hear of a race rivalry, that degenerated into mutual hostility. Even where as in the south of Caria, as at Thera and Rhodes, the Dorian element was predominant, the supremacy of Ionian genius was accepted everywhere without resistance. From Cyprus and Rhodes, Thera and Lesbos,

sculpture reproduced the types created by the Ionian sculptors.² At Rhodes in the cemetery of Camisos have been found a number of painted vases; now we shall see that nearly all depend on Ionian ceramics. Further, it was not alone in the domain of art that was thus imposed the prestige and ascendant of Ionia. The poetical dialect to which the Homerides of Chios had given its final form, had become forever that of the epic period. When prose was born, the historians, philosophers, and learned men, whatever their country, during the century only made use of the language whose first models were given by the logographers and sages of Ionia. The Ionian dialect was adopted by Herodotus and Hippocrates of Cos, both born in Dorian lands.

Note 1.p.6. Canon. Narration XXVI. Herodotus. IV. 147. Plutarch. Virtues of Women. VIII.

Note 2.p.-. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII. Chap. X.

In these conditions, we have the right to carry to the account of Ionian art the intaglios of Melos. The first observation that they suggest is that these evidence that survival of the traditions of primitive Greece, that is one of the characteristics of Ionian civilization. The form that dominates in the rare seals of the geometrical style, that have come to us is that of a cone more or less truncate. It is entirely otherwise with the intaglios of Melos. They assume the forms that were in fashion in the Mycenaean age, the lenticular and that of the acorn or olive. On the contrary, the workman seems to have lost much in skill of hand. He no longer dares to take hard stones of a more or less milky tone, that the engraver attacked so boldly formerly. He restricts himself to softer and opaque stones, such as steatite and hematite. This is because he had forgotten the use of the wheel, that seems to have been known to the artist of Mycenae and of Cnossos.¹ To mark the chief points of the figure, he employed the bow drill, moved by the aid of a bow. By an intaglio that represents a lion between two birds (Pl. I, 4), one sees what sort of work he obtained thus. By a series of globules, he models the projections of the forms represented.² To finish the design, the engraver uses saws, points and chisels; but even on the most careful of these intaglios, the work always remains summary, a little dry and hard.

Note 1.p.7. It has seemed to us difficult to admit, that from

the middle of the second millenium before our era, the Mycenaean workmen had already used the wheel (*Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. VI, p.861-862); but Furtwängler remarks that this tool was then in use in western Asia, and that to fashion their vases, the ceramists at Mycenae and in other industrial centres of that civilization employed the potter's wheel. The principle of the latter was then known to them. Furtwängler has very closely studied Mycenaean glyptics in the most authentic examples; he believes that he recognizes in the modeling of the image on the most careful intaglios, the certain trace of the use of the wheel. (*die antike Gemmen*, p. 29-30). We can only bow before his authority.

Note 2.p.7. J. deSéville, who first published this scarab, believes that it came to us in the state of a simple sketch, (*Etudes numismatique et de glyptique*, in *Revue numismatique*, 1905. p. 277).

If the execution is far from having there the same merit as on the most beautiful Mycenaean intaglios, the repertory no longer offers the same variety. The same types are repeated to satiety, almost always fixed and as if stiffened in the same poses. What dominates are the animals, such as the ibex (Fig. 3), lion, stag, wild boar (Fig. 4), then aquatic birds, like the swan, gull and crane (Fig. 5). An ibis seems to occupy the field of a scarab of cornelian (Pl. II, 1). Elsewhere are the lizard or fishes.

Besides these types taken from nature, one finds composites of ibexes, horses and of winged lions.³ Here are seen to reappear those already traditional types of the sphynx and the griffin. A novel type is that of the chimera (Fig. 6). It has been asked whether this was not born of the confusion resulting from some Mycenaean intaglio, where behind a lion was represented an ibex or a goat. Seeing the horned head rise over the back of the wild beast, it might have been supposed to belong to that, and that the engraver had desired to represent a monster combining in its person the attributes of two different species.¹ If it be true that the Ionians had under their eyes longer than the other Hellenes many strays from the art of primitive Greeks, the conjecture has nothing improbable.

Note 3.p.7. Furtwängler. Pl. V. 9-13, 21.

Note 1.p.8. Mitthöfer. *Aufzüge der griechischen Kunst*, p.81.

Another novelty:— marine demons that present very diverse appearances. There is a serpent with a body terminated by a tail provided with fins. There are goaas with winged horses with the rear body of a fish. Elsewhere the body of a man ends in the same fashion.

Those factitious animals had been multiplied by Mycenaean art; but here we are at first warned that times are changed by the part in the repertory of the engravers of Melos, taken themes derived from myths that had been made popular. Here is Hercules, the conqueror of monsters. Archaic art delighted in bringing him in the scene. He appears here in combat with the "alias geron," bearded and nude with quiver on his back. His hair is divided in horizontal bands and falls on his nape (Fig. 7).² The centaur had already made his appearance on the monuments of the geometrical style; but here (Fig. 8) the two natures combined in him are much more harmoniously united than in the image presented by the painted vase of the Dipylon, and by the stamped band of gold on which we have mentioned its presence.³ Prometheus is recognized in a personage crouching on the ground with hands bound behind his back; on him pounces the eagle, that will pierce his side with its beak (Fig. 9).¹ Is it again him or is it not rather Tityos that must be seen in the nude man lying on the ground and devoured by a vulture?² Elsewhere is the Gorgon in full course; its pose is that given to it on many other archaic monuments;³ but what is particular here is that it seems to have feathers on its thighs.

Note 2.p.8. By an error in our Vol. II (Fig. 432, 16) that repeated this intaglio among Mycenaean stones.

Note 3.p.8. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, p.222, Fig.98; p. 246, Fig. 115.

Note 1.p.9. Same pose and same bands on an archaic relief from Olympia. (Olympia. Die Bronzen, no. 669, 3).

Note 2.p.9. Furtwängler. Pl. V, 34.

Note 3.p.9. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII. Figs. 117, 124, 126, 246.

Scenes borrowed from real life are rather rarer in this series, than images of fabulous animals and mythological subjects. On two intaglios are a chariot and its driver. Elsewhere is the prow of a ship, an amphora, a cantharis, etc.

With even those intaglios that have the most archaic appearance,

one feels himself already far from the geometrical style and its glacial coldness; but he is no less informed by less certain indications, that he does not have to recognize here the works of the mycenaean engraver. That Mycenaean engraver already knew the sphynx and the griffin; but not from him was taken that of Melos. In the ivories, the plates of gold and the mycenaean glass pastes, the griffin and sphynx are distinguished by traits found nowhere else in the representation of the same monsters. Behind the head of the griffin are light curls of spiral form;⁴ on the female head of the sphynx and above a sort of cap is a long plume like a floating crest.⁵ These special signs are no longer found on archaic Greek gems. Griffin and sphynx show themselves as the Phoenicians present them in numberless replicas. There in the decoration of all Sidonian and Tyrian wares, our engravers have sought for copying the types of the griffin and the sphynx. No more curls on the nape of the griffin; no more plumes on the head of the sphynx; but what solves the question of origin for the sphynx and griffin as for the other winged quadrupeds is the arrangement adopted by the Greek artists for the design of the wings. In Egypt these have the point turned in only on some images of birds that ornament jewels;¹ more frequently they are extended horizontally and perpendicular to the body.² When they are found exceptionally on the back of a sphynx, the large plumes terminating them are turned toward the ground.³ In Assyria the wings attached to the shoulders of the bulls guarding the royal gates and those of other monsters are horizontal,⁴ or are more frequently raised with the point to the rear.⁵ This is the position on the figures of anthropoid genii taken by those wings, that are raised, while the others are lowered and fall on the loins.⁶

Note 4.p.9. Furtwängler. Pl. V. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, p. 839, Fig. 414.

Note 5.p.9. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI. p.833-834, Figs. 416, 418.

Note 1.p.10. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I. Figs. 566, 568.

Note 2.p.10. The same. Figs. 542, 543, 567, 577, etc.

Note 3.p.10. The same. Vol. III, Fig. 74.

Note 4.p.10. The same. Vol. II, Figs. 19, 83.

Note 5.p.10. The same. Pl. IX; Figs. 85, 139, 141, 240, 322, 331, 343, 443, 444, 446, 447, 449. etc.

Note 6.p.10. The same. Figs. 123, 124, 322, 323, 331, 343, 348, etc.

The Phoenicians appear to have first had the idea of folding the ends of the wings forward, and inclining them toward the head of the animal represented. This characteristic arrangement is almost constantly found either in Phoenicia itself or in Cyprus in ornamental reliefs,⁷ or nearly everywhere on those metal cups, jewels and scarabs of soft stone, glazed clay or glass, that from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, Phoenician merchants sold to the peoples that they had made tributary to their industry.⁸ Greek artists appreciated that arrangement, the elegant curve thus described by the wings; they adopted it for all images of this kind that they caused to enter their decoration (Fig. 10).

Note 7.p.10. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, Figs. 73, 76, 152.

Note 8.p.10. The same. Figs. 75, 547, 552, 625, 628. Better informed now than in the past, we no longer hesitate to place to the account of Phoenician industry three monuments in which is found the arrangement of the wings mentioned, monuments that we have described in connection with Assyria (*Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. II, Figs. 347, 399, 447). The first is a seal in form of a cone with an Aramean inscription, the second is a bronze cup ornamented by a frieze of griffins, the third is a comb of ebony.

It is rare that one knows with certainty where and in what conditions the intaglios of our collections left the earth.

Among the stones which we have just studied are several, whose source is well established; others have been collected in the tombs of Melos. Now the same cemetery has also furnished vases, that from the composition and execution of the paintings decorating them are attributed to the 7th century. Thus we have in that find a landmark, a criterion that permits the undertaking of a classification of archaic intaglios, it becomes possible to set aside in the multitude of those stones, those which one has reason to believe earlier than the year 700 or a little later than that date, thus belonging to those of the first period of the new development of Greek glyptics.

For the most part, these stones have the ordinary forms of Mycenaean seals, lenticular or acorn-shaped; but at the same epoch, the taste for exotism was then very lively in Greece, and gave the idea of imitating in the workshops where those seals were cut, certain forms affected by oriental glyptics. Some efforts were made to place in fashion the cylindrical

type, used for many centuries by Chaldea and Assyria. We have already found the cylinder in the island of Cyprus, the one of all Greek lands, which was soonest and most rapidly orientalized,¹ if we are permitted this neologism; but we shall find at even the heart of Greece in a cylinder collected at Egina. On it are two groups, a warrior that mounts his chariot and a satyr fighting with a woman.² Here again is a cylinder whose origin renders it particularly curious (Fig. 11). It was found in Chaldea;³ but the image on it is entirely Greek in subject and execution. Perseus slaying the Gorgon is recognized at first sight. Perhaps the cylinder had belonged to one of those Greek adventurers, who went to seek his fortune in Babylonia,⁴ like Antimonides, brother of Alcaeus. This personage had desired, while he inhabited the valley of the Euphrates, to have a seal like the men of the country, which he could apply to moist clay, but before leaving the coast, he had caused the engraving to be executed by an Ionian workman.

Note 1.p.11. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. p.636-641, Figs. 429-434. Furtwängler. *Die antiken Gemmen*. Vol. III, p.8, 436, Pl. V, 44.

Note 2.p.11. Furtwängler. Pl. V, 42.

Note 3.p.11. The same. Vol. II, p.24.

Note 4.p.11. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p.720, note 2.

The Ionians maintained with Phoenicia and Egypt relations far more intimate than with Chaldea. They sought the products of Egyptian industry and the counterfeits cheaply made in the workshops of Syria. In the tombs of Melos from which our intaglios came have been found several scarabs in glazed clay, that in Egypt had a symbolical and mystical sense.¹ The idea must have occurred to utilize that form in the making of seals. Nothing easier than to copy it in stone, and to substitute on the flat side of the piece, for the hieroglyphics and the images of the Egyptian gods, those borrowed from the current repertory of the Greek workman. For example, here is a scarab whose lower surface represents a lion attacking a bull from behind (Pl. I, 3).

Note 1.p.12. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p. 62. On the religious significance of this form, see Maspero. (*Archaeologie égyptienne*. p.236-238).

Among the monuments of this glyptics is more frequently found

than the scarab, another form called the scarabeoid. Thus are designated seals on which the outline of the face describes an ellipse more or less elongated. As for the body of the seal, it is swelled and is rounded in the form of a calotte (Fig. 12). The term consecrated by usage risks leading into error. As one might think, the scarabeoid is not the covering of the scarab. Nothing that recalls the organic type to which it has been desired to connect it. Those pretended scarabeoids are only derivations from seals in the forms of a cone, that in all western Asia about the time of the Sargonides commenced to dispute the favor of the public with the ancient cylinder.² Gradually to have less expense for material and work, the workman adopted the habit of truncating the cone. He retained only what was necessary to allow the fingers to handle the seal.³ In Asia all those frustums of cones have a circular base, and it was at first the same in Greece;⁴ but when among the Hellenes art proposed to give a translation in relief of those myths that poetry continually diversified, the image in relief assumed an increasing importance. To enlarge the field, they tended to pass from the circle to the ellipse. This allowed them to group in the direction of the greater diameter more personages, than could be held within the round of the circle. By degrees they came to the very elongated form preferred by the engravers of the 6th century.

Note 2.p.12. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. II. p.688-691.

Note 3.p.12. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p.181-182.

Note 4.p.12. The same. Vol. III, p. 80, Plqs. 41-43.

The seals with these reserves, for which can be retained this appellation of scarabeoids, further present a great variety of forms. They are found where the ellipsoidal stone has two plane faces. On one is a beardless person with a tunic striated by vertical rays and in the attitude of adoration (Pl. II, 17). On the other is a lion passing (Pl. II, 19). The influence of oriental models is very sensible here. Around the worshipper are emblems that the Egyptian monuments have made familiar to us, the hawk and the lotus flower. The lion is of the Egyptian style, and above it reappears the flower of the lotus.

There are also seals with square bases. On one of them is a kneeling archer that discharges an arrow at a bull with long

horns. In the field is the sun, the crescent moon and a star.. (Pl. II, 12). Oriental glyptics suggested the idea of placing those luminaries in the field, although they have no relation to the scene represented. The other seal is of larger dimensions. There is seen a helmeted warrior clothed in a tunic gathered at the waist and in a sort of pantaloons. He holds with one hand a quadruped by the hind paw, that he is going to strike with a lash in the other. He appears to have a sword at his side. In the field is a wheel with five spokes, that is perhaps also an astral emblem (Pl. II, 9).

Is it necessary to see a seal or an amulet in a cube of serpentine, engraved on four sides, and still having its gold ring? It matters little: all here recalls the intaglios described above. 1, a standing personage facing a lion; 2, two ibexes facing each other and raised on their hind feet; 3, a bearded sphynx; 4, it is believed that a priest is distinguished, in adoration before a sacred tree. If as assumed, this jewel was found on the plain of Marathon,¹ the soldier that lost it on the field of battle must have been some Ionian or Carian auxiliary, rather than a Persian or a Mede. Doubtless some elements here, such as the sacred tree, were borrowed from oriental art; but no less is the hand of a Greek artist is felt here.

Note 1.p.13. Chabouillet. Catalogue des camees et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque nationale. No. 972.

Finally, here is a last variant of the seal of a rarer form. It is a circular seal with a lateral ring. A personage that seems to have four legs, perhaps a centaur (seen in front, holds a sword in one hand and with the other seizes by her long and floating hair a half kneeling woman (Pl. II, 10). Would that not be an episode of that combat of the Centaurs and Lapithae, which must have been one of the preferred themes of Greek sculpture?

The intaglios furnished to us by the Cabinet of France, by reason of their themes and their execution, have seemed to us, should be attributed to the same time and the same school as the stones of Melos. The material is also the same in all parts. It is serpentine or steatite. Except a single one, that has its history or perhaps its legend, these intaglios are of unknown scenes. Yet we shall not hesitate to place them also to the a

account of Ionian genius. We shall see that in Ionia were struck the first coins. Likewise in Ionia were made the first efforts to revive the art of intaglio. The procedures of the coinage industry extended from the East to the West in the Greek world only with some slowness, and there was also necessary a certain time for the taste for those intaglios to be propagated in the same direction, as well as the trade of the engraver. This is suggested by the funerary equipment of the cemeteries of Sicily, Magna Grecia and Etruria. Everywhere there in the tombs that date from the end of the 8th century and from the entire course of the 7th, are found in abundance scarabs of glazed clay or of soft stone of Egyptian or Phoenician execution, but no engraved stones. These make their appearance in the cemeteries of western Greece only about the beginning of the 6th century.¹

Note 1.p.14. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p. 75-76.

Further, not alone from this point of view can one compare these two arts. We shall find on the most ancient coins most of the images of these very archaic intaglios.² It must have been the same artists that executed the engraving of those seals and those of the coins for money. For the entire period of the geometric style cannot be cited a single intaglio engraved in the metal of the bezel of a ring, while this mode of decoration was applied to a silver ring, that came from the island of Syme quite near Melos. The image there represents a griffin and another animal, a fox or dog, skilfully arranged to fill the entire field (Fig. 15). To judge by the execution, this ring was contemporaneous with the Mycenaean stones and those that we have compared with them. What forms the particular interest is, that it announces the resumption of a procedure employed by the Mycenaean engravers with rare mastery.¹ Glyptics has all ambitions toward the end of the 7th century. It only remains to realize them, a supply of hard and translucent gems to which it was unaccustomed, and to make use of them only to again learn to handle the drill.

Note 2.p.14. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p.74. Babelon. La gravure en pierres fines. p.26, 27.

Note 1.p.15. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI. p.838-847, Figs. 420-4

2. Glyptics in the 6th century.

From Egypt in which they felt at home after the 7th century,

the Greeks of Asia borrowed the form of the scarab, but not from its school must they have initiated themselves in such delicate processes as engraving on hard stones, as they had done for welding metals and casting bronze. The Egyptian workman was not ignorant of those processes;² but the use of the personal seal was not so universally extended in Egypt as with the Chaldeans, and doubtless by reason of the popularity enjoyed in the latter country by the industry of glazed clay, they were not much addicted to the work of intaglio. To speak truly, there is no Egyptian glyptics.³ The true country or mother of glyptics is the Asia of the Euphrates with the common presence of the seal, that struck Herodotus.⁴ It is said that the valley of the Euphrates is much farther than Egypt from Miletus and Ephesus, but then neither mountains nor deserts frightened the wandering propensity of those Greeks, that is our time are also as mobile, and that we see established in small groups of retailers, bankers or tradesmen, from London to Calcutta, from the African Soudan to Odessa. Under whatever name they traveled, they inquired and observed everywhere that they went. They are represented as strolling for long hours in the bazaars of those great cities in which were exercised multiplied industries, some of which were again known to the Greeks only by rare specimens of their products, which had found places in the bales of some caravan. One of them that had himself formerly handled the chisel and the graver, a goldsmith or jeweller, stops in the gallery of the merchants of seals, before one of those boxes, at the same time workshops and shops, in which today in Tunis, Cairo or Damascus, the artisan fabricates under the eyes of the public the wares that he offers for sale. For another passer that looks at him, the silent worker does not interrupt his work; but this passer is found to be intelligent and a well informed observer. He follows with close attention the movements of the wheel and the uses of the instruments, that concur with the drill in creating and finishing the image. If he has not understood all on the first day, he returns on the morrow, and at the end of two or three occasions, he will have seized the secret even of those tricks of hand, which the operator that practises them by routine would frequently have trouble to teach by demonstrative reasoning.

Note 3.p.15. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. II. p.661-692.

I imagine that the Greek engraver by these notes taken as if by theft, when he has aroused about himself all the arts of form, will have succeeded in reviving an entire technics almost completely lost, to recall it even to the last refinements. Perhaps also more than one of those that attempted this profession arranged to enter some workshop as an apprentice, where from generation to generation were transmitted the most delicate processes of oriental glyptics. Cylinders were engraved by Chaldean methods among the Hittites of the plateau of Cappadocia;¹ They were perhaps also engraved in that city of Sardes, whose princes were in direct relations with the Assyrian monarchs. In whatever fashion was made the retraining of the Greek engraver, this is certain, that he is seen about the beginning of the 6th century to set himself to carving all those gems of variously colored quartz, whose charming tints are brightened by the light, which caresses and penetrates them, while their hardness adapts them to retain always clear and fresh the image deposited there by the tool of the artist.

By the material employed and the execution of the image, the Greek intaglio then revives Chaldeo-Assyrian art; but it is Egypt, that Egypt so fully open to the Greeks of Asia and of the islands, which is recalled by the form of the seal and its general appearance. In the 6th century, most seals are scarabs with figures on the flat surface (Fig. 14); but since the Greeks attached no mystic sense to the type of the scarab, they have sometimes replaced it on the back of the scarab by some other motive, by a hippotamus (Fig. 1), ram or negro's head, mask, (Fig. 16), siren, kneeling warrior or crouching lion (Fig. 17). The form most frequently found after that of the scarab is that of the scarabeoid. There are also some rare specimens of the acorn shape inherited from Mycenaean glyptics, which remained familiar to the engravers of the 7th century.

Note 1.p.16. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IV, p. 765-774, Plgs. 373-386.

Note 1.p.17. Furtwängler. Vol. I, Pl. VI, 37.

If by the forms that it adopts and the procedures it uses, this glyptics still allows to be perceived its connections either to the civilization of the Achaean ancestors or especially to the arts of the Orient, one feels everywhere asserted the

independence and originality of Greek genius thenceforth fully emancipated. This originality is first marked in the choice of subjects and in their infinite variety. On the flat surface of Egyptian and Phoenician scarabs are always the same hieroglyphics; and the same symbols that are seen to reappear to satiety. On the Babylonian and Persian cones are the same scenes of adoration, repeated with attitudes and gestures fixed by the ritual. Here is nothing similar. If certain themes reappear very frequently in the works of this glyptics, there is nearly always between one stone and another sensible differences in the number, grouping and the traits of the figures of the same scene. Many of these themes are borrowed from mythology; but there is nothing in the composition, that gives reason to think that one should seek there the seal of a priest or of a college of priests. No scene by the invariable fixity of its arrangement can be interpreted as the traditional representation of a liturgical act. Nowhere is any trace of what is called the sacerdotal spirit.

Note 2.p.17. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II. Plqs. 348-350; III. Plqs. 454, 455, 457, 477.

If gods and goddesses here play a great part as well as the heroes and the fictitious beings associated with them by the myth, no less great is the proportion of the elements furnished by reality. No fixed rule and no point of systematic tendency. The dactyloglyphe has the taste for and the love of life, of that life interesting it in all the forms that it assumes, and under all appearances that it presents. What it has aimed to reproduce everywhere that it is met, is the nobility and the singularity of a type, the grace and energy of a movement.

In Chaldea and Assyria, Egypt and Phoenicia, the engraver has scarcely been more than a workman, sometimes marvellously skilful. Here by what admits of liberty of invention and choice of motive, the engraver becomes an artist in all the force of the word. Thus the consciousness that he has of his own increased importance and of his new dignity is henceforth marked by the care, that he takes to inscribe his name on his work, doubtless when it seems to him more particularly successful. In that respect, he follows the example given him by the sculptor; but signatures are rarer on intaglios than on statues, in this class of objects which a workshop produces in great number for

current sale, those will always remain exceptional. The formulas are the same as for the works of sculptors and of painters. On an intaglio where the scarab is replaced on the back by the mask of Silenus is read:— "Syrius epoise." (Fig. 18). On the flat of a scarab and around the image representing a young man holding with both hands on the bridle of a horse that rears, is engraved the following legend:— "Epimenenes opoie." (Fig. 19). The execution of the type is most careful and most beautiful. One comprehends why the artist signed this seal. The alphabet is the Ionian but with certain peculiarities in the use of certain letters, that are only found in the inscriptions of Ithasos, Siphnos, Delos and especially Paros. Paros then furnished marble and sculptors to the entire Greek world.¹ Hence without improbability can one think of Epimenenes as a Parian artist.²

Note 1. p. 18. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 161-165, 311, 352.

Note 2. p. 18. *Portwängler*. Vol. II, p. 44.

If in those two examples the sense of the legend leads to no uncertainty, it is no longer the same when on an intaglio one meets with a proper name without a verb, of which it might be the subject, and without a noun that might be its complement.¹ One can then ask whether this name is that of the engraver or that of the owner of the intaglio, for the latter also sometimes causes his name to appear on his seal; this was for him a means of giving a more certain guarantee of authenticity of the documents on which he placed his seal. "I belong to Kreontidas" is read on an agate scarab found at Agina.² It even occurs that the inscription instead of being added as an exergue to the image, invades nearly all the space that this usually occupies. That is the case for the scarab on whose flat, above a dolphin made out with difficulty, is developed this legend in very archaic characters; "I am the seal of Therisis, beware of opening me." (Fig. 20). Is this an assertion of ownership of the intaglio, or an author's right that must be seen in other names, that are in the nominative and others in the genitive? In this case the question does not admit of an assured response, and the uncertainty is still greater, where as frequently happens, there is found on the stone only a group of two or three letters, that might be the initials of an author's name or that of the owner.

Note 1. p. 19. *Portwängler*. Vol. I, Pl. VIII, 23, 41, 43; IX,

11, 17; Pl. LXI, 14. Babelon. Catalogue de la Collection pour-
vert de la Chapelle. Numbers 67, 74.

Note 2.p.19. Fur. Wängler. Pl. VII, 64.

What completes the demonstration of the importance of the part then played by the seal, a representation of the person, is the care taken by public officials to prevent frauds to which its use might give rise. We have the text of a law attributed to Solon. It forbids the engraver to retain, either to use himself or to place in the hands of another, the impression of the seal, that he has delivered to his patron.³

Note 3.p.19. (Greek). Diogenes Laertius. I, 57.

At Athens we are very near Ionia, and to that the unfortunately too rare ancient documents refer us, that have treated of the history of glyptics. We owe one of these to the glory of Pythagoras and the curiosity that it aroused among the learned of the Hellenistic age. According to the statements of his biographers, Pythagoras' father was Mnesarchos, an engraver of seals.¹ One cannot be surprised to see the art of intaglio cultivated in that island, where at about the same time flourished that of bronze.² The latter art of hollow casting and of fine retouches with the chisel, another Samian, Theodoros, son of Telecles, had introduced and acclimated in Asian and insular Greece. Now Theodoros was no less famed as an engraver of fine stones than as a bronze-worker. Herodotus was almost a contemporary, so well advised of the history of Samos, and he attributed to Theodoros the fashion of the celebrated jewel, an emerald set in a gold mounting, that is ordinarily called the ring of Polycrates;³ by the manner in which he speaks of it one may ask whether it was not rather a suspension ring fitted with a ring through which passed the thread. In any case there was an image engraved on the field of the emerald;⁴ this is clearly expressed by the term which Herodotus uses concerning the jewel; he employs the word "sphregis," seal.

Note 1.p.20. Diogenes Laertius. I, 57. Apuleius. Florid. II, 15, 3.

Note 2.p.20. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII. p. 289, 290.

Note 3.p.20. Herodotus. III. 41.

Note 4.p.20. To believe Clement of Alexandria, the image of a lyre was engraved on this seal (Paed. 59); but there is no great dependence to be placed on this evidence of a writer of the late epoch, who claims that the stone dear to Polycrates

was preserved in the temple of Concord at Rome, and that it was a sardonyx and wrought by the tool. (Pliny. H. N. XXXVII, 4, 8. Strabo (Xiv. 1, 18) on the contrary, speaks of an engraving very carefully made; perhaps he had no positive data on this subject, reasoned well and declined.

The industry of cutting fine stones at about this time in S Samos certainly occupied a number of very skilful workmen, and again the name of Theodoros was pronounced in regard to the golden plane-tree, beneath which the king of Persia is said to have been enthroned, and of that golden vine extending its branches over a couch.⁵ In these goldsmith's works, the emerald would have represented the green grapes, and rubies with their red brilliancy, the ripe grapes. Theodoros would thus have been the distant predecessor of Lalique. To give the honor to this artist for all the important works executed in this kind in the Samian workshops, it was necessary for his initiative to have executed decisive effects on the progress of his profession. Now one word of Pliny informs us of the nature of the service rendered. Among the inventions attributed to Theodoros by the historians of art, whose statements are reproduced by Pliny, appears that of the lathe.¹ What meaning is properly assigned to the word invention has been explained by us elsewhere.² In the 6th century, industry had behind it in the acquirement of the civilizations of the Orient a past too long and too full, for a newcomer to have a great chance to innovate in the order of technics; but on that ground the Greeks had much to learn there from their elders. Some one of them in the course of his travels might succeed in appropriating and placing at the service of his compatriots one of those methods, which from time immemorial was in use in the valley of the Euphrates or that of the Nile, and without further inquiry, public gratitude saluted him with the name of inventor, his task had been merely a fortunate and skilful importer.

Note 1. p. 21. Pliny. H. N. VII. 128.

Note 2. p. 21. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII. p. 289.

By the effect of one of those mistakes, Theodoros passed for having invented this engraver's lathe already employed by the Mycenaean workmen. Among the intaglios later than the year 600, there are very few that appear to have been executed without the aid of the treadle and the lathe. The equipment of the en-

engraver thenceforth is that devoted to this kind of work during the following centuries, and also in our days. There is but a slight difference. In the very archaic intaglios, even the most careful, the hollow surfaces of the intaglio remain slightly rough or at least matted. Only toward the beginning of the 5th century did the artist undertake to obtain there the brilliant polish, that from that time will become the rule in this sort of works.³

Note 3.p.21. Furtwängler. Vol. III. p. 92.

From the 6th century were no longer employed the opaque and soft stones only in case to work more rapidly, they desired to do without the use of the lathe. Seals so fashioned must cost much less than the others, even when their engraving was not neglected.

Neither then nor later did they attempt to engrave those stones with an alumina base, most precious of all, which the modern jeweler calls corundums.⁴ They are almost as difficult to cut as the diamond; even when mounted in the lathe, the tool will succeed not in modeling the image with any freedom. As if to console themselves for that inability, it was declared to be a sacrilege to attack by steel the purity of gems of such beautiful water.¹

Note 4.p.21. On the classification, chemical composition, and the names both ancient and modern of precious and semi-precious stones, see Babelon. *La gravure en pierres fines*, p. 5-22; also Article *Gemmae* in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* of Daremberg and Saglio.

Note 1.p.22. Pliny. H. N. XXXVI. (Latin); XXXVIII, 16, he speaks of a law that forbade the engraver; but at the same time avows, that had one attempted to do this, he would not have succeeded; "the hardness of the emeralds of Scythia and of Egypt is such, that it would not be possible to cut them."

What men loved to work in the workshops, that supplied seals of luxury, were fine stones with a base of silica, varieties of quartz that reproduced with a little less brilliancy the vivid colors of the corundums and their most delicate shades, not offering so much resistance to the tool. Those most frequently found in the series of archaic intaglios are cornelian, chalcedony, ribbon agate and sardonyx. Rock crystal is less frequently found. No amethysts. Some specimens of false emerald

are mentioned, and a quartz that produces to the eye the illusion of the emerald. Glass pastes are still very rare; only later became general the use of that material, where the type of the seal was obtained by modeling in relief, which permitted the furnishing cheaply seals of a sufficiently beautiful appearance. The pieces of this sort which date from this time are mostly made of a blue glass, which aims to produce the effect of lapis lazuli.

In the manner that was distributed in the entire Greek world the knowledge and practical familiarity with the processes of execution, seals were multiplied and the images engraved thereon showed progress, that about the same time was made elsewhere in the workshops of the ceramists and sculptors. Its new mastery was in the figures of animals, of which the engraver made proof. He then showed a marked preference for the type of the lion. He could scarcely study this type from nature; but the arts of the Orient offered him faithful proofs taken from life, which he interpreted with rare skill. The intaglios exhibit this lion in all attitudes, here walking with slow steps and the gait of the cat (Pl. I, 5), there springing in full course (Pl. I, 2), elsewhere in repose, half crouched on the ground and devouring his prey. Men no less loved to represent him as landed on the prey, that he tears with his claws. His victim is sometimes the bull (Pl. II, 13) and sometimes a stag (Pl. II, 4). This struggle is one of the favorite themes of contemporary sculpture; there on the friezes or pediments of the temples, the engraver took the idea;¹ but his desire to vary his repertory suggested to him images such as the loneliness between two cubs (Pl. II, 7), or this lion passing and a bird flying above it (Pl. II, 5). If several of these intaglios are of a very archaic style, the progress of the art has caused the omission of this type. About the year 500 seems to date a scarab of beautiful execution on which is seen a lioness ready to spring. Above is the Ionian inscription:—Aristotelechēs (Fig. 21).

Note 1. p. 23. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Figs. 178, 278, 283.

Without appearing so frequently, the bull is not absent. Here he walks slowly (Fig. 22). There the artist has only given the front portion. The head is lowered as if to strike with the horns (Pl. II, 16). One also meets with a motive dear to Mycenaean art, the cow suckling her calf (Pl. I, 16).² It is in a

again an old tradition resumed by the engraver, when he shows with the elegant suppleness of their movements the ibex and the deer. Here is an ibex bounding, agile and light (Pl. II, 18). Elsewhere walk near each other a stag and a hind (Pl. I, 7). These are not the sole animals represented on those intaglios. One also finds there the horse rolling on the ground (Pl. II, 15), the wild boar bounding (Pl. II, 21), the ram (Pl. G, 9), a harrier that seems to flush a bird (Pl. I, 6), a water spaniel (Pl. I, 11). Elsewhere is a crouching dog. He throws his head back to try to catch the insect that flutters and torments him (Pl. I, 15). Sometimes because of the narrowness of the field, only the front portion of the animal is placed on it, his protome, as the Greeks said. Thus in several stones one finds back to back the protomes of the horse and the lion, and of a wild boar or of two bulls (Pl. III, 24).

Note 2, p. 23. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI. Pl. XVI, 15.

The engraver no less delights in multiplying the images of all those artificial beings, that from the repertory of oriental artists have passed into that of Greek artists. Here is a winged lion (Pl. III, 1), the winged and horned lion with a cross in the field (Pl. III, 22), a winged wild boar (Pl. II, 11), a winged monster with the head of a wild boar and the tail of a fish, another monster with the head of a goat with wings and a bird's tail (Pl. III, 2), a winged griffin bounding (Pl. III, 10), or that walks slowly. The wings are pressed against each other and recurved forward (Pl. III, 6), or are widely separated (Pl. III, 10). The sphynx also very frequently appears. It is either seated on the ground (Pl. I, 10), or as at Delphi, on the monument of the Naxians, is on a base in the form of a capital (Pl. III, 8). Elsewhere he devours an antelope (Pl. III, 20) or the corpse of a man (Pl. I, 16). He is also found crouching and turning the head, as if to listen to some one speaking to him.

The same turn of the imagination which produced the dactyliograph has also frequently placed on seals figures of demons. The Greeks termed those beings of badly defined nature, that in the popular belief were placed between the heroes sung by the poets and the great gods of Olympus. Mycenaean glyptics had multiplied the images of these demons. They reappear here, but are less singular, less designed to produce the impression

of horror and fright. Doubtless because they respond to superstitions accredited in certain cantons, there are seen to persist some of the demoniac types of former times, for example, that of the personage with the legs and thighs of a man having the torso of a lion (Fig. 23). It is the same for the monster with the human body and the head of a bull; that is the Minotaur of Cretan myths. Elsewhere, to give that monster a more terrible aspect, he is given the doubled head of a bull with two serpents in hand, that he holds by the middle of the body (Fig. 24). A certain demon has the head of an ass. Another under a human head has a body, wings and legs of a cock.¹

Note 1.p.25. Furtwängler. Vol. III. p. 100.

On the other hand, here is a demon whose prototype does not seem to be found in the glyptics of ancient ages. Bearded and winged, he is represented in the conventional attitude of running, one knee bent to touch the ground. He is clothed in a short tunic; a cuirass covers the chest; in the right hand he holds a corpse that he grasps in his rush; with the left he drags behind him a quadruped drawn at too small a scale for it to be possible to define the species (Pl. III, 19).² It has been desired to recognize Phobos in it. He personified frightfulness, that on fields of battle took possession of routed armies, and on hunting grounds, of game surrounded in the battue.³

Note 2.p.25. Furtwängler. Pl. VI, 81.

Note 3.p.25. The same. Vol. III, p. 100.

Like Phobos, the Gorgon was represented on the shields of heroes. Her grimacing mask was thought to spread terror. For this reason it often appears on seals as tamer of wild beasts and of monsters.⁴ She is here on a beautiful intaglio, where she holds two serpents by the necks (Fig. 25). Near the type of the Gorgon, that of the Harpy is distinguished from it by the rear part of a horse.⁵

Note 4.p.25. Furtwängler. Pl. VI, 48, VII, 38-40.

Note 5.p.25. The same. Vol. III. p. 101.

Like the Gorgon and the Harpy, the Centaur is a being of violence and passion. In glyptics as in archaic statuary, the Centaur has the entire body of a man in front.⁶ The engraver places him in combat with a lion (Pl. III, 13), or in opposition to a woman (Pl. III, 14). In this last image he has attached

to the shoulders of the monster wings that are not usually given to him by Hellenic art.¹ On the contrary, he shows himself faithful to one of the most constant traditions of that art, when he makes the centaur a ravisher of woman (Fig. 26).

Note 6p.25. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, fig. 115; VIII, 102.

Note 1.p.23. However a winged centaur is on a painted vase of the Dipylon (Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, fig. 96).

The type of the Satyr in certain respects is related to that of the Centaur. The satyr resembles the centaur in the breadth of his face, whose lower part is inclosed by a tufted beard. He has the ears and tail of the horse. As lewd as the centaur, like him he pursues the nymphs of the forests (Fig. 27). This image is freely placed on seals. He was reputed to bring good fortune to those to whom he was willing to disclose the secrets of the mysterious wisdom, that he had brought with him from the Phrygian valleys.² Doubtless for that reason, on a scarab he is seen to approach a sphynx, that he holds by the hair. Perhaps there is a trace of some myth not preserved to us by literary tradition, and in which the satyr played the part of solver of enigmas, which that tradition attributed to Oedipus. (Fig. 28).

Note 2.p.26. Aristotle, quoted by Plutarch (Consolation of Apollonios, 27). See Plato. Banquet, p. 221, 222).

One can count in the number of the best works of this glyptics two intaglios that represent, one a nude satyr dancing before the cratera from which he has taken the wine in the cup held in his hand,³ the other being a satyr seated on a rock on which rests his right arm. His left hand lifts the cup that he has just emptied. Before him in the field is the cratera (Pl. I, 13). A rarer theme is that of a satyr driving a chariot drawn by two of those lions, which sculpture had borrowed early from the cycle of Cybele to give them a place in the cortege of Dionysos.³

Note 3.p.26. Furtwängler. Pl. VIII, 4).

The demons that inhabit the shores and waters of the sea appear here, but more rarely. Yet there are several images of the satyr. It is represented as a woman with two wings attached to her back, whose body is covered by scales and terminates in the tail of a fish. In one hand she holds an object that seems to be a mirror and in the other a crown (Fig. 29). This is the

Siren of the *Odyssey*, the songstress that symbolizes the seductive and deadly power of woman.¹ Scylla is recognized in another type, that also recalls the memory of Homer. The artist has simplified with much taste the type described by the poet.² A torso of a young and beautiful woman, clad in a tunic that shows her form, is fixed to the body of a fish that terminates in front in the head and paws of a dog. The right arm of the woman extends in a gesture of menace; the left rests on the rump of the monster. The intaglio is quite crowded in execution and certainly dates from the 5th century.

Note 4.p.28. Furtwängler. Pl. VIII, 42.

Note 1.p.27. Homer. *Odyssey*. XII, 155-200.

Note 2.p.27. Homer. *Odyssey*. XII. 85-100.

More complex themes place the human figure in connection with all those artificial beings. One recognizes there groups that have had a meaning in oriental art, but have lost it in roving about the world.³ Here is the sphinx or the griffin that overthrows a young man,⁴ or a nude man is between two sphinxes that he holds by the paws. (Pl. I, 5).

Note 3.p.27. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II. Pls. 305, 331, 332, 444, Vol. III, Pls. 425, 426, 456, 443.

Note 4.p.21. Furtwängler. Pl. VII, 30.

What then dominates in the series of engraved stones of the 6th century are all these figures of real or fanciful animals, of monsters and demons. They please by their exotic appearance. Also some are recommended by a secret virtue attributed to them by popular superstitions. A certain type was thought to bring good fortune. Another, like that of the Gorgon, had the character of apotropaion. It passed as turning aside misfortune, or protecting from its attacks the owner of the seal on which was engraved this image. It was more difficult to attach ideas of this kind to the representation of the Olympian deities. Thus these only appear to us as figured on a small number of archaic intaglios, where perhaps they evidence the particular devotion borne toward a certain deity by the person to whom belonged the seal.

The Apollo Phileios of Kanachos, one of the largest works in statuary of the 6th century, held a fawn in his right and extended hand.⁵ Other monuments also attest the relation that the cult of art had established between the divine artist and

the deer. Then men have not hesitated to recognize Apollo in a personage clad in a tunic closely girded at the waist, holding the bow in his right hand and an arrow in the left; before him is a deer (Pl. III, 25). Likewise again Apollos are two nude young men playing the lyre; one has one knee placed on the rump of a deer; the other kneels on the ground.¹ The latter holds a flower in his hand. This alludes to the name of Hyacinthos, under which this god was honored at Amyclea and Iarente. Two intaglios show Apollo returning from his journey to the Hyperboreans.² Like the Lohengrin of romance of the round table, he is borne by a swan that traverses the seas; but this not the god desired to be engraved by the cutter of an elegant intaglio found in the Peloponnesus (Pl. I, 12). The nude personage there that rides the swan with spread wings is bearded, and before the neck of the bird, written in very small letters, is read the word *heros*, the hero. On the contrary, Apollo is thought to be found in the image of a nude young man with a short mantle cast over his shoulders, that holds a branch in one hand and a sceptre in the other. Behind him is a deer and a hawk is higher on the field (Fig. 30). This intaglio seems to be a copy of a statue of the first quarter of the 5th century.³ The stone was found at Sparta. Perhaps the engraver was inspired by one of the idols that stood then in the temples of that city.

Note 5.p.27. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 472, fig. 212.

Note 1.p.28. *Furtwängler*. Pl. VI, 38; VIII, 22.

Note 2.p.28. The same. Vol. III, p. 96-97; fig. 68.

Note 3.p.28. The same. Vol. III, p. 97.

More rarely represented, Artemis is scarcely more than the queen of the wild beasts. Sometimes she is seen springing in full course. Beneath her feet is a lion. From her extended arms hang a roebuck and a hare (Fig. 31). Elsewhere she holds in the same fashion a roebuck and a lion; but she has wings on her back.⁴ This is the type that is called the Persian Artemis.

Note 4.p.28. *Furtwängler*. Pl. VI, 51.

Hermes, the god of travels and of commerce, was indicated as the protector of the integrity of the seal, whose impression served as a guarantee of transactions; thus his image appears more frequently on seals than those of many other deities of Olympus. The most curious of these images is that presented to us by a cone of chalcedony (Fig. 32). Hermes is there beardless

and in festal costume, the mantle thrown over his shoulders above a long tunic. He holds a flower in the right hand and the caduceus in the left. A wing is attached to each heel. Before him is an eagle, that as the messenger of Zeus duplicates Hermes in a way. What is very particular here is the headdress of the god. Instead of the petasus by which he is usually recognized, he has on his head a sort of pointed cap. This cap has the form of that worn by Scythians in the paintings on vases; but here it terminates in a wing at the top. Perhaps Hermes is figured there in his function of guide of the shades, with that cap of Hades that made him invisible.¹ Elsewhere the god of the palestra is represented by the engraver with the traits of a supple and vigorous ephebe. He is nude, except for a light mantle that falls in equal folds on both arms, and he has the caduceus in the hand. Over his short hair extends a wide petasus (Fig. 33). Here is no further trace of archaism than the so regular parallelism of the folds of the himation and the conventional pose of half kneeling. The modeling of the body is free and well shown. Sometimes one is also contented to place on intaglios only the head of the god, defined by the cap that is its constant attribute (Pl. III, 12).

Note 1. p. 29. Homer. *Iliad*. V, 844, Aristophanes. *Acharnians*. V, 390; Plato. *Republic*. X, p. 612-B.

Athena does not seem to have inspired much the engravers of the archaic age. There is found to cite only one image on foot, and there is still a doubt as to the name properly to be given to this figure. No egis or wings on the back.² On the contrary, indeed the type consecrated by sculpture is found in the quite numerous intaglios, where the artist is satisfied to engrave the head of Pallas. On one of those pieces he has placed the owl beside the profile of the goddess (Fig. 34); but also this name is again imposed on other helmeted heads not accompanied by this accessory (Pl. III, 15).

Note 2. p. 29. Furtwängler. *Pl.* VI, 56.

One cannot cite for this period intaglios on which are figured Zeus, Hades, Dionysos, Ares, Hera, Aphrodite, Demeter and Kore. Statuary had not yet created for these divine personages types, that worthily correspond to the conceptions suggested by the genius of its poets. When these had been translated into grand art by forms, that will give entire satisfaction to thought

and to taste, glyptics will seek its models there. It is thus with a number of intaglios after the end of the 5th century, that will reproduce the head of Zeus of Phidias. It will be the same for the nude Aphrodite after Praxiteles.

In the 6th century, still unable to give much expression to the lines of the face, sculpture specially devoted its efforts to the types that could furnish it with an occasion to show the body in varied attitudes in the beauty of movement. For this reason the sculptor of the time accorded to Hercules in his composition a privileged place.¹ The engravers of fine stones in that respect followed the example of the sculptors. H Hercules is the god whose image is most frequently found on the intaglios of the archaic age.²

Note 1. p. 30. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 224, 258-260, 363, 366, 373, 378, 410, 485-486, 532, 549, 654.

Note 2. p. 30. This type is found not less than 13 times in Furtwängler's plates. See Vol. III, p. 99.

He very properly appears with one knee bent in the conventional attitude of the race. He is bearded and holds the bow and the club (Fig. 35). He sometimes turns his head as if he wished to watch an enemy advancing behind him (Pl. III, 7). Hercules is also represented standing and walking, sometimes as a hunter of wild beasts. With the right hand, he brandishes his club above his head, and a fox seems hanging from the same arm. The left hand holds a lion by the tail, that in vain attempts to raise his head to bite (Fig. 36). One also sees in the intaglios, as in the sculptures of Attic pediments, the hero struggling against the hydra of Lerne³ and against the marine god.⁴ Elsewhere he overthrows the lion of Nemea, already himself covered by the skin of the lion (Pl. I, 21). An episode that has tempted more than one artist is the combat against the river Acheloos, figured as a bull rushing forward with lowered head.¹ There has also been freely represented the removal of the Delphic tripod. Here Hercules and Apollo contend for the tripod and seek to tear it from each other's hands;² There Hercules goes off alone carrying his booty and accompanied by the dog Cerberus.³ A scarab of dry and hard work shows the hero receiving the reward of his exploits. A woman clothed in a long robe, Hebe or Nike, holds out a crown to him, that he receives stand-

standing, with one foot placed on a rock (Pl. III, 9). Other intaglios date only from the first years of the 5th century and represent Hercules in varied attitudes, which the engraver seems to have chosen especially to exhibit his talent in drawing the nude male body.⁴

Note 3.p.30. Furtwängler. Pl. VI, 55.

Note 4.p.30. The same. Pl. IX, 2. See *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 273-274.

Note 1.p.31. The same. Pl. VIII, 3.

Note 2.p.31. The same. Pl. VIII, 40.

Note 3.p.31. The same. Pl. VIII, 3.

Note 4.p.31. The same. Pl. VIII, 33, 54; Pl. X, 4.

The winged and flying Nike that we have seen originate at Delos appears on many stones, that are the product of an already advanced art;⁵ but one type that one is more surprised to meet in this series is that of this Eros, whose images would be so greatly multiplied in the art of the 5th century. One cannot refuse to recognize it in a winged genius, that holds a crown in one hand and a lyre in the other and soars through space (Fig. 37). It is him again on a Cypriote scarab, that carries off in the air a young girl clasped in his arms (Fig. 38). This is a seal that Sappho might have ordered for her personal use from some engraver of Lesbos.

Note 5.p.31. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 304-305.

Glyptics has given only a very limited place to the various episodes of the heroic myths. It has not followed the example offered to it very early by the ceramic painters. The reason for that difference is easily explained. The dimensions of a seal being given, the engraver was obliged to content himself most frequently with a single figure. At most he could place two figures in this very narrow field. Now the themes that the epic period supplied to the artist usually placed in the scene several persons at the same time. It is understood that in these conditions the dactylographs only borrowed very rarely from this repertory. Yet they have interpreted some of those fables. On a very ancient intaglio that came from Cyprus, and which bears an inscription in Cypriote characters, there are even three personages, the Minotaur, Theseus plunging his sword into its belly, and behind is Ariadne who seems to hold a bow in her hand (Fig. 39). It is again the Cretan myth that has

furnished the group of Europa carried off by the bull.¹ Castor and Pollux are recognized in two nude young men facing each other. Each has a hand placed on an amphora (Pl. III, 4). Perhaps it is necessary to see a Ganymede in a nude young man, seen in profile and with legs far apart and the right knee on the ground. On the left arm extended forward, he holds a cock that seems to beat his wings. With the right hand thrown backward, he holds a crook. Behind him his dog is running. (Pl. I, 20).

Note 1.p.32. Furtwängler. Pl. VI, 63; VIII, 5.

The heroes of the Trojan war are shown on intaglios, that mostly belong to the end of the archaic period. Seated on a rock, as he looked on the sea during his captivity in the island of Calypso, Ulysses is characterized by a pileus or pointed cap.. (Pl. I, 19). Another intaglio alludes to an adventure of the hero that has often served as a theme for the painters of vases; it shows him concealed beneath the belly of a ram. A beautiful scarab appears to represent Philoctetes at Lemnos (Pl. III, 18). The hero is entirely nude and bearded, standing surrounded by foliage. One hand rests on a staff and he extends the other with a gesture of anguish, his eyes are fixed on a young man who crouches before him and takes hold of his foot to dress his wound. Here on another intaglio, whose execution is also very careful, Eneas bears his father Anchises (Pl. I, 14). Eneas with one knee on the ground rests one hand on his spear that aids him to rise; he has his shield on the left arm,, and is represented at the moment when he has just taken his father on his shoulder; he is beardless and entirely nude. Anchises is bald; he has the emaciated features of an old man and a long beard; the chlamys covers his shoulders, he carries in one hand a sort of casket. One can perhaps give the name of Teucer to a kneeling archer, which was certainly one of the most precious pieces of the Collection of Pauvert de la Chapelle, that the liberality of the owner caused to enter the cabinet of antiques of the National Library.¹ The archer is beardless with one knee on the ground, covered by a helmet with a point and a cover for the nape. His quiver hangs at his side. Before him is his bow. He holds an arrow in both hands that he seems to straighten. The body seems covered by a sort of tight clothing with rings on pins (Pl. I, 25).

Note 1.p.33. Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle. Intaglios

and cameos given to the department of medals and antiques of the Bibliothèque nationale; Catalogue edited by E. Babelon. 1899. One can recommend to all persons of taste the reading of the vivid and intelligent Notice, that M. Babelon has placed at the head of his Catalogue. It contains curious details concerning the person of M. Pauvert de la Chapelle and the manner in which his collection was formed.

Perhaps we should have dispensed with seeking a name for that archer. A number of images of the same kind appear to have been engraved on seals only for themselves, for the pleasure found in seeing presented in the attitude accenting the forms and contours of this human body, that was then and will always remain the theme of excellence for sculpture. There is a pose for which archaic art had a marked preference, that in which one of the two legs is bent under the torso, while the other is thrown forward and bent at the knee.² Thus is obtained a happy balancing of lines, which gives the impression of strength in repose. Sometimes this attitude seems required by the occupation to which the personage devotes himself, as in the case of the archer that bends his bow, or in that of a young man who looks intently at a rod or perhaps a plumb line held in his right hand (Pl. III, 23); but most frequently the engraver has not taken the trouble to give a motive for the pose. He is satisfied to place in the hand of the kneeling person a cup, flower or a lyre.³

Note 2.p.33. This is the pose of certain figures on the treasury of Cnidos, of Delphi (Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, Fig. 162). Likewise at the treasury of Megara at Olympia. (The same. Fig. 231).

Note 3.p.33. Furtwängler. Pl. VIII, 19, 25. -

A type that surprises us at first sight because not found in this series, is that called the archaic Apollo, of the Apollos of Orchomene, Thera and Tenea.⁴ Reflection explains the absence of these images. When the engravers were wearied by repeating to satiety on their seals the figures of animals, and then complex figures of monsters and of the genii of oriental origin, the hour was past for these cold phantoms with arms fixed to the body and legs close together. Men desired more and better. They already aspired to show the male body in free and varied poses, in all the energy and warmth of movement. Thus we cannot

be surprised to find on several of these intaglios motives, that recall certain modes taken by statuary in the second half of the 6th century and the first years of the 5th. Here is a hoplite covered by his armor, like the Aristion of the stele of Velanidezza, (Fig. 40).¹ There the ephebe is nude. Like the spear held in the hand on the reliefs of the Attic steles,² is the helmet covering the young man and the shield suspended from his left arm, which recall his role as a soldier (Fig. 41). Elsewhere he is seen occupied, on his calves the greaves of metal (Fig. 42). Here is a warrior in flight. He is nude and is covered by a round helmet with crest. He protects his flight by his great round shield, and he holds by the middle of the blade a sort of long scimeter (Pl. I, 18). It is again the memory of war recalled by an archer standing and bending his bow,³ and a wounded man thrown on the ground, that makes an effort to rise and fight again.⁴ Many seals allude to the pleasures of the chase. An ephebe holds a hare placed on his extended arm.⁵ Another leans on his staff and plays with his dog (Fig. 43). We know this motive already by two beautiful Attic steles.⁶ With helmet on head and shield on arm, a rider pursues a wild beast that seems to be a wild boar (Pl. III, 26).

Note 4.p.33. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. Figs. 133, 138, 280.

Note 1.p.34. The same. Fig. 72.

Note 2.p.34. The same. Fig. 343.

Note 3.p.34. *Furtwängler*. Pl. IX, 3.

Note 4.p.34. The same. Pl. LXIII, 4. See *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Figs. 175, 177, 231.

Note 5.p.34. The same. Pl. IX, 8.

Note 6.p.34. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. Figs. 73, 158.

Other intaglios aim at the exercises of the gymnasium. On one of them is an ephebe, who to remove from his skin the dust and sweat, scrapes the lower part of his leg with the strigil. (Fig. 44). This is a motive which will serve as a pretext for the sculpture of the 5th century to diversify its statues of athletes. On other seals is seen the strigil in the hands of gymnasts or near them, then the flasks of oil, the ball and discus, and all the implements of the palestra.¹

Note 1.p.35. *Furtwängler*. Pl. VII, 81; VIII, 50, 53; IX, 8.

The sons of the better families served in the cavalry. For

this reason they are sometimes represented on seals, as on the Attic steles riding at a walk or a gallop,² sometimes alighting from their mount or walking beside it.³ Almost a masterpiece is a scarab that was one of the jewels of the Collection Tyskiewicz (Fig. 19). A nude young man supporting himself on the ground with his left leg thrown forward, restrains with the reins a horse that seeks to rear. These scenes of equestrian life are complicated by representations of quadrigas, some seen in front. (Pl. III, 21) and the others in profile.⁴

Note 2.p.35. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Figs. 51, 388; *Die attische Grabsteine*, Pls. I, IX, X, XI.

Note 3.p.35. *Furtwängler*. Pl. VIII, 62, 63, 64; IX, 13, 15.

Note 4.p.35. The same. Pl. IX, 10; VIII, 55.

Female figures are very rare here; they are barely represented by some images of goddesses. Not without some surprise does one verify the absence of a type, whose examples have been multiplied by sculptors and coroplasts, that of the woman in festival garments who brings her offering to the temple.⁵ On the other hand, even at the beginning of the 5th century, they did not yet seek its theme of female nudity. The sole image of this kind that we find to cite is that of a woman, who crouches before a fountain and leans over to fill her urn. She is nude; this is to pour over her body what she collects of the water escaping from a lion's mouth (Fig. 45). The idea of this subject might be suggested by one of those bathing scenes, which the ceramic painters loved to draw on their vases.⁶

Note 5.p.35. See all the Kores of the Acropolis (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII).

Note 6.p.35. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Figs. 3-38.

A number of intaglios represent detached heads, especially the heads of helmeted warriors. Some are bearded (Pl. III, 5); some are beardless (Pl. III, 11). Here is one without the helmet, which is notable for the singular elongation of the skull (Pl. III, 15, 17; scarab). There are also masks of odd appearance with great round eyes, wide mouth open to show the teeth.¹ Were not these masks of demons?

Note 1.p.36. *Furtwängler*. Pl. VIII, 61.

At the beginning of the archaic age, rare are rings with solid bezel on which the image is engraved on the same metal of which

is made the ring; toward the beginning of the 6th century, they become more common; but the tablet of the bezel presents an arrangement differing from that on the Mycenaean rings of the same kind. There the oval field of the ring has its major-axis parallel to the length of the finger.² Here on the contrary, this axis is perpendicular to the same length. The form of this tablet recalls Egypt. It is that of a cartouche with rounded angles on which the scribes inscribe the name and titles of the king.

Note 2.p.30. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, Figs. 420, 421.

All those rings with a metal bezel came from Etruria; but I like the painted vases contained in the sepulchres of that country, they are of Greek workmanship. The choice of themes suffices to indicate this. On the tablet of a gold ring is seen Apollo mounted on a chariot drawn by two winged horses (Fig. 46). Leaning forward, he discharges his arrows against Tityos, The giant flees, his side already pierced by two arrows. Before him is a figure of a woman. This is the goddess Gea, the land of which he is the son and in whose arms he seeks refuge. On a vase also found in an Etruscan tomb, this subject is treated in nearly the same fashion as on the ring (Fig. 47). The sole difference is that in the painting a griffin is behind Apollo. Nothing similar on the bezel, the engraver has not found space for that detail. The personages are nearly the same there and are in quite similar attitudes. On both is the same form of a chariot and of wings; the same dog running between the legs of the horses. One has the impression that the two objects, the vase and the ring, left adjacent workshops, from the same centre of art workers. In regard to this has been proposed a hypothesis confirmed by the study of the products of ceramics collected in the cemeteries of Vulci and of Caere.

There has not been found in Greece and Ionia a single one of those rings with the engraving executed on the metal of the bezel. What predominates on these intaglios on gold and silver is the supernatural and fanciful element. By their character the images noted recall the figures that Tuscan art has distributed everywhere in works that bear the proper mark of its ideas and of its taste. It has been stated, that Greek workmen were established in small groups in the principal cities of Et-

Etruria. They had continued to treat their favorite themes, and their hands had retained their processes of execution; but at the same time, they were preoccupied in presenting to their rich patrons forms familiar to their eyes. In the entire first half of the 6th century, the Phoenicians must have been in the first rank of those foreign artisans. Of all Ionians, they then pushed the boldest points toward the West. They opened Spain and founded Massilia. A little later, they sought to fix themselves in Corsica. They were driven from thence by the coalition of the Etruscans and Carthaginians; but they were happier in southern Italy. They gave birth to that city of Velia, known for the beauty of its silver coins.¹

Note 1. p. 37. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p. 89-90.

A curious phenomenon, that we must note here in passing, without stopping to furnish its proofs, is the influence that from this epoch Greek art began to exert on the Phoenician engravers.² Thenceforth that art is animated by a life sufficiently intense to make its influence felt by those, that had at first been attentive and docile pupils. By a sort of reaction, it already imposed on them on a certain measure the imitation of its style and its types; thus it preludes its final triumph, those successive conquests made of it in our West after the 4th century, the art of all civilized humanity.

Note 2. p. 37. Furtwängler. Vol. III, p. 108-115.

It is in regard to the figurines in terra cotta that has been noted the moment, when tends to be manifested in the domain of form this reaction of Hellenic genius;¹ but it is no less marked and is produced at the same time on the ground of numismatics and of glyptics. To speak at present only of these, many very visible traces of these contacts and of this action are found in intaglios, certainly executed by Phoenician workmen, some of whom came from Cyprus, others from the coasts of Syria, and even a greater number from the tombs of Carthage, and particularly the cemeteries of Sardinia, where abound those scarabs, mostly cut in green jasper. We have already given many specimens of these engraved stones;² we cannot delay to return to them. By private analysis, the historian of glyptics has brought to light the analogies presented by the Greek series to the Phoenician series, certain types that Greece took from

oriental art, to return them modified, refined and ennobled. For example, this comparison has established for the Egypto-Phoenician type of the god Bes, that corpulent and almost ridiculously bestial dwarf with projecting eyes, flat nosed and thick lipped, from which hangs a great tongue. With his thick arms and short legs, with the relief of his enormous rump, the personage has an appearance no less strange when seen from the back as when seen from the front.³ It seems that when Greek art still had to seek its means of expression, that it borrowed from the figure of Bes certain traits, that served it to create and characterize the type of Hercules, that of Silenus and also perhaps that of the Gorgon; but later when in Greece the efforts of several generations of artists had defined the type of Hercules and had given him a certain beauty, he was seen to approach the type of the Phoenician Bes. He rose on his legs, which in the most ancient images seemed unable to support the burden of his massive torso.¹ He likewise became a conqueror of monsters. He held the lion by the throat or carried him panting and conquered on his broad shoulders.² The type of the same also insinuated itself into that oriental glyptics. It made its place beside that from which it had issued in former times, according to all appearance. Here is a scarab that came from Tharros in Sardinia (Fig. 48). The Gorgon there with nude bust holds in its two hands a mask of Bes.

Note 1.p.38. Heuzey. Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite du musée au Louvre. 1882. p. 82-86. This learned man first used the words: "shock of return, reaction," that have since become in current use in the language of archaeologists.

Note 2.p.38. Histoire de l'Art. vol. III, Figs. 423, 424, 428, 441-443, 447, 476.

Note 3.p.38. The same. Vol. I, Figs. 534-536; Vol. III, Figs. 279, 294, 418.

Note 1.p.39. The same. Vol. III, Figs. 21, 22.

Note 2.p.39. The same. Figs. 295-298.

It would be easy to cite many other examples of these borrowings. There is the form of the Greek Triton given to the fish deity adored for centuries in Syria. This is a marine god that appears to be a counterfeit of the Hellenic Poseidon. There is the very frequent use of the entirely conventional attitude of

that archaic art employed among the Ionians to represent the dash of the race. On many of these intaglios the field is filled by one of these masks, or by one of those isolated heads, that Greek engravers loved to place on their seals. From all these imitations we divine, that henceforth in Phoenician workshops in Sardinia as in Syria, men did not hesitate to confess the superiority of Grecian art and to copy its motives. Further, these imitations cannot deceive the eye of a connoisseur. The execution always has a certain dryness and coldness, even in pieces where the work is most careful.

On the contrary among the Greeks, the desire to refer to nature and to furnish a faithful transcript of it is already announced in the most ancient intaglios; but the effort is more interesting there by the aims shown than by the happy success in execution. Thus to indicate there the divisions of the brawny mass of the straight external muscles of the abdomen, it is necessary to make on the abdomen three parallel ridges (Pl. I, 18, 24), or sometimes leave vague the entire modeling of that region of the body. That later became on the image more conformed to reality. The white line is very clearly marked, and the double swelling formed by the flesh between the aponeuroses, of the two sides of this vertical groove, are represented by three or four balls cut from the roll (Pl. I, 8). Doubtless there is something conventional in this procedure of rendering; but at least one divines there the firm intention to reproduce with sincerity the characteristic traits of the model. This is what one also feels in the drawing of the rest of the person, and especially of the members. Those were at first figured in only a quite summary and perhaps schematic fashion; but as the artist became more skilful, he endeavored to give enough vigor and accent to the contour, that one could distinguish there the relief of the principal muscles. Besides, even where the tool is most skilful, there is always some hardness in these indications. The engraver is constrained by the narrowness of the field to simplify the drawing of his figure, that it is difficult for him to recall those facts by which in nature are connected together the different planes, that are superimposed and intersect in the covering of the skeleton. To obtain the desired effect, he accents, emphasizes and underlines. The muscles sometimes have in the best of his works something of that

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ness, that we have mentioned in certain reliefs of the treasury of Chloos;¹ this is the case in the Hercules racing in the Collection Luynes (Pl. I, 20). It would also be easy to note in even the pieces in which the art appears most advanced, certain faults in drawing, whose example was given to the engraver by contemporaneous statuary until the eve of the Median wars. This is the front eye in the profile head, a detail only possible to verify on the originals; the bust that develops in its full breadth above the thighs seen from the side (Pl. I, 20); for the lower members a slight lack of accord in the manner in which are presented the two legs.

Note 1.p.40. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p. 378.

For example, here is a curious intaglio in which these defects are very apparent. (Pl. I, 24). It represents a warrior, which with his left arm covers himself with a wide round shield. The right hand holds a long spear. In the field is a long spear behind the warrior, under this is a crown, the head and body of the person are modeled with much accuracy and certainty, but the legs are arranged in such a strange fashion, that one asks what is the movement that the engraver desired to represent? It has been proposed to see there a combatant extended on earth, who pulls from his side the javelin that wounded him;² but a soldier lying on the ground would thus make such a great deviation with one leg extended to the left and the other bent to the right. We should rather see there a hazardous variation, an exaggeration of the attitude by which archaic art sought to indicate the dash of a rapid race (Pl. I, 20). Here to better indicate his intention, instead of bending the leg backward, the artist has extended it horizontally. In his desire to attain expression, he has forced the effect.

Note 2.p.40. This intaglio is described thus in the manuscript inventory of the Cabinet.

As much as to the beauty of the nude form, the engraver is sensitive to that of movement; but he does not imitate the boldness of the Mycenaean engraver. The latter played with the difficulty, as it is said. Without worrying about the chances of failure, he first attempted to render the most violent movements, and at the cost of numerous inaccuracies, he had very happy successes in order of attempts. The engraver of the 6th

century proceeds differently. At the beginning he contents himself with a very small number of attitudes that he long exerted himself to reproduce. Thus there is one for which he has a very marked preference. This is that of kneeling, which lends itself better than any other to fill the field of the seal. He gradually becomes bolder and diversifies the movements. The most lively, like that of Hercules in combat with the lion of Nemea, does not frighten his graver (Pl. I, 21). He seeks thus to amuse the eye by their novelty, such as that of the same was occupied in fastening his sandal (Fig. 49), and that of the young man all whose strength is spent in restraining a rearing horse (Fig. 19). The body is presented in front, sideways and even sometimes the back, in what appears to be the image of a disk-thrower (vignette at end of the Chapter). The artist even foreshortens but not without awkwardness. See this nude man crouching, whose two bent legs face the spectator (Fig. 50).

In representing the drapery is the same progress. The folds of the fabric were at first indicated only by some lines of entirely geometrical regularity; but on intaglios that must date from the second half of the 6th century, those folds have the same refinement as on the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidus. The lightness of the linen tunic is very well rendered, for one that divides the forms of the body under this transparent veil (Fig. 25). As for the hair and beard, the locks of which were at first rendered only by parallel lines or by a string of beads, as on certain very ancient heads; but on the less archaic seals, the hair is divided into curls, that extend around the brow and on the nape with entire freedom (Fig. 33).

At the close of this study there remains but one question to be examined. Where in Greece after the 7th century were produced this renaissance and this florescence of glyptics, to which are due the intaglios that we have just studied? All invites us to turn our eyes to Ionia. The historical texts, the style of the intaglios, the dialect in which are written the inscriptions read there, all concurs in suggesting the idea, that Ionian artists played the chief part in this restoration of a vanished art and the rapid flight that it took. Certain traits in the works dating from the first revival of this art are explained by the persistence of the traditions of Mycenaean skill. It is verified that these were preserved longer in Ionia

man in the rest of Greece. The intaglios on which is believed to be found the most vivid trace of of this survival mostly came from one of the islands of the Egean sea, which at that epoch were subject to all the influences of the brilliant Ionian civilization. We know from an assured source that Theodoros of Samos, that bold innovator, was pleased with the work on hard stones, and the sole engraver in the archaic age was another Samian, Mesarchos, whose name is known to us by historical evidence. The Ionian alphabet with its local varieties is recognized in the greater number of the signatures of artists or of owners that wore some of those intaglios. In many figures is believed to be found something of the elegance and suppleness, that early characterize the works of Ionian statuary. There is even a certain detail bearing the mark of its origin. Thus on one of the most beautiful intaglios of this series (Fig. 19), the harness of the horse has lotus flowers as ornaments; now that is a motive whose use is familiar to the Ionian decorator. He has lavished it on painted vases, on the sarcophagi of Clazomene, on metal overlays and elsewhere.

According to all probability, from workshops founded in Asian Greece and in the adjacent islands came the first engraved stones in the 7th century and the first half of the 6th; then when the use of those seals had extended everywhere, Ionian workmen seeking new patrons must establish themselves nearly everywhere in European Greece, and even in the distant colonies; they carried with them their tools and processes. What could not fail even to accelerate this exodus was the Persian invasion, and a little later the great disasters following the great revolt of Ionia. Among the intaglios reproduced here, whose execution is freer, more than one could have been executed at Corinth, Sicyon or Argos, Athens or Egina, in any city where the works of statuary suggested to the engraver motives with a happy effect, furnishing him with models to imitate and reduce; but in the domain of art as in that of pure thought, of history, science and philosophical speculation, the Ionians had given the impulse. The European Greeks had long delayed, but profited by these lessons and examples. On a country better protected than Asian Greece from the enterprises of oriental conquerors, after the misfortunes of Ionia, they could continue to proceed with firm and sure pace in the paths opened to them

by the bold genius of those precursors and beginners.

Chapter XV. Numismatics.

General Theory of Grecian Money.

1. Invention of Coinage.

In treating of Lydia, we accepted the tradition attributing to the Lydian kings of the dynasty of Mermades the invention of coinage.¹ This tradition was guaranteed by a witness, whose authority it is difficult to reject, Xenophanes of Colophon.² He lived in the 6th century in a country adjoining Lydia and even attached to it by bonds of vassalage. For the needs of commerce conducted with the cities of the coast, coins struck at Sardes must circulate in abundance even at Colophon and in all Ionia. Also Xenophanes interested himself greatly in all that concerned the past of his people. Before devoting himself to those philosophical speculations, that made him the first master of the celebrated school of Elaea, he had written a long poem on the founding of his native city, and on the competition that it had carried on with the colonial undertakings of the Phœceans. No one was better prepared to be accurately informed concerning the origin of an instrument of exchange, whose advantages had been so quickly seized on by the Greeks of the coast, because they hastened to appropriate the benefits. Xenophanes gave there a statement that must hold the first place. If he were born about 620 as believed, his father or at most his grandfather saw appear on the market the first ingots of pale gold on which a chief of State had placed his mark.

Note 1.p.44. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. V; Book VIII, Chap. II,2. On nearly every page of Chapters XV and XVI of Book XIII, we refer to two works that we have had constantly under our eyes while sketching this survey of the origin of the coinage of the Greek cities. First is the book of François Lenormant, unfortunately unfinished; *La monnaie dans l'antiquité*, lectures given at the National Library in 1875-1877. 1878-1879. Then is particularly a work in course of publication by our colleague, M. Eabalon: - *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*. So far has appeared part first of Vol. I in 1901. Part II of vol. I, comprising Greek coins from the origin to the Median wars. 1907. Vol. II, comprising coins of the empire and of the Persian Achaemenides, of the Semitic Orient and of Asia Minor to the 5th and 4th centuries. 1910. Part III, Atlas of plates, 1 to 85, 1907; 75 to 185, 1910. In these works will be found discussed

all the frequently complex and quite obscure problems, that appear to the historian. We cannot enter on these discussions. We must content ourselves to follow these very safe guides and state briefly from them the results, that seem to be the best acquired by the science of numismatics.

Note 2.p.44. Pollux. IX, 83.

Here again is what Herodotus, another Asian Greek, wrote in the course of the following century:— "According to our knowledge, the Lydians were the first to make use of struck coins of gold and silver."¹ For a long time was seen in that assertion of Herodotus only a pure and simple confirmation of the evidence of Xenophanes. Quite recently was proposed another interpretation of this text. The Lydian coins assigned to Gyges, Sadyattes and Alyattes are all made of that natural alloy, that the Greeks called white gold or electrum, later replaced by a coinage of pure gold and one of silver. Herodotus did not intend to state that the Lydians first succeeded in separating gold and silver, until then closely associated in the metal struck in coins.² Why he praised them was to have first known how to make coins of pure metal, gold and silver.

Note 1.p.45. Herodotus. I, 94.

Note 2.p.45. Six. Numismatische Chronik. 1890. p.210, Note 69.

The hypothesis is ingenious; but we fear that it errs by too much subtilty. We believe that Herodotus only wished to record a fact of public notoriety in all Asian Greece, the priority of invention that the historian had to credit to the Lydian monarchy. The terms that he used, it cannot be denied, there appear to apply rather to the coinage of the last king of Sardis, rather than that of his predecessors; but from the time of Herodotus, men found in the markets of Ionia scarcely any of the old staters or pale gold or the first Mermnades. For Herodotus at the beginning of the 5th century, what represented the Lydian coinage were the kind of gold and silver struck by Croesus. The reason is excellent. Circulated in great quantity, they must remain in circulation for many years after the Persian conquest in that satrapy of Asia minor, which had Sardis as its capital. Herodotus was not a numismatist. He did not inquire concerning the rudimentary types by which the shops preceded these Cnæseids, as they are called, which he saw were still so much sought in the entire Anatolian peninsula. He ou-

quite naturally thought of these Cresseids, when he believed that he should attribute to the Lydians the marvellous invention, of which they did not think, however rich and civilized they were, neither Egypt nor Chaldea. Between the pieces assigned to Gyges and those first struck in the great cities of Ionia, the resemblance is such, that it has been necessary to make a distinction, to trust to very slight indications. The same material, form, cut and appearance. All these pieces, to whatever mint they are referred, appear to date from the same time. This close resemblance has suggested a doubt, Men have asked, were not the true inventors the Ionians? Under the Mermnades, while the Lydians fought their neighbors in Ionia, they showed themselves very passionate admirers of the civilization and arts of Greece. Perhaps in imitation of the Greeks of Miletus and of Ephesus, they began to strike coins.

However specious that conjecture, we do not think there is reason to stop there. What must have given the sovereigns of Lydia the idea of thus placing on electrum clanks this impression, that like the seal of the king were both the natural conditions of the surroundings where their power was established, and the requirements of the commerce to which were devoted the people which they governed. By the exploitation of the quartz veins of Timolus and of Sipyse, as well as the washing of the auriferous sands carried down by the rivers descending from the Phrygian plateau, those princes disposed of a considerable quantity of the precious metals. On the other hand, the friendly relations maintained with the Assyrian empire had allowed them to organize a regular caravan service, which came from the great industrial cities of the basin of the Euphrates to Sardis, their capital. Now if the maritime commerce, for which a return freight is necessary, needs a natural equivalent and not a payment in specie, it is not the same for a continental commerce. "There all excess baggage requiring an addition of transport animals, the owner of the caravan in purchasing for the journey is interested in substituting a portable value of metal for merchandize, a cumtious and heavy value."¹ For this purpose those caravan men must carry with them a quantity of those rings or bars of gold or of silver, which we see represented in Egyptian paintings;² but it is necessary to continually resort to the balance to ensure that those ingots have really

the weight assigned to them by local customs. It was an idea of genius to omit the need of these weighings by stamping on the ingot a mark that should indicate and guarantee the value.³

Note 1.p.47. Radet. *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Méroades*. p. 157. No one has studied Lydia better than Radet, or defined with such precision as he has done in this Memoir, the part that this State and this people have played as intermediaries between the civilization of Asia of the Euphrates and Ionian Greece. By the same in the *Revue des universités du midi*, 189 , p. 118-121, is *L'invention de la monnaie*, Phidon d'Argos.

Note 2.p.47. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. V, Fig. 156.

Note 3.p.47. Aristotle has very well appreciated the advantage that an industrial and commercial people found by the invention of coins:- "Men agree to give and receive in exchange a material useful in itself, easily utilized in the usages of life. For example, this was iron, silver or some other analogous substance, whose dimensions and weight were at first determined, and then finally to remove the trouble of continual measurements, it was marked by a particular stamp, a sign of its value. (*Politics*. I, 6).

One asks why this idea, that seems to us very simple, had not come to the mind of some Egyptian or Chaldean monarch; but no one had it before the first years of the 7th century. The evidence and that of the monuments concur in demonstrating this. If this be so, there is no reason to question the agreeing statements of Xenophanes and of Herodotus. When the latter assures us that the Lydians were first of all men known to him to strike coins, he adds that "they were the first chapeloi."⁴ What precise meaning did he give to that word? This subject has been much discussed; but what is certain is, that by the use of this term, the historian intended to affirm that this people made proof of very special aptitude for a certain kind of commerce, distinguished by certain characteristic traits from the commerce by barter practised by the Phoenicians for several centuries on all the coasts of the Mediterranean.⁵ Apparently, what in his mind made the difference between the merchants like the Phoenicians and those designated as chapeloi was, that the latter inversely to the former, employed money to accelerate and simplify the operations of their traffic.

Note 4.p.47. Herodotus. I, 94.

Note 5.p.47. Herodotus has a very clear idea of the conditions in which were transacted Phoenician commerce; he indicates them in the beginning of his work. (I, 2).

In spite of their industrial and commercial activity, the Grecian cities of Ionia did not possess a mass of precious metals, that could be compared with that which the Lydian monarchs had at their command. It was not with them, but with these princes embarrassed by their wealth, that one must imagine the application to that purpose of a portion of the disposable capital. Further, if the needs of terrestrial commerce caused the attempts from which came money, these needs made themselves felt at Sardis before being experienced at Ephesus or Miletus. The merchandise brought by caravans from the interior reached the coast only by traversing Lydia. After many weeks of travel, these trains broke bulk in the caravanserais of Sardis. There in accordance with the demands transmitted to them, the Lydian middlemen sent to one or another port of the coast a certain series of bales. Was it not in following this business that Pythios of Sardis gained the enormous fortune, which he hastened to place at the disposal of Xerxes to aid him in paying the expenses of the war? ¹ Why further reject the evidence of the Greeks in this matter? Their national vanity is known to us. Why refuse to believe them on their word, when for once to to one of those people termed barbarous by them, they attribute the merit of one of those inventions, that make an epoch in the history of humanity? We can take them at their word. From Asia they borrowed the principle, the conception of money; but of what was at the origin only an economic expedient, they knew how to make it a work of art in brief time.² All that the Lydian coiner proposed was to stamp on a blank a mark to confer on it a definite value. Under the graver of the Greek coiners after a brief delay, this mark will become a condensed relief. Each city will place on its money a type peculiar to itself, that distinguishes it from the money of other cities. It will be necessary to vary these types infinitely, and the imagination of the engraver of coins will thus be incited to always find novelty by reason of the narrowness of the field, these artists that engrave on cornelian or jasper can only attain precision and refinement of modeling at the cost of an effort

regulated on that the contemporaneous sculpture and will follow its advance. In these conditions is there actually a reason for disputing with the Lydians the honor of a happy initiative, accorded to them by the Greek historians? In what concerns money as for many other borrowings of the same kind, the portion of the glory falling to the Greeks is yet the most beautiful. The last corners in the antique world, they have inherited from all labors accomplished by preceding civilizations, ideas conceived by them, sciences that they have sketched, various technics with procedures invented by them; but all that they received thus, they developed, fertilized, matured and even brought to perfection.

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Here is then the conclusion that is imposed. In the century following the invention of the official coinage of the precious metals, all Greek cities of some importance, metropolises and colonies, began to strike coins. It is the business of the numismatist to arrange for each city the series of the pieces

that it issued, following as far as possible the chronological order. As for us, all that we retain of his laborious investigation is the light cast on the starting point, the origins of the monetary art. For all these series, whatever diversity they present, there are only two beginnings of the lines, the electrum money of the first Perrhades and of Miletus, and the silver money of Pheidon; but when the latter opened his mint at Egina, he was only an imitator. Again have we verified a fact, whose proof was already supplied to us in other lands by the study of the monuments. In the domain of industry as in that of pure thought, Asian Greece has always been several generations in advance of European Greece.

2. Materials and Processes of Fabrication.

In spite of the interest presented by this study, we cannot investigate here by what methods the civilizations of Egypt and of Chaldea supplied the absence of coined money, indicate the part played by the precious metals played in exchanges before the invention of money, define the two ponderous systems in use among Chaldeo-Assyrians, nor show how the Greeks applied to their monetary ingots sometimes one and sometimes the other of those systems, modifying them according to the special convenience and weight of the piece that served as a standard. It is only by the name of art works, that coins have their places marked in this history. The engraver of medals, as he is called today, for us is only an artist that applies to metal in very particular conditions the methods of sculpture. However we cannot dispense with insisting on two points, before surveying the most curious and most beautiful works of the monetary art. By their form and appearance, antique coins differ much from our own. This is because the processes employed for making them differ greatly from those in use today in our mints. The question of the craft is too close to the question of art, for it to be possible to separate them. When the necessary details of this subject have been briefly given, we must collect and explain the terms by which the Greeks usually designated the divisions and subdivisions of their money. These terms, more or less literally transmitted, have passed into the language of numismatics. We shall have to use them too frequently, for it not to be important to define their meaning.

The metals utilized in antiquity for coinage are the same

which modern societies still devote to that purpose, gold, silver and copper. The ancients further used for that purpose another material, electrum, a natural or artificial alloy of gold or silver. This was for them a fourth metal. There are from many Greek cities like Cyzicus and Phocæa, as well as in a different epoch from many royal dynasties of the Hellenistic world, series of pieces of electrum. The standard of that alloy is far from being fixed. It varies much from one series to another and sometimes in the same series. Certain coins of electrum are of nearly pure gold; they scarcely have more than 5 parts of silver to 85 of gold. On the contrary, in others the proportion is reversed and there is scarcely 5 per cent of gold. Between these two extremes are found all intermediate degrees. Sometimes gold and sometimes silver is in excess. Croesus substituted for the electrum coins of his predecessors coins of gold and of silver, an example followed by the kings of Persia, when they issued their darics. As for the Greek cities of Asia minor and of the adjacent islands, with rare exceptions, they also did not delay to renounce electrum pieces, to strike only silver. The cities of European Greece at first had commenced by striking silver. No Grecian city struck coins of gold during the period closed by the Median wars.

Thus silver forms the sole material of the coins to which our study will be devoted. The gold coined by the kings of Lydia and of Persia, as by the Greeks and later by the Romans, is almost always pure or at least is deemed to be so. It was brought to the degree of purity that could be attained by the refining processes of the ancients. In the contrary in antiquity as in our days, coined silver has always contained a small quantity of copper. In the pure state the silver is too soft to serve for making pieces destined to pass through the circulation; the wear would be too rapid. The proportion of alloy contained in antique coins is very variable. The silver of the coins of Athens that always had a well established reputation of a good standard was generally before Alexander the Great time. The standards of coins and of denarii have about 801,000 of silver elsewhere in southern Italy and Sicily the proportion of silver falls to 600,000. fractional coins were struck by the Greeks and Romans supplied by an alloy of the latter mixed with a small tin or lead. This alloy is about 800,000. In the Hellenistic

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In spite of the interest presented by this study, we cannot investigate here by what methods the civilizations of Egypt and of Chaldea supplied the absence of coined money, indicate the part played by the precious metals played in exchanges before the invention of money, define the two ponderous systems in use among Chaldeo-Assyrians, nor show how the Greeks applied to their monetary ingots sometimes one and sometimes the other of those systems, modifying them according to the special convenience and weight of the piece that served as a standard. It is only by the name of art works, that coins have their places marked in this history. The engraver of medals, as he is called today, for us is only an artist that applies to metal in very particular conditions the methods of sculpture. However we cannot dispense with insisting on two points, before surveying the most curious and most beautiful works of the monetary art. By their form and appearance, antique coins differ much from our own. This is because the processes employed for making them differ greatly from those in use today in our mints. The question of the craft is too close to the question of art, for it to be possible to separate them. When the necessary details of this subject have been briefly given, we must collect and explain the terms by which the Greeks usually designated the divisions and subdivisions of their money. These terms, more or less literally transmitted, have passed into the language of numismatics. We shall have to use them too frequently, for it not to be important to define their meaning.

The metals utilized in antiquity for coinage are the same

which modern societies still devote to that purpose, gold, silver and copper. The ancients further used for that purpose another material, electrum, a natural or artificial alloy of gold or silver. This was for them a fourth metal. There are from many Greek cities like Cyzicus and Phocæa, as well as in a different epoch from many royal dynasties of the Hellenistic world, series of pieces of electrum. The standard of that alloy is far from being fixed. It varies much from one series to another and sometimes in the same series. Certain coins of electrum are of nearly pure gold; they scarcely have more than 5 parts of silver to 85 of gold. On the contrary, in others the proportion is reversed and there is scarcely 5 per cent of gold. Between these two extremes are found all intermediate degrees. Sometimes gold and sometimes silver is in excess. Croesus substituted for the electrum coins of his predecessors coins of gold and of silver, an example followed by the kings of Persia, when they issued their darics. As for the Greek cities of Asia minor and of the adjacent islands, with rare exceptions, they also did not delay to renounce electrum pieces, to strike only silver. The cities of European Greece at first had commenced by striking silver. No Grecian city struck coins of gold during the period closed by the Median wars.

Thus silver forms the sole material of the coins to which our study will be devoted. The gold coined by the kings of Lydia and of Persia, as by the Greeks and later by the Romans, is almost always pure or at least is deemed to be so. It was brought to the degree of purity that could be attained by the refining processes of the ancients. In the contrary in antiquity as in our days, coined silver has always contained a small quantity of copper. In the pure state the silver is too soft to serve for making pieces destined to pass from hand to hand, the wear would be too rapid. The proportion of alloy contained in antique coins is very variable. The silver of the coins of Athens that always had a well established reputation of a good standard was generally before Alexander about 900/1000 fine. The standards of Ephesus and of Corinth gave about 800/1000 of silver, elsewhere in southern Italy and Sicily the proportion of silver falls to 600/1000. Fractional coins were struck the Greeks and Romans supplied by an alloy of red copper mixed with a little tin or zinc. This alloy is what we call bronze. It distinguished

from copper both by its composition and its properties. The ancients had but one word, *chalcos* in Greek and *aes* in Latin, to designate both native copper and the various alloys formed by that metal as a base. The quantity of tin alloyed with copper in Greek coins is nearly the same as in industrial bronzes and in statuary. It varied between an eighth and a sixteenth of the total weight. The metal thus obtained had a considerable hardness. It wears very slowly by friction and oxidizes only on the surface. This superficial change even becomes a quality. It produces those patinas, that often make the joy of connoisseurs by the beauty of their tones.

Two procedures can be employed for the fabrication of coins:—to cast the fused metal in moulds of two pieces of refractory stone or terra cotta, or indeed to strike a blank of solid metal between two dies in which are sunk in intaglio the image and inscription that the piece must receive. This last process was the sole one employed in the country and in the course of the epoch, whose limits will not be passed in this study. Its principle was thenceforth the same as the treatment that modern industry still applies to metal blanks; but the mode of execution of the work is much changed. The ancients did not know the powerful apparatus endowing that industry since the 17th century of our era, by the progress of mechanics, the balance press, then the hydraulic press and the coning press. They struck their coins with the hammer. Thus the striking was much slower and more imperfect. It frequently produced accidents in fabrication; for it required several successive blows of the hammer to obtain the result now obtained with a single stroke of the balance press, when this concerns our coins where the image has but a very slight relief.

According to an experienced master from whom I asked advice, the methods pursued by the engravers of antique coins in other respects differed from those in use in our time.¹ When an artist receives today the order for a coin or a medal, this is how he usually proceeds. He makes a model in clay with dimensions much larger than must be those of the piece to be struck. He casts this model in plaster and then transfers it to a steel punch, reduced in the desired proportion, when the image is in relief. This reduction and transfer is made by the aid of a machine invented in the 18th century, whose work is known

under the name of the Collas process. It makes the transfer with perfect accuracy. Thus it renders to the medal engraver the service, which demands a practitioner to do it directly. The work being thus reduced and carried sufficiently far, the engraver finishes it with the graver. His punch being completed, he uses it for obtaining the die, on which the engraving is an intaglio. When he devotes much care to his work, he revises his figure in the intaglio. The die is obtained by sinking the punch of hardened steel by a certain number of blows into a bit of soft steel. The die is annealed after each stroke of the balance press. There is a twofold advantage in following this procedure, preceding the die by the punch. The artist has his figure in relief on the punch. He sees it as it must appear on the medal; he thus has a better idea of the effect desired than by the intaglio. Further, if the die breaks under the stroke, which does not fail to occur, there remains the punch, ready to produce new dies.

Note 1.p.53. Conversation on Dec. 20, 1881, with Chaplain, medal engraver.

It does not seem that the Greek engraver undertook that method. Doubtless he also began by seeking his figure in a clay relief; but he had no instrument permitting him to transfer it into metal mechanically. With his model under his eyes, he first attacked the die, and he modeled his image in intaglio. That is recognized by men of the trade by certain details and by the entire character of the execution. Also the indirect confirmation of the hypothesis is suggested by the nature of the work. We possess more than one antique coining die; but nothing has ever been found resembling a punch. Like the ancients, the medallists of the Renaissance were never compelled to engrave punches; they had only dies. What permitted them to simplify their operations thus, like the Greek engravers, was the decision and certainty of their graver and of their drill.

It is asked how the ancients obtained with no other tool than the hammer, pieces on which the image has the very strong relief that is presented on some coins, for example, on the great 10 drachme pieces of Syracuse, or on the 4 drachme coins of the kings succeeding Alexander. To strike a medal today on which the image has such a bold projection, would require 12 to 15 strokes of the balance press, also taking the precaution to

anneal the blank after each blow of the press. Now that was a power far different from the hammer wielded by the most vigorous arms. This is how the artist, that I consulted, explains what seems inexplicable at first sight. He believes that the ancients struck the metal while it was still almost in a fused state. With his spoon the workman took from the crucible the desired quantity of metal, the drop. He poured this while still fluid on the reverse die, and before it had time to cool and harden, he placed on it the face die and let his hammer fall. The strength of the human arm and the weight of the hammer sufficed to impress both images on that paste while yet soft. The procedure thus employed belonged both to casting and striking, to casting by which the nearly fluid metal allowed itself to assume the forms of the dies, and to striking by the firmness that the image owed to the violent blow of the hammer. What adds to the probability of this hypothesis is even the appearance of the antique pieces, of bumps and crevices that are often noted on the circumference of the piece. Those defects come from a cooling that came too quickly at the contact of the dies in haste to strike on the metal before it had resumed all its resistance.

Men had previously formed a slightly different idea of the method employed by the Greek coiners in that part of his task. It was in general admitted that before striking the blank, the workman heated it a red to soften it. Perhaps indeed nothing more was necessary to obtain a very clear stroke, when the type of the piece to be struck did not have to present a very accented relief, which was the most common case. It is possible that most frequently, to give the material of the blank the desired ductility, men were satisfied to revive it in the heat of a strong flame. The blanks had then been prepared in advance, in the form of metallic lenses entirely ready to receive the impression, that changed them into current coins. The workman charged with this preparation had to verify the standard of the metal before casting it in his moulds, then to watch the casting, so that each ingot that it furnished had exactly the weight assigned to it by the monetary system of the city that issued the money. The part that he played in the work to be done thus had great importance. This is proved by the allusion made to it in the official title borne at home by the monetary

magistrates (Latin). One cannot be surprised to see us demand here some information from the Roman mints, on what might be that of the Greek mints. During the entire duration of the ancient world, the procedures applied by the industry of the fabrication of money did not experience changes that merit to be noted. Until the fall of the Roman empire and during the entire middle ages till the threshold of modern times, they reproduced nearly the same as they were in the Greece of the 6th century B.C.

Being given this stationary persistence of the technique, there is no risk of an anachronism by reproducing as a faithful representation of a Greek mint the painting, that in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii shows cupids occupied in fabricating money. (Fig. 51).¹ First scene; at both sides are two workmen that heat the metal blanks. The first stands on a footstool and manages with both hands a bellows to fan the flame. His companion holds the ingot in the fire at the end of his tongs, and with the left hand holds a reed through which he blows on the ingot to remove the cinder and scale that heating to red causes on the surface of the metal. Second scene; a cupid sits on a chair with his foot on a footstool, before him an anvil on which he prepares the blanks for striking by the aid of a little hammer. Before him is a desk on which are two balances and a series of small weights arranged in three superposed drawers. Third scene; a standing cupid weighs a blank in presence of a winged woman seated on a stool without back, before which is a footboard. This woman has the control of just weights, the authority that guarantees the values of the coins, whom on Roman coins is personified by the figure which the legends sometimes call Aequitas and sometimes Moneta. Put in the place of that symbolical image in thought an overseer charged with verifying the weights, and you restore the reality. Fourth scene: two cupids strike the coin. An anvil set in an enormous block separates them. One holds in both hands a tongs with matrix resting on the anvil. The plank is between the two jaws of the tongs. The other has a hammer with a long handle and strikes with all his force. The hammer and a spare tongs rest against the block.

Note 1. p. 56. To borrow from Fabron the illustration of

this painting and the description that he gives. (*Traite*, Part I; vol. I, p. 899-901.

These very simple instruments, the balance, tongs, anvil and hammer, are represented on several Roman denariuses.¹ As for the dies whose impression is made on the blank between that anvil and hammer, some of them have come down to us. There are two or three dies of Greek coins and a larger number for Roman coins. The most ancient that can be cited is an iron die that gives the reverse of the silver coins of Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander. This is the one that the coiner held in his hand and not the reverse die fixed on the anvil. It has a long shank whose crushed and spread head bears unequivocal traces of vigorous and numerous blows of the hammer. The type is badly preserved; but although the lettering is obliterated, there are quite clearly recognized the outlines of the silver stater of Philip (Fig. 52). There is also preserved the reverse die of a great coin of Berenice II, queen of Egypt. That is of cylindrical form and was the die for the anvil. An ear projecting at the side of the shaft formed a stop intended to hold the die in proper place, to prevent it from sinking too far in the anvil (Fig. 53).

Note 1.p.57. *Fabelon. Traite. part I; vol. I, p. 901-904; Figs. 19-23.*

Of the many dies so preserved, most are of bronze; others are iron rods with the end hardened in temper or to which has been welded a steel die. The ancients did not know chemical analysis. They could not know how some atoms of carbon combined with the iron modified its properties so as to create an alloy offering much more hardness than the best hardened iron; but by practical experiments they came to produce this metal without whose aid they could not undertake to produce certain works, which they readily executed. Aristotle has steel in view when he speaks of purified iron.¹ He called it chalybs, because the invention of the processes for obtaining it was attributed to those metallurgists of Asia Minor that enjoyed a legendary reputation in Greece. The country of Chalybes is that province of Tokat and of Sivas, where today are worked very rich mines of iron and of copper.

Note 1.p.58. *Aristotle. Meteorologica. IV. 9-10.*

Workmen believe that the largest and most beautiful Greek

dies were cut with the drill, i.e., with the instrument used by the engravers of fine stones. We have described those processes of lithoglyph in regard to glyptics.² Experiments made by skilful practitioners have demonstrated that steel can be attacked and worked like gems by drills of soft iron armed with diamond dust or emery, that are set in the shaft of a little lathe moved by a pedal.³ Dies of tempered steel thus obtained must be welded to an iron shank. That could support the repeated blows of the hammer. Steel broke more easily and was quickly fractured by the blows.

Note 2.p.58. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, p.671-672.

Note 3.p.58. See the report of the experiments in Babelon. *Traite*. Part I. Vol. I, p. 671-673.

This labor of engraving on steel was lengthy and minute. One was only compelled to this by exception, when the city desired to have coins that would be masterpieces. They were usually satisfied with a die of bronze or of iron. Now neither bronze nor iron can be engraved by the drill. It was cheaper with those metals. The bronze die was executed by means of a mould made from the model executed in wax or clay. The cast was made in that mould. If the operation was well performed, the bronze coin left the mould with all the fineness of the original engraving. If it seemed necessary to correct some slight defects on the proof, or to add a certain precision, retouches were sometimes made with the graver.

Iron does not lend itself to casting. To obtain a die, it was necessary to attack it with chasing tool and graver, instruments managed with the palm of the hand or on which slight blows are struck; but this process must have been little employed. The iron die was almost³³ difficult to make as the steel die, and it was far from having the same resistance. On the other hand, if the bronze dies must be frequently renewed, the use of the mould allowed them to be made quickly and at small cost. In spite of the facility thus found in replacement, men sometimes persisted by economy and indolence in using them when it would have been better to reject them. All great die-sinkers possess some specimens of coins struck by dies already worn or cracked. Among others, this is the case for a beautiful decadrachme of Syracuse, of which several specimens exist that were struck after the fracture of the

face die. The edge of the coin beneath the neck and behind the nape was chipped. There is a long seam in the field.¹

Note 1.p.59. Pabelon. Part I, p. 936, Fig. 31.

Even where the die was intact, the pieces issued sometimes presented defects due to the nature itself of the process of striking. Under the blows of the hammer, there frequently occurred that the edges of the blank split. Also sometimes a single blow of the hammer was insufficient to obtain a perfect proof; it was necessary to strike a second stroke. They did not then know the use of the fernle, that now when a blank must receive several blows of the balance press, holds it sufficiently close to protect it from the least displacement between the successive applications of the hammer. Under the first shock of the die, the blank slipped slightly. It has not always been replaced with sufficient care in its initial position. Certain antique Greek and Roman coins bear the mark of this negligence. They are termed marred pieces.² Thus are designated coins on which legends and images are partly double or triple, according as the die is displaced once or twice in the intervals of the blows of the hammer. When the mint was well managed, the coiner went to the crucible pieces so marked; some still succeeded in slipping into circulation.

Note 2.p.59. Pabelon. Traite. Part I. Vol. I, p.940.

The most skillful workmen did not always succeed in entirely preventing the bad effects of this repeated hammering. Study with a lens the great gold medals of the treasury of Tarsus possessed by the Cabinet of Antiques of the National Library; you can distinguish and almost count the successive blows of the hammer applied to those enormous blanks. "Although this difficult striking was effected without doubling, still one perceives sketched on the field behind each other, two or three profiles of the effigies. At each blow of the hammer as the die sunk deeper, the metal was forced by gradual slips from the centre to the circumference."¹

Note 1.p.60. Pabelon. Traite. Part I. Vol. I, p.935.

On the arrangement which numismatists designate by the name of hollow square, it is the more necessary to insist, since in these recent times has been given an explanation of this peculiarity that seems erroneous. "The reverse of

the most ancient Greek coins is occupied by one or more rectangular or square depressions, deep and with irregular roughness over the entire surface of the sunken field. Those depressions represent the projecting parts of the dies that produced them. Sometimes in the middle of the roughness are distinguished little symbols, globules or even figures of animals. Most frequently the die has produced a simple hollow square with its surface modified according to the country of the mint, so that the form and appearance of this square suffices to ensure the assignment of certain pieces to one city or region rather than to another. The darics have a rectangular depression on the reverse. The square of the stater of Egina is divided by diagonals in relief that join at the centre, forming five sunken triangles (Pl.VIII, 4). At Corcyra, two rectangles are juxtaposed and decorated by flowers. (Pl.VIII, 22). At Cyzica, this is a regular square divided in four compartments placed obliquely, making it resemble the wings of a mill.

"It is habitually repeated that the sunken square of the reverse of archaic Greek coins represents the projecting part of the bottom die on which by this means was fixed the metal blank to prevent it from slipping under the shock of the die on the face. A careful examination of the coins opposes that theory. The sunken square is not found in projection on the rod where it would have held the blank; it represents the end of an instrument serving to punch and used like a nailset. The sunken square is really the impression made by the punch and not by the die. Thus are explained on the primitive staters of Asia Minor, Cnemides and the Phocæides and some pieces attributed to Miletus, Phocæa, Cyzicus, that several sunk impressions on the same coin have been made by the aid of different punches applied separately to the blank after each other."

"The type in relief on archaic coins is then the impression of the rod on the bottom die. For that this side of the piece is sensibly convex. The field of the die was concave, which sufficed to ensure the stability of the blank under the compression of the rod driven vertically by blows of the hammer. Later, when the sunken square is occupied by a developed type there no less remains one produced by the rod that retains a

square and flat form, while the die remains circular and concave. After the middle of the 4th century, save local exceptions, all trace of the sunken square disappears from the reverse of Greek coins, and the dies for both sides become circular. Yet the face of the piece, i.e. the side with the effigy or principal type remains convex, while the reverse is flat or even slightly concave. Then in general for pieces of large diameter, the face continues to be produced by the lower die."¹

Note 1. p. 61. Babalon. *Traite*. Part I. Vol. I, p. 930-932.

A peculiarity of archaic Greek coinage in certain regions is, that which numismatists define by incuse coins. They designate thus coins whose type is sunken on one of their sides.

In the numismatic series of a great number of cities of southern Italy from the middle of the 6th century are found silver coins with large and flat blanks of moderate thickness that bear on the face a type of relief, on the reverse being a sunken one. Sometimes the reverse is merely the exact reproduction of the face, as if the piece were only a metal round whose double impressions had been raised by a punch in relief. Sometimes the type of the reverse, while being the same as that of the face, still presents differences in detail, that attest the use of two special dies, one sunken and the other in relief. Finally, sometimes the sunken reverse has no relation to the relief of the face, and it sometimes belongs to the numismatics of a different city. Certain pieces at Tarente show us Taras on the dolphin, identical on face and reverse, the coin appearing to be a plaque of repoussée metal (Pl. IX, 1, 2). On others the sunken type of Taras is opposed in relief by Apollo Hyacinthe kneeling. At Metaponte on certain pieces are two similar ears of grain, the relief of the face being reproduced in the sinking on the reverse (Pl. IX, 7, 8), or indeed there is the ear in relief on one side, on the other being a sunken grain of wheat or the skull of an ox. At Siris the bull is alike on both sides (Pl. VI 19, 22). The coins of Crotona, Caulonia, Rhegium and Posidonia lend themselves to analogous investigations."¹

Note 1. p. 62. Babalon. *Traite*. Part I. Vol. I, p. 929-930.

Why did the cities of Magna Grecia agree to adopt this mode

of incuse coins? No one knows; but all the same it was soon abandoned, and only rare examples are cited of attempts made much later to return to it in Asia Minor or in Phoenicia.²

This is because the defects inherent in this practice could not escape the refined taste of the Greeks. In case of perfect identity of the types of face and reverse, this was only a useless repetition of the image in relief. When the two types differed, that of the reverse was sacrificed; it was almost neglected. By the intaglios it is known with what trouble the eye of the spectator experienced to follow and appreciate in the shadow of the hollow the details of the modeling of the figure.

Note 2.p.62. Fabelon. The same. p. 631.

We do not have to occupy ourselves here with what numismatists call bract coins. In most countries inhabited by the Greek race have been noted small disks like coins in gold or silver, made of a very thin plate and decorated by an emblem produced by the punch by the simple process of stamping, thus in relief on one side and sunk on the other. Dimensions are always small. A great number of these have been found with the emblem of the owl in Attic tombs. They have been found with other emblems in many other cemeteries. These plates of metal never served as money. They were sewn on clothing, as sometimes by little holes noted on the edges of the pieces, or indeed they were inserted in necklaces and crowns. It is also possible that they were sometimes placed in the mouth of the dead as an offering to Charon; they would then have been an imaginary representation of the traditional obol.

Note 1.p.63. Fabelon. The same. p.632-633.

The name of plated coins is given to pieces composed of a metal blank of small value, copper, iron, lead or tin, forming the body and entirely covered by a thin sheet of silver or more rarely of gold. Both the blank and the covering were struck at the same time.² There exist a certain number of plated coins of gold and of electrum in the Greek series, even in the primitive epoch. The plated Greek coins with a coating of silver are more common without being very much distributed. Some Median shekels are plated. Of two known examples of money struck by Themistocles at Magnesia, one is plated. There are also known plated silver coins of Syr-

Syracuse, Messina, Metaponte, Crotona, Velia, Posidonia and of Campanian. They are noted in all those regions; but are always very exceptional.³ It seems that there is reason to see in those pieces the products of clandestine mints or of counterfeiters. Nothing causes one to think that a Greek State, republic or monarchy, sought to deceive the public concerning the value of the money issued by it. The Roman State was less honest. On various occasions under the republic and under the empire were abundant issues of plated money.

Note 2.p.63. F. Lenormant. Monnaies et medailles.p.49.

Note 3.p.63. Babelon.Traite.partI. Vol. I, p.622-625.

In what concerns this history of the procedures of the fabrication of Greek coins, there is one point on which our curiosity truly finds itself unsatisfied. We should like to have some information on the artists who engraved the dies of all those coins. In these is very early noted a vivid art feeling, even though the execution is still marked by awkwardness, and a frank seeking for nobility or grace. One would know what position the cities, that appear to have attached most importance to the beauty of their monetary types, gave to their engravers whose professional skill gave them the advantage of excelling in that respect their neighbors and rivals. By what apprenticeship were these engravers initiated into the manual skill of such a difficult avocation? Were they recruited among slaves or freemen? Did they receive high salaries? What reputation accompanied them for their patient labor?

The ancient texts make no reply to these questions. For all antiquity, the sole mint of which we possess some information is that of Athens.¹ It was established in a dependency of the temple of a mythical hero only known to us under his common name of Stephanophore or "wearer of a crown." According to a conjecture having all probability, this divine personage was none other than Theseus, the national hero of Athens. The installation of the mint in an annex of the Theseum would have given birth to the Athenian tradition, which attributed to Theseus the invention of money. From an inscription it is known that this building also contained the deposit of the official standards of weights and measures; but the names read on the coins of Athens are those of the magistrates

under whose supervision that mint was carried on, and are not those of the engravers of the dies. Certain engravers of fine stones and certain goldsmiths had acquired in antiquity a very extended reputation, so that their names were transmitted by Pliny and by some other ancient authors; but nowhere is found mentioned the name of an engraver of coins.

Note 1. p. 64. Babelon. The same. p. 236-238.

This silence does not fail to cause some astonishment. By the happy invention that they put into the choice of types, and that they created, and the beauty in the execution of the image, those engravers lent a precious assistance to the cities employing them; they certainly caused their coins to be sought even outside the limits of the State issuing them. They must have been well paid, and for a long time, this was all that they demanded. From the invention of money until the last years of the 5th century, there is not found on Greek pieces a single inscription, that can be interpreted as an artist's signature. Yet there came a time when the most skillful among them were tired of this perpetual anonymity. We have learned this from certain coins of Cydonia in Crete and of Clazomenae in Ionia. On the former is read "Neuantos epoel" and on the others "Theodotos epoel." This formula is the same as that used by the sculptors, who inscribed it on the bronze or marble of their statues and reliefs.

Doubt is no longer permitted; it is proved that the engravers of dies ended in causing honor to be done to their talent. Thus informed, "numismatists must have asked whether on the monuments forming the subject of their studies, there did not exist other signatures of the same kind with a formula less complete and omitting the verb, and if there were rules allowing them to distinguish with some certainty these names of artists from those of the responsible magistrates charged with the fabrication of the money. The result of these researches has been to cause recognition of the inscriptions of artists in a certain number of names appearing on the coins, traced in extremely small characters, generally half concealed in an unusual position, in an accessory of the type, in the band of the headress, a fold of the clothing, in places much less visible than those where are shown the names of magistrates, that are always written in larger letters." 1

Note 1.p.85. P. Lenormant. Monnaies et medailles. p.71-72.

It is principally on the coins of Magna Grecia and of Sicily that are found the signatures of artists. There are some twenty that can be held as assured. Certain engravers, Evainetos, Kimon, Procles, worked at times for several cities. The custom of allowing the artists to inscribe their names on the coins whose dies they executed, does not appear well established elsewhere than in those two countries. Everywhere else, the fact only appears exceptionally. Outside that region, there are certain examples of similar signatures, only those of Neuantos of Cydonia and of Theodotos of Clazomene. It has been thought possible to assign the same character to names written in abridged form on some pieces of Cydonia and of Aptera in Crete, of the league of the cities of Chalcidice, of Pharsalus in Thessaly, and of Seleucus IV, king of Syria. The place that these names occupy on coins in question, is the same as we have seen assigned to assured signatures. Whatever it be with these conjectures, one must recognize that this habit of signing coins did not become general in the Grecian world. It was introduced there only late and only in places. Even where it served to tend to prevail, it did not persist. The most ancient signatures known are not earlier than the last years of the 5th century. On the other hand, if one omits some doubtful examples furnished by the royal coins of the Hellenistic age, it can be affirmed that after the middle of the 4th century, the names of the engravers disappear forever from Grecian money.¹

Note 1.p.88. Lenormant. Monnaies et medailles. p.72-77.

We have always employed the word coin to designate the pieces, whose fabrication we have described. Yet those pieces, even in erudite treatises, have long been called medals, and are still so termed in ordinary conversation.² Still today the language of numismatists establishes between the coin and the medal a very clear distinction. In this the coin is a piece of gold, a silver or bronze issued into circulation for the needs of commerce, with power of selling and buying. The medal is a piece made of one of the same metals, which like the coin is decorated by a type in relief and bears an inscription, but which is not destined to serve as a means of exchange. What is proposed when it is ordered, is to preserve by the talent of the artist executing it, the memory of an event that has impressed contemporaries.

contemporaries, or to perpetuate in a material on which time has but little effect, the image of a prince or a master, a relative or a friend.

Note 2.p.88. On the etymology and the earliest use of the word medal, see Babelon. *Traite*. Part I, vol.I, p. 8-9.

One would seek in vain in Greek or Latin a word that corresponds to the idea of the medal, such as we have just defined it. Properly speaking, the ancients did not know the medal, or knew it very late in the decadence of art. Doubtless among the Greeks and especially among the Romans, coins by their figures and legends often referred to ancient or recent facts, that were marked in the life of families or of the State. There in a certain measure those coins are like medals; but even where a commemorative character is most emphasized, they remain coins, in the sense that they were struck to pass from hand to hand, so as to respond to the needs of commerce. That is why at least for Greece, one can affirm without a shade of hesitation, even in regard to pieces that because of exceptional dimensions, at first sight might seem to have never played this part of ready money. For example, this is the case with those broad Syracusan silver pieces, that present on the face the head of Arethusa. That of these medallions which appears most ancient is the celebrated piece known under the name of Demaretion, a piece mentioned by several Greek writers, historians and lexicographers (Pl. VI, 2, 7).¹ On the conditions in which would have been formed the treasure of metal for that issue, those authors are not agreed; but they are in accord that these coins were struck by the care of Demareta, wife of Gelon after the cruel defeat that he inflicted on the Carthaginians in 480 near the river Himera. Whether their materials were furnished by the jewels of the Syracusan women in the peril of the invasion, who followed the example of Demareta in offering them to the country to contribute to the expenses of the war, or that they came from a crown that the African captives offered to the queen in recognition of the very mild treatment and her good offices, matters little; but it is evident that in the type adopted for these pieces as a historical testimony, as in the types of our medals, although less formal and more involved. The crown of laurel adorning the brow of Arethu-

recall the recent victory of Gelon, and the little figure of a lion seen on the reverse symbolizes conquered Africa. This coin is no less an exact multiple of the monetary unit. It is the weight of 50 Sicilian libras or of 10 Attic drachmas; it certainly performed the function of money. What does not allow a doubt of this is, that it has come to us in some 10 examples. Further, why should its purpose be different from that of other Syracusan decadrachmas of the same size and weight, that during the entire course of the 5th century were issued by the Syracusan mint in such great number, that today they fill the cases of our cabinets of medals?

Note 1. p. 87. See the texts collected by Babelon. *Traité*, p. 172-4.

One can say as much for the largest gold coin left to us by Greek antiquity, that of Eucratid, king of Bactriana, possessed by the Cabinet of the National Library (Fig. 54).² The first movement of one perceiving it in the glass case in which it is exhibited, is to cry out:— "Oh, beautiful medal!" This pretended medal however is also only a coin. Only by its enormous size does it differ from the pieces of gold and silver that the successors of Alexander issued in the Orient during two centuries, and particularly the other known coins of Eucratid. Same style, same character of the type; an entirely similar formula for the legend. What further decides the question is the fact that by its weight of 1,2 grammes, this piece has its marked place in the monetary system of the kingdoms resulting from the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire. It agrees with that; it represents an unusual but normal size in it; it is equivalent to 20 Attic staters, 40 gold drachmas, 500 drachmas of silver. It can be compared to those gold pieces of 50 or 100 francs, whose dies exist in our mint, and that are struck in small numbers on certain occasions, to offer them as a gift. Very rare, these pieces never enter into circulation. but they are no less money in the entire force of the term.

Note 2. p. 87. Babelon. *Traité*, p. 110; *L'orientant*, *monnaie*, etc. p. 7.

To find true medals in antiquity, it is necessary to descend to the time of the Roman emperors. In the series dating from that epoch, after the reign of Trajan are found pieces of gold, silver and bronze, recognizable in general by their exceptional dimensions, which have been never money, and although sacrificed

by the same procedures, had a different purpose.¹ These are what numismatists have the habit of designating by the term medal or medallion, from the Italian medaglione, a great medal. Those medals were presented by the emperors to their intimates or to personages that they desired to honor; they were worn as decorations by the officers and soldiers; they were inserted in the ensigns of the legions. Yet others appear to have had a talismanic value. Here is not the place to describe them or to enumerate the quite varied uses to which they were devoted. Very beautiful specimens can be seen in the Cabinet of Antiques, in the glass case in which are exhibited near the coin of Suetonius the three great medals of the treasury of Augustus, struck under the reign of Alexander Severus. Their diameter is from 2.36 to 2.76 ins. They bear on the face the heads of Hercules, of Alexander the Great and of his son Philip.²

Note 1. p. 68. Lenormant. Monnaie etc. Vol. I, p. 2-23.

Note 2. p. 68. The same. p. 41-42; Babelon, p. 331-332.

Every coin has two sides, two faces. To distinguish these two sides of the piece in the descriptions, numismatists have had to adopt terms to prevent all uncertainty. They have not delayed to recognize, that usually one of these sides has more importance than the other. This that on which is represented and is constantly repeated in the same series the type representing the authority in whose name the coin is struck. They call this side the face, obverse or right. The word face is improper here because it seems to always show that this side always has for type a head, an effigy of a deity or of the prince, which is far from always being the case. On the other hand the word obverse, from its etymology (adversus) might seem to have a sense contrary to that proposed to attribute to it. We always prefer to say the right side; the expression explains itself and the usage has consecrated it. For the opposite and secondary side, there is no difficulty. The word reverse is perfectly clear. To make a distinction, one uses head or tail, when in a bet a coin is cast into the air to see how it will fall. That mode of speaking is a legacy of the past. In the middle ages men usually said face for the side with the effigy and pile for the reverse, i.e., for the side laid on the gaming table at the moment of striking.

Note 1.p.69. Babelon. Vol. I, p.378-379.

On most modern coins as already on those of the Macedonian kings and the Roman emperors, it is easy to distinguish the face from the reverse. On the face is seen the effigy of the prince, while on the reverse is only seen the accessory type modeled in more summary fashion and with less relief. This is frequently only a purely decorative motive, a crown of leaves enclosing the legend, a cluster of branches or of flowers, sometimes an armorial shield. The task is not always easy when one has to describe the pieces, that are of a good art period and were struck by Anonymous Greek cities. There are in those series certain coins where the types of the two sides appear to present nearly the same interest by the choice of themes and by the execution of the engraving. One is then quite embarrassed to know to which of the two sides it is proper to attribute the primacy. To decide, it is necessary to compare the types. If one of them reappears as fixed on all or nearly all the coins of a city, by it will be defined the face of the piece. The reverse will be the side on which from issue to issue the type varies according to the wish of the monetary magistrates. It sometimes occurs that the types of coin sides are equally constant. For example, this is the case for Athens, where on one side is found the head of Pallas (Pl. V, 7), and on the other is the owl (Pl. V, 13). No doubt is possible. The face will be entirely filled by the image of the goddess protecting the city, a goddess of which the owl is only an attribute, like the olive branch sharing with that owl the field of the sunken square. On the contrary, it seems that one could hesitate for Corinth. The two types opposite each other on its coins are a Pegasus and a woman's head, that of Athena Chalcidites, who aided Bellerophon in subjecting to the bridle the untamed horse. One might be tempted to claim for Athena the honor of the face. However what decided numismatists to turn reverse the side with the head is, that this appeared on the coins of Corinth only about half a century after the Pegasus. That showed itself from the first hour, when there was still on the other side only a sunken square (Pl.VIII, 10). Pegasus then has the title of the first occupant. This will be what will be regarded as the mark of the face on the series of Corinthian coins.¹

Note 1.p.70. This is the view that Babelon has taken in his

description of the most ancient coins of Corinth. Babelon, p. 790-8.

There will be found frequently in this study other technical terms, whose use does not lead to the same difficulties. The standard of a coin is the number representing its chemical composition, according as the metal is of absolute purity, that is never the case, or that it contains more or less alloy. The ancient mode of computation by carats has now fallen into disuse. Men reckon by thousandths. It will be said that the Persian daric is 970 fine; this states that it contains 970 parts of gold to 30 parts of a less precious metal, silver or copper.

3. Names of Greek Coins.

The terms found employed in Greek authors to designate the coins that they mention do not all have the same character.² Those most common are derived from the weight and value of the piece as well as from the nature of the metal employed. Those are the only ones to be defined here; we shall use them to qualify the pieces that we have to describe; Only recall that among Greek and Roman writers, when there is a question of currency circulating under their eyes, one also meets with the appellations of another kind. The ordinary names of certain coins were derived from those of persons who had caused them to be fabricated. Thus men spoke of Creseids and Darics, of Demarets, Philips and Alexanders of gold. There were also names derived from the places of issue:—Cyzicenes, Phocaides, Aeginas, Boeoties, Congres, etc. Other names had been suggested by the constant repetition of the same type on the coins of a certain city. Thus are explained names like owls or tortoises, that in current language designated the tetradrachmas of Athens and the didrachmas of Aegina. The archers were Darics; it is known that the image of the king kneeling and bending his bow continued to be engraved on those coins until the fall of the Achaemenid empire. For the two centuries preceding the beginning of our era, the greater part of the silver coinage in Asia Minor was composed of pieces of a common type on one side, though struck in different mints, the mystic casket of Bacchus opened and allowing the escape of a serpent. Allusion is often made to those coins in the history of that time; they are always called cistophores.

Note 1. p. 71. Babelon, Vol. I, p. ----).

Note 2.p.71. On the different names given to coins among the Greeks, see Babelon: *Traite* etc. p. 401-421.

Without stopping for these peculiarities, we have to determine the sense of the terms, which by themselves imply the idea of a certain value; but it is proper to state at first that the value represented by the terms in question was not everywhere exactly the same. It varied from one city to another within limits otherwise quite narrow, there is a certain city in which in the course of ages it has experienced some change. The Grecian world was divided into hundreds of little States and was diversity itself. It used several different systems of money, distinguished from each other by the weight assigned to the silver drachma. In all the name drachma was borne by the principal monetary unit. Is it necessary to seek in Greek, as the ancients desired, the etymology of the word drachma, or indeed as certain Assyriologists have supposed, that this term is derived from an Assyrian word *sarag-iana*, which in private interest contracts of the valley of the Euphrates designated the silver ingots by which payments were made? This is a question that we do not have to discuss here. Everything important to retain is, that the Greeks reckoned by drachmas as we reckon in francs. A franc piece weighs 5 grammes. The weight of the Attic drachma was 4.80 grammes, and that of the Eginetan drachma was about 0.20 grammes.

Note 1.p.72. Babelon. *Traite* etc. p. 402-404.

If there were variations in the weight of the drachma, according as it was connected to a certain system, at least the divisions of the drachma, i.e., its multiples and submultiples were arranged in the same manner in all systems. All those divisions were not coined; some were merely units of account. Others were struck only on fixed occasions. The most common coins and found nearly everywhere are the tetradrachma, the didrachma, the drachma, the hemidrachma and the obolus. The obolus is the sixth of the drachma. With regard to it, it must correspond in use with relation to the franc, nearly to our piece of 20 centimes (2 cents). It was struck in silver in all the systems of weights. With a piece of that size the State at Athens paid the citizens the indemnity due them for their presence at the assembly. The mint at Athens and several others issued in abundance of coin of the same metal representing the

third of the drachma, the diobolus. The obolus is a common silver coin.

The term stater is found almost as frequently in the authors as drachma, but it is more difficult to define it as it has more varied meanings. Current language applies it indifferently to coins far from all having the same value, and the list would be too long of the different staters distinguished and enumerated by numismatists; but all silver coins so designated had a common character, they were multiples of the drachma. The stater aroused the idea of a great piece, much larger than a drachma. It was a little as when with us men formerly spoke of a crown. There were large and small crowns, yet always the name in specie related to a coin larger and heavier than the livre tournois. (21 cents).

Note 1.p.73. On the primitive sense properly assigned to the word stater, if with the Greek grammarians it be derived from the verb *statomai*, to seize, see Hulsch. *Metrologie*. 1862, p. 105. Those grammarians offer no explanation of the word stater. This word is evidently derived from the root *sta*, to fix or determine. At the origin, it seems to have had the sense of a weight. This was the weight placed on one plate of the balance that was in equilibrium with the object laid on the other plate. (G. Curtius. *Grundzüge der griechische Etymologie*. 4th edition, p. 211).

The particular stater was at first the aiarachma; but later the word also served to designate the tetraarachma. It was no less frequently employed in the series of gold coinage, without other mention, the drachma was the unit of silver coinage, and the stater most commonly represents the standard of gold coinage; it weighed twice the standard of silver. The gold coins called Cresidas, Darics, Philips, Alexanders, and in general all gold coins corresponding in weight to the unit of the monetary system, whatever it may be, are staters. This results from several passages of Pollux and of other lexicographers.¹ The stater being the unit for gold, it is understood that this term was also used to designate the unit of the electrum coinage. The phocaïtes stater, the statires chyzichenoi are frequently mentioned by authors and inscriptions. The diversity of these uses of the same word could lead to some uncertainty. This has been perceived by the editors of the inventories of

the treasures of certain temples. For example at Delos, to prevent all confusion, they reckoned by staters the silver money; for gold pieces is reserved the term chousons.

Note 1. p. 14. See Pollux in particular.

In the customs of the ancient world, the gold stater played nearly the part, that has fallen in the modern world to coins like the English pound or our piece of 20 francs, the louis or napoleon, as familiarly said. Among the Greeks were above the stater only the distater, tetrastater and hexastater, coins struck in certain countries exceptionally and in small number. On the contrary in several Greek cities were quite abundant issues of coins corresponding to fractions of the gold stater. There are specimens in that metal of the hemistater or gold drachma, the third of a stater and the sixth of a stater. The two latter pieces are very frequently found in the electrum coinage of the coast of Asia Minor.

By reason of the small intrinsic value of the metal, bronze coinage was made in antiquity with the regularity imposed on the fabrication of coins of precious metals; there sometimes occurs a considerable difference in weight between contemporaneous bronze coins, that represent the same monetary division. The unit of the series of coins made of this metal is the chalcnos, a word merely signifying a "bronze piece." In Sicily and Italy, this term was not in use. There the standard weight of bronze was the litra, from which came the Latin word litra. The litra of bronze equaled a little silver piece of 0.86 gramme, that was called noumos; hence the nummus of the Romans. Everywhere else in the Hellenic world, when it concerned this money of change, men reckoned by the chalcnos. In general the chalcnos had the value of the eighth part of the silver obolus.

There can be no question of presenting here to the reader a nomenclature that comprises all names of coins found in the ancient writers. With the multiplicity of the monetary systems, these names vary from one region and one epoch to another. We have made a selection of all these terms. We have only mentioned those corresponding to the coins that we shall find employed in the cities, whose coinage we shall study. If we further apply a certain one to one of the coins that we figure, this is only the use required of us by the legend itself on the coin. By the aid of data supplied by the ancient texts, and

controlling this data by the weights that numismatists have succeeded in giving to the coins in their hands and in defining the system of weights that they reveal. As a general rule, Greek coins bear on the face only the name written in full or abbreviated, of the city or prince that issued them, and frequently on the back the names of the magistrates that supervised the fabrication. There is the entire legend in place, with some other secondary mentions. On our coins this comprises another element. The coin of gold, silver or bronze, when we present it to whoever must receive it in payment, speaks to him in a certain sense, stating its name and quality. The word and the number stamped on it tell everyone what value is assigned to it by the State that issued it to the market.

These indications or guarantees are not usually offered by Greek coins to business men. The public judges them by what it knows of the coinage of the city that struck them, by the impression that they give to the eye that examines them and the hand that weighs them; but in the commercial cities to which flow pieces of very different origins, the work of the banker and changer must have become very complex, when he must sort all these coins and determine their relative values. The Greeks appear to have had sometimes a vague suspicion of the profit found in taking the place occupied by modern financiers. There is a certain coin bearing its name in full letters on the field. The word obolos is read on the bronze coins of Metaponte and of Chios,¹ the word triobolon is on the bronze pieces of Samothrace,¹ tetras on the bronze coins of Segeste, ogechia on a piece from Syracuse.² Elsewhere this name is recalled only by the first letters of the name of the coin. For example, Corinth and Leucas issued small silver coins with the type of the head of the Gorgon and the legend trie- (triembolon, 1 1/2 obolus or the quarter of a drachma).³ On other little pieces of the same cities and of the same metal are found the abbreviations dio or d, initial of the word diobolon.⁴ Elsewhere are monograms or beads repeated several times, that indicate the value of the coin. At Ocolophon the silver hemiobolus bears on the field the monogram composed of the letters H K (Hemiobolon).⁵ The triobolus of Mantinea has three acorns of this type.⁶

Note 1.p.75. Babelon. Traite etc. I. p. 430.

Note 1.p.76. The same. I. p. 424

Note 2.p.76. The same. I, p.459.

Note 3.p.76. The same. I. p.426.

Note 4.p.76. The same. I. p.425.

Note 5.p.76. The same. I. p.432.

Note 6.p.76. The same. I. p.424.

Elsewhere in a very late epoch in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. belong the coins on which the engraver in some fashion has inserted in the legend a mention of this sort. At length, experience had caused men in some places to see the advantages offered by this practice. One might expect to see this become general; but it did not so occur. These coins with declared value were always the exception. The inventors of money did not know all at first. By the effect of habits formed in the time when they learned to use this means of exchange, the people always knew how to do without an indication that seems indispensable to us today. We no longer conceive money without this official determination of its legal value.

4. Types, Marks and Legends.

For the history of art the study of the types has an interest very different from that of the legends. The types are the figures of man or woman, animal or plant, that decorate either both or one side of the coin.⁷

Note 7.p.76. P. Gardner. Types of Greek coins, an archaeological essay. 1883. We have borrowed more than one useful suggestion from this memoir, in which is much taste and solid erudition. The 16 plates that accompany it are excellent. Never have coins been reproduced from better impressions and with more clearness.

As soon as it had appeared in Asian Greece, the coin was at first a simple round piece of silver or electrum, a heavy and globular bit, that sometimes had the appearance of an almond, and tended to change into a disk. It did not at first aim at that perfect regularity obtained by the mechanical process in our days applied to the preparation of blanks; but it no less approached by degrees the circular form, which it has since retained among all ancient and modern peoples. Assume a square or lozenge piece. The fingers that seize it strike its corners. The round piece is more easily handled; it risks less than any

other to make holes in tags and pockets.

The adoption of this form cannot fail to be for much in the mode of execution of the images of Greek money. The themes of this decoration could be given to the engraver by the magistrates, interpreters of the traditions of the city; but what was the business of the artist was to find the arrangement best in harmony with the form and dimensions of the field. A goddess or a god, protector of the State, was what he had most frequently represented. He could show this deity on foot, like the statue personifying it in the temple. He was not deprived of doing this on occasion (Pl. VI, 6, 17; coins of Caulonia and of Posidonia); but the smallness of the field then forced him to reduce the image much. Most frequently, he preferred to detach the head from the body. That would alone occupy all the space at his disposal; he then felt himself better able to give it by breadth of modeling the character of nobility, implied by the conception that he had the duty to express. This image marvellously suited a circular field. The curves of the top of the head and of the profile were nearly parallel to the contour of the piece. If by chance there remained between this contour and that of the face a void that displeased the eye, nothing was easier than to fill it, either by extending the hair behind, or to scatter around the principal type some little symbols, like those that on one of the most ancient coins of Syracuse, which accompany the head of the nymph Arethusa (Pl. VI, 1, 24).

The head of a man or a woman, treated as a motive sufficient in itself, is a theme rarely used by the arts preceding Greek art. They could admit it sometimes as a motive of ornament as on the Hathor capitals; but those arts were rarely narrative. In the tablets chiseled on the surfaces of their tents, temples and palaces, the Egyptian sculptor and the Assyrian sculptor found no pretext to separate the head from the body. No isolated heads or even busts, either in the intaglios of their metal seals or in those of their cylinders. On the contrary in Greece, this conventional idea was suggested to the artist by even the data of the programme that he had to draw, from the day when he was required to contribute to the success of the new invention. He had very quickly understood what was the motive best suited to the area that he had to fill; he knew how to manage

and to vary its effects. The trouble that he took for that purpose did not fail to aid the progress of Greek sculpture. From generation to generation, these good workmen with the graver applied themselves with patient persistence to diversify and embellish their preferred type. In the course of the apprenticeship that would last more than a century, they exerted themselves in heightening the charm of the female face by the elegance of the jewels and of the coiffure. They learned to preserve to the modeling all its accuracy and also all its delicacy, even in the very slight projection that suited the monetary effigy; they came to passing from one plane to the other in rendering the lines of the face, by light and almost imperceptible touches of the tool. These workshops of the engravers of coins were like a school where he was more left to himself than elsewhere in imitating all the refinements of the wisest profession, and in learning to perfect the difficult art of relief.

These heads of men or of women furnished the engravers of Greek coins the motives of which they made most frequent use in all times; but they also had too inventive a mind to adhere to a single series of images. In monumental sculpture in Greece, the sculptor had supplied to the form of the pediment and the metope the figures that he had to place there, to group and set them so that they should appear to move at their ease. Our engraver did not show himself less skilful in utilizing the field of the little round area, where must be inscribed the type that the city had chosen for its coinage. See what arrangements he adopted. When he desired to fill the entire space allowed him to the limit of the contour, he did this with two figures facing each other, standing or leaning toward each other. A certain nymph defends herself from the embrace of a satyr (Pl. IV, 16, 20; coins of Ephesos and of Lete); also two women who lift an amphora (Pl. VI, 1/, an uncertain city of Thrace). Further, the same result is obtained in another fashion. Here it is a Hermes with caduceus in hand leading two oxen to pasture, or indeed a horseman armed with two spears and advancing to the right (Pl. IV, 20; coin of Alexander I of Macedonia; IV, 8, coin of the Perrovians). There is again a lion springing on the rump of a bull (Pl. IV, 2; coin of Acanthos); but the theme indicated does not always imply this complication of the image.

The artist was not embarrassed in obtaining the desired effect with a single figure. To that figure he gave the attitude that developed its width by bending the knees and the movement of the torso thrown forward. Such is the Hermes running; also such is the flying Nike (Pl. IV, 1; Elis). Even the figure of a man standing and nude with some skill could be made to occupy sufficient width to appear well in its place; it sufficed to extend his arms and to suspend from one of them a drapery that aided the image (Pl. VI, 16; Poseidonia). Further, the person with the same pose of a combatant ready to strike, the chlamys being lacking; but before Apollo the artist has placed a walking deer beneath his left arm; certain myths connect this animal with the worship rendered to that god (Pl. VI, 6; Caulonia). Finally, if any motive seems to present itself to occupy this post, it is that of a passing quadruped, a lion, boar, bull or winged horse (Pl. V, 19; Siris). Sometimes if represented at a larger scale, the forepart of the animal suffices to fill the field. That is the case of the bull with human face that several cities have placed on their coins, to represent as deified the river which waters their fields (Pl. VI, 10; Gela). Although of smaller size, the bird succeeds in playing this part without disadvantage, either flying with extended wings (Pl. IV, 3; Eleon), or placed on the ground, it extends its head toward one edge of the coin and toward the other straightens the group of the great feathers of its tail (Pl. VI, 12; Himera).

On most of these coins, the effigy comprises only one isolated figure, at most we have found there a small number of types showing us two figures facing each other, or the traditional type composed of a man or an animal that serves him as a companion or steed. The engraver has taken these very simple images, then the increased diameter of the coin has induced him to dare more. His first idea was then to place around the principal type slender figurines symmetrically arranged, which relieved the eye of the spectator from the sensation of a void. On a Sicilian coin, four dolphins appear to frolic around the head of Arethusa (Pl. VI, 12; Syracuse). When the engraver must treat the spacious field of the tetradrachma and of the decadrachma, he commenced by multiplying the accessories there; but he soon became bolder and knew how to adopt themes, which without parasitic additions sufficed in themselves to fill the en-

entire surface of the blank. On a coin of Syracuse that its sunken square of its fabrication allows it to be referred to the 6th century, one already sees appear this group of the chariot harnessed with two horses (Pl. VI, 3; Syracuse), that on the coins of that city will later become a beautiful quadriga drawn with vivid charm by spirited coursers (Fig. 55). The motive was found. To make it a masterpiece, adult art only had to develop it, to carry into the execution of the image the noble ease of a purer and broader style.

Where could it find these types, that being impressed on the ingot of metal conferred on it such elevated dignity, these types in which the city personified itself? What was the principle of this selection and what rules governed it? To reply to that question, it is not necessary to survey the long series of Grecian coins; it suffices to remember the importance of the part that religion played in all societies of the ancient world, in their primary form. By the empire that religion exercised over all the thoughts and acts of the men of that time, one could explain all the institutions of the ancient city. In these conditions, what other images could the magistrates have dreamed of placing on the public money than those of the divine protectors of the city, of those gods that it constantly endeavored to secure their favor by the rigorous observation of the rites, and by the prodigality of the dedications and sacrifices? Doubtless on the first coins, on the Lydian and Ionian pieces was placed any figure, the head or body of an animal, an artificial monster. This mark sufficed to define the official character of the piece stamped by the State; but when the engraver felt himself more at ease, more a master of his graver, the themes changed in character. In various ways, some showing us the image of a certain deity, others recalling by an allusion or an emblem the memory of the god or goddess, the types represented on the coins agree in recalling one of the traditional cults of the city, most frequently that of those local religions, that ^{have} placed their deepest roots and have taken most hold on the souls of the people.

Note 1. p. 31. Because of the religious character of these types, Ernest Curtius has gone so far as to suppose that these first coins in Ionia were struck in the temples themselves, with ingots of metal deposited there. (S. Curtius. *Leber der*

religiösen Charakter des griechischen Münzen, in Monatsheften of the Academy of Berlin. 1869. p. 465-481. The appearance of these coins is not of a nature to confirm this hypothesis. The types have nothing that suggests the idea of coinage originated in the enclosure of a temple.

In what might be termed the incunables of numismatics are found but a very small number of these types, where the engraver seems to have taken as models statues of the cult. Such are the Apollo of Caulonia (Pl. VI, 6) and the Poseidon of Poseidonia (Pl. VI, 18). Again, such is this Dionysos who holds a cup in one hand and in the other a vine branch.² In the island of Cyprus, it is a Hercules armed with bow and quiver.³ At Tar-ente it is Taras, who rides a dolphin (Pl. IX, 1, 3). Below him a marine shell determines the location of the scene. The border of the coin with its gilloche perhaps recalls the cable of the ship that brought Taras and the first colonists across the always agitated waves of the Ionian sea. Cities revere their eponymous heroes as their divine founders.

Note 2. p. 31. Gardner. Types. Pl. I, 5. Uncertain city of Macedonia.

Note 3. p. 31. Gardner. Types. Pl. IV, 21.

More frequently at that epoch, for reasons of esthetics and of suitability for the area, the deity whose effigy must give the coin a religious character is only represented on it by a head, which is then seen in profile. In many cases, this head is defined by the entirety of its features, by its coiffure and by certain attributes. How could one not recognize at first view the head of Hercules in a bearded head, covered by a lion's skin (Pl. VII. Dicea. Coin of Dicea) and that of Dionysos in another head, bearded and crowned with ivy (Pl. VI, 12; Naxos), that of Athena in the head with helmet, that decorates all the coins of Athens (Pl. V, 7, 9; Athens)? It is sometimes difficult to give a name to many of these images, to those elegant heads of young women, where the artist has pleased to encircle by one or two little bands the abundant hair, whose wavy locks curl on top of the head and fall on the nape in a dense mass. (Pl. VI, 11; Velia). Is this Aphrodite that he desired to represent, or rather is it one of those nymphs in which the sculptors also loved to personify the rivers and sacred fountains? What in some places allows numismatists to name with all pres-

probability certain of these indeterminate effigies, is what we know of the local religions by the evidence of ancient authors. Since men commenced to strike silver in Sicily, until the day when the monetary art attained its climax, Syracuse never ceased to place on its coinage a female head, that in its entirety always retains the same appearance, but which the ever increasing skill of the engraver makes more and more noble and charming. In the type to which this great city remained so faithful, men agree in seeing the ideal image of the naiad Arethusa, the benefactress that one could almost call the nurse of the city. Corinthian colonists came with Archias and deified the beautiful and fresh fountain. At the inexhaustible flow of its limpid waves, they must have been able to establish themselves, and at need to enclose themselves without ever fearing the lack of water on that island of Ortygia, which commanded the entrance to the best natural harbor in all Sicily. Syracuse grew very rapidly and soon extended on the adjacent main land, where it found rivers and fountains to its content; but the impression first received no less remained, perpetuated by myths accredited by the inventions of the poets and by a cult, that always remained very popular. Here is then no possible doubt; but in a similar case, one is sometimes embarrassed to choose among several appellations appearing equally plausible.

The numismatist would then be frequently embarrassed if asked to name each of these female heads that decorate one face of so many Greek coins. The difficulty is less for male heads, that are generally better defined by the design of the face and the arrangement of the coiffure; but whether one or the other is concerned, he can resign himself to this uncertainty. For the coins of cities whose histories are best known to us, usually the name is quite easily supplied, when the engraver has neglected to inscribe it beside the type. As for those less numerous, when for lack of information, one is compelled to omit any precise designation, the types decorating them are too entirely similar to those of the pieces of the first class, for one to hesitate in attributing to them the same character.

These effigies of gods and goddesses are not alone in attesting the vigor of the impression, that the religious idea has made on Grecian coins. Likewise by the intervention of this

of plants or of various objects, that occupy on the face the place usually assigned to figures of men or women. In most cases are recognized either an attribute of a certain deity or a monster, a stag, bird or insect, that the old myths give him as a habitual companion, or the victim most commonly sacrificed on his altars. Thus at Chalcois the lyre forms a pendant to the beautiful head of Apollo on the other side. Elsewhere the tripod suffices to recall the prophetic power of the god of Delphi, whose oracle presided at the birth of the city. The owl appeared on the reverse of all coins of Athens. The popular imagination very early gave this bird that sees in the night as associate of the goddess Athena, whose penetrating eye pierces the darkness of the obscured sky. Athena, daughter of Zeus who launches the thunderbolt, perhaps originally personified the lightning.¹ An olive branch on the field recalls the gift that Attica received from her divine protectress.

Note 1. p. 33. On the true sense of the word *glaukops*, the traditional epithet of Athena, see Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, p. 75, note 4.

Sometimes, by our ignorance of all the detail of local myths, we are unable to render a reason for a relation of this kind, pointed out to us by the examination of a series of coins. For example, see the coins of Ephesus. One readily finds on the most ancient electrum coins and on silver pieces of the 4th century the type of the deer, and in all times that of the bee. (Pl. VII, 3). For the stag there is no difficulty; Artemis, the great goddess of Ephesus was the "mistress of wild beasts." She pursued the stag through the thickets and pierced it with her arrows; but why the bee? On the supports of statues representing the great goddess of Ephesus are figured bees with the stag and other animals;¹ but these statues date from a very late epoch, and they do not inform us concerning the nature of the bond that the myths and the rites of the worship established in the most distant times between this insect and the oriental divinity, which the Ionian colonists identified with their Artemis, when they fixed themselves at the mouth of the Meander to explain the choice of this emblem, nor explain that the priestesses of Artemis bore the name of bees;² but it were that one ancient text bears witness that in various places the priestesses of Demeter were so called,³ there is not one that

attests the use of the same name for the priestesses of the Ephesian Artemis.⁴ In the inscriptions, they are mentioned under the generic name of *hierai*,⁵ and Strabo employs the word *virgins* to designate them.⁶ Perhaps it is necessary to confess that we are ignorant of the reasons that the Ephesians adopted this symbol, and were faithful to it for long years.

Note 1.p.84. Alabaster statue in the museum of Naples (Roscher's Lexicon, col. 588). Marble statue of the Vatican (Barclay Head, Coinage of Ephesus, No. 494).

Note 2.p.84. Babelon. Wraite. Part II. Vol. I, p.276. Also see Arthur B. Cook. The tree in Greek mythology (Jour. Hell. Studies. Vol. XV. 1895. p. 1-4).

Note 3.p.84. Pindar. Schol. ad pindar. IV. 104. See Hesychius, also Callimachos, Hymns, II, 110-112, Porphyre, *De antro nympharum*. XVIII.

Note 4.p.84. The sole evidence that can be invoked is a verse of Eschylus, belonging to a lost piece, "the priestesses," mentioned in a scholium of Aristophanes (*Frogs*, verse 1274; Greek).

This verse might be interpreted in the following fashion: - "keep silent; those who direct the *melissai* (bees) are ready to open the temple of Artemis." This refers to an exhortation addressed to the faithful that await beneath the porticos the hour of sacrifice, and the *melissonomoi* would be the neocopes, more particularly the *megabyze*, who we know were charged with the oversight of the priestesses at Ephesus; but in spite of the mention of Artemis, it is not certain that Ephesus was the place of the scene of the drama of Eschylus.

A gloss of the *Etymologicum magnum* (see Esseen) adds in more certainty. The existence of the Ephesian *melissai* (bees) then remains a matter of pure conjecture.

Note 5.p.84. C. I. G. 2938.

Note 6.p.84. Strabo. XIV. p. 641.

We could cite many other examples of these accessory types thus added to or substituted for the superior types, to those that borrow from the human figure the traits employed to lend a visible form to one of the aspects, under which the Greek mind had conceived the acts of the mysterious powers that govern the world. Thus at Argos the Lycian Apollo is represented by a wolf (Pl. VIII, 11). The Greeks had lost sight of the true sense of an epithet certainly connected with the root *luc*,

from which are derived in their language as in Latin a number of words expressing the idea of light. The two words *Lychios* and *lychos* sounding nearly the same to the ear, they had established between them an entirely arbitrary relation, on the faith of which they had made the wolf the emblem of the cult that received Apollo, where piety honored him under that name. At Carpathos a dolphin recalls the memory of Apollo Delphinios, and at Teos, a griffin that of the myth according to which Apollo left Greece in the last days of autumn, to pass some months among the Hyperboreans until the return of spring, beyond the Balkan mountains, from which the blasts of Boreas fall on the plains of Thrace. That distant and mysterious region had not known the rigors of winter.¹ It was believed, that there the griffins disputed with the fabulous Arimaspes the gold that abounds in the northern countries of Europe.² At Miletus, whose patron was Apollo Dicyrus, the emblem on the coin is the lion. Apollo, as evidenced by the most transparent of the myths concerning him, is a solar god and the image of the king of carnivora was most appropriate to recall the devouring ardor of the summer sun.³ The Greeks of Asia had perhaps borrowed this symbol from the artists of western Asia, as they had done for many other motives. It was again a borrowing of this kind, that must be recognized in the type of the coins of Acanthos, where is seen a lion devouring a bull. (Pl. IV.2). The lion would again be the sun that innales and absorbs the water. This would be represented by the innacitant of damp and grassy meadows, the bull.

Note 1.p.85. Pean of Atceus analyzed by the rhetor Himerios. (Orationes XIV,10). Theognis. 775-779.

Note 2.p.85. Herodotus. III, 116; IV, 13, 27.

Note 3.p.85. Macrobius. Saturnales. I, 21, 16-17; Elien, De natura animalium. XII,7. Cumont has gathered the texts which prove that the lion was regarded as a personification of the solar heat. (Textes et monuments relatifs au culte de Mithra. Vol. I, p.101-102).

We have mentioned some of the types on the coins of cities taken in different regions of Greece, that correspond to the diversity of the rites or the religion of Apollo, and to those of the names under which he was invoked as a god always the same. It would be easy to establish series of the same kind in

for the other ^{great} Hellenic deities. In the multitude of Greek coins, such is at least for the first age the predominance of types, that are the more or less direct expression of a religious thought, that one feels it right to base on analogy, to attribute the same character to many types, whose true signification had not been fully seen at first. For example, see this shield with two notches that for more than two centuries is repeated on the coins of Thebes and of several other cities of Boeotia. (Pl. VIII, 19). Boeotian shield, say all the manuals, and it is thought unnecessary to add to that brief description. It is possible that a shield of this form may have been in use in that country when this type was adopted; but is it probable that the equipment may never have been modified among that nation of soldiers? Is not the singular persistence of this type better explained, if it be admitted that here must be seen the shield of Hercules, the preeminent Theban hero? When the hollow square vanished from Theban coins, the types that became pendants to the shield were Hercules as an infant strangling the serpents, holding his bow or carrying off the tripod of Delphi, etc.¹ Hercules is everywhere on the Boeotian coinage in different postures. It would be the same in the cult of Poseidon Hippios, that alludes to the horse which is the most common type of the reverse of Thessalian coins. With a stroke of his spear, the god has caused a spring to stream from the rock, from which comes a spirited horse, the ancestor of the breed that still supplies its best mounts to Grecian cavalry.² On the face of the same piece, a young man subdues a bull. (Pl. IV, 7; Larissa). The hero Inessalos, it is said. May not rather recognize Jason there, the national hero of Inessaly, Jason in combat with the bull with crazed feet; that he could force to bend beneath his yoke? The single sandal of Jason, the hero with but one foot shod that figures in the field of the coinage of Larissa.³

Note 1. p. 38. p. Gardner. The types of Greek coins. Pl. III, 11-1

Note 2. p. 38. (Latin). Lucan. VI, 383.

Note 3. p. 38. Babelon. *Traité des monnaies grecques*. Part II. Vol. I, p. 1012.

We could justify this mode of interpretation by a number of other examples taken almost at random; so without insisting farther, we shall limit ourselves to calling attention to a

group of types, which at first sight might not appear to have the same character. We mean the types called agonistic, those representing one of those chariots drawn by one, two or four horses, which contest the racing prize in the great games of Greece. On the meaning of these images is no possible doubt. What they commemorate is one of those victories sung by Simonides and Pindar, a victory won at Delphi or Olympia, on the isthmus or at Nemea, by a citizen or the prince of the city that struck the coin. When Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegion, won at Olympia the prize of the race of mules, he caused a chariot to be engraved on the coinage of Rhegion, and on that of Messana a chariot to which was harnessed a mule, (he reigned over the two cities). Likewise Gelon placed on his coinage at Gela and Syracuse the image of a charion drawn by four horses, to which he owed at Olympia that crown which aroused the most lively appreciation (Pl. VI, 3, 4). The Nike flying above the horses is a clear allusion to that victory, whose date of 480 is given by Pausanias. Hiero, brother and successor of Gelon, made himself illustrious by victories of the same kind, that he recalled in the same manner, of this type, very tasteful from the elegance of the motive supplied, passed from the coins of Syracuse to those of several other Sicilian cities under the influence of their tyrants.

Note 1.p.87. Pausanias. VI, 3-4.

Doubtless the pride of the triumph was for much in the act of these princes desiring praises, when they thus enrolled in the service of their glory the artists charged with engraving their coinage; but there was also something else in the feelings that suggested the adoption of agonistic types and in the popularity enjoyed by them. This was not only the desire of obtaining satisfaction of vanity, which decided athletes to impose on themselves the fatigue of professional training, and to the nobles and princes to pay the cost of a racing stable, to raise blooded horses that must be transported to Olympia or to Delphi, with all the men charged with caring for them, and of guiding to the goal in the arena the chariot to which they were harnessed. In subjecting themselves to these expenses and efforts, only rewarded by the success of a small number of competitors, for which homage was rendered to Zeus, Phoebos or Poseidon, in whose honor these games had been established by the

ancestors of the hellenic race. To represent on the public money one of these victories, whose fame echoed to the most distant colonies, was to prolong this homage, to note the beneficence shown by a certain god of Olympus to the city, when he had thus placed above all the sons of that city, who had gone to represent it in those great meetings of the national sport. The crown so obtained was the gift from the deity. The artist whose graver perpetuated its memory was the interpreter of an aroused and grateful and grateful piety.

As for the living portraits that are admired on the coins of the kings succeeding Alexander, we do not have to speak of them here. From the 6th to the 4th centuries, no prince or tyrant, whatever reason he had to be proud of his exploits and his power, was permitted to place his own effigy in the field of the coinage struck by him. The gods alone had rights to this field. To dare to substitute for their image or the emblems recalling the worship rendered to them, the image of a mortal would have seemed an impropriety and almost an impiety. When by the conquest of Asia and the creation of the great Macedonian monarchies, the Grecian world was transformed, royal effigies were placed on the coinage by favor or a sort of compromise and as if by a ruse. The change sought and the pretext therefor was found in the image of the deified Alexander, collected and disguised as Zeus Ammon. This image accustomed minds and eyes to see the head of a king replace on coins that of an inhabitant of Olympus or of a local deity, a hero or a nymph.

For the earlier period, from the religious beliefs of the Greek people and the myths connected therewith, proceeded the types of the coinage. The fact is constant; but to pretend that this rule had no exceptions would go beyond measure. There is a certain series of types that cannot be really explained in that way without an excess of subtilty. We mean those which are ^{the} figured translation of even the names of the cities, by whom were struck the coins bearing them. Thus Selinonte has for a secondary type a leaf of parsley (selinon); Rhodes has a rose (rhodon), Melos a pomegranate (melon), Phocæa a seal (phocne), Tancle a sickle (in the language of the Sicules, zachelon signifies sickle),¹ Ancona an arm bent at the elbow (agkon). It has been desired to suppose that myths or local rites gave the reason for the choice of these types;—but the two last

examples cited will suffice to show what is forced in that theory when carried to an extreme. The bent arm of the coins of Ancona is nothing but a pun, as we should say. The sickle of the oldest coins of Messina (Pl. IX,4) represents the curve of that coast, where in spite of earthquakes will always rise a great city, whose spacious port will receive the ships that pass through the strait. Elsewhere, other types recall some product of the soil of the country over which reigns the city that issues the coinage. On the coins of Metaponte are seen an ear of wheat on the back, a sign of fertility of the territory of that rich city (Pl. IX,7). At the same place on the coins of Cyrene appears the image of a plant, that can only be the silphium, a shrub only growing in Africa, whose roots, leaves and seeds were exported by Cyrene into all Greece, and used in perfumery and medicine (Pl. VII, 22, 23). All these types are what were formerly termed *armes* in the language of heraldry, or *canting arms*. They were well named, by a play on words or by recalling a trait characteristic of the local landscape, that they aroused at once a precise idea in the mind of the spectator. Even before reaching the legend, one whose eye fell on the piece offered to him, knew what city had struck it. This procedure presented too many advantages for cities to resist the temptation to use it, when they found it possible in some way. Gods and myths had nothing to do with that affair.

Note 1.p.88. Thucydides. VI. 4.

Note 2.p.88. P. Gardner. Types of Greek Coins.p.44-45.

We have insisted on types. By their images in relief then depend on statuary; they are works of sculpture. Particularly by that name, one could almost say that it is by that title alone, that coins interest the historian of art. By the diversity of their themes and by that of their execution, these types differentiated the coins, gave each of them certain characters distinguishing them from other pieces from the same city, struck at a different time, and even more clearly from coins issued from some other mint in another province of Greece. These variations in the repertory and style do not escape the taste of a connoisseur. Provided that the coin is well preserved, he will date it at the first glance with a sufficient approximation. But when he would establish the series of multiple issues from a certain mint always remaining faithful to the

same type, he must introduce other indications. We refer to all the little figures scattered in the field, where they do not at first attract attention, being placed above, below or beside the principal type. These are what have been termed symbols, quite improperly.¹ A more correct idea would be given by calling them marks of different coining officials. They represent there the magistrate in each city placed over the fabrication of the coinage. It is possible that they frequently reproduced the impression of the intaglio, which served him as a personal seal, like his signature.

Note 1.p.20. P. Gardner. The Types etc. p.53.

Of these differences and the part played by them, there cannot be given a better example than that furnished by the coins of Metaponte. All have on the back an ear of wheat; but one sometimes sees a grasshopper climbing the awns of the wheat, (Pl. V,4), and sometimes a bird posed on a leaf that falls from the stem. Elsewhere is in the same place a fly, a mouse or some other little animal. What these marks signify and teach us is, there are at Metaponte beneath the leaf bearing the bird the three letters A M I, the initials of a magistrate's name.

Abdera in Thrace, an Ionian colony, early attained great prosperity because of its location at the mouth of the Nestos. Its coinage is very rich and much varied, for the end of the 6th and the entire 5th centuries. The magistrates of the city, as if to assure more guarantees to those to whom this money was offered, were compelled to inscribe their names earlier and more regularly than elsewhere, at first by simple initials, then soon afterwards with all the letters, sometimes in the nominative and sometimes in the genitive with the preposition *epi*. This name is there accompanied by a mark varying with each signature, and these marks seem to allude to the meaning of the name borne by the magistrate signing the piece. On one of these coins, beside the name of Pythion is seen the tripod of Apollo Pythios; on another signed by Nicostratos, a warrior charges the enemy; elsewhere near the name of Molpagores is a female dancer, and near that of Enagon is one of those amphoras, that filled with oil or wine, were given as a prize in certain games. In the same fashion on a coin of Neapolis, near the name of Artemi(doros ?) is a figure of Artemis.

The long series of staters of Gyzius present an interesting

peculiarity. The engraver has reversed the relation existing on other Greek coins between these marks of the magistrate and the type representing the city. This at Cyzicus is the tunny, as an emblem having been in memory of the fisheries which it carried on in the Propontis. Many were salted and exported, as now done with us in Brittany by the ports of Douarennez and of Concarneau. The tunny appears on all its coins; but it occupies only a subordinate place; it is of quite small dimensions there. What extends in the field and entirely fills it is a type varying from one issue to another, that chosen by the coining magistrate in office to indicate his personal intervention. On these pieces the engraver has sometimes attached the tunny by any artifice to the principal image. On a stater, he has placed it in the hand of a winged goddess, that holds it by the tail; but more frequently, he is satisfied to place it somewhere in the field, beside or below a personage drawn at a much larger scale (vignette at end of Chapter). It does not seem that the example given by Cyzicus was followed by any other Greek city.

There are also found on the field of a coin marks of another kind. These are sometimes sunk, more frequently in relief, images so small that it is often necessary to look at them with a lens to see the design properly. They should not be confused with the emblems in which we have recognized the symbol of the magistrate and the equivalent of his signature. They do not combine with the principal type, like those in more than one case. This is because they were not made on the metal at the same time as that type. They were engraved only after striking the coin, by means of very fine punches that may be compared to the punches of our goldsmiths, or to those serving to control the coinage and to guarantee the grade of the silver and that of jewels of gold and silver. These are what are called countermarks. Their use is always perpetuated, and they appear very early in certain series. "Thus they are already found on the primitive pieces of electrum, coined before Croesus in the cities of the western coast of Asia Minor. One third of the staters of electrum with the type of the lion's head in profile probably struck at Miletus in very remote times, are most frequently covered on face and reverse by little countermarks, so delicately punched as not to change the type itself of the piece. There are found on the same example 7, 8 or sometimes even

2 different countermarks, representing the head of a boar, two crescents back to back, a bull's head, a bird, the tennis bat and various other signs scarcely defined by words. The Persian drachma or Median silver shekel is sometimes stamped by similar punches. Apparently these countermarks were placed by bankers and changers in whose hands these coins circulated; those handlers of gold and silver added for the benefit of their clients their special guarantee to that of the State, that issued that money. Thus today also in China bankers place their countermarks on foreign coins, that commercial movements bring to their counters. " 1

Note 1.p.92. Babelon. Traite. Par. I, vol. I, p. 242-243.

Other uses were also made of these countermarks. States were led to use them under the pressure of temporary necessity, to give a new circulation to worn or demonetized coins, or to accredit foreign coins in a country. Numerous coins of Grecian cities of Cilicia, contemporaneous with the rule of the Achæmenide princes, have come to us countermarked by various symbols or by Aramean letters. One can believe that these countermarks were made by satraps and other Persian chiefs, who in the 4th century had in Cilicia and Pamphylia the headquarters of their armies and their fleets; by adding these signs, these coins became fit for the payment of their troops of land and sea.² To free themselves from the cost of fabrication, certain cities by that artifice sometimes gave a legal currency to coins of a neighboring city or of a prince, whose coinage was issued in great abundance and found a good reception on the international market. This was done for Macedonian money of several cities of eastern Greece. A drachma of Alexander is struck by a countermark bearing the type and initials of Byzantium.³ Elsewhere these countermarks seem to be evidence of an attempt made in some regions of Greece to create a sort of federal coinage.⁴

Note 2.p.92. Babelon. Vol. I. p. 244.

Note 3.p.92. Waresberg-Saglio. Dictionnaire. Fig. 1044.

Note 4.p.92. Babelon. Vol. I, p. 245-246.

The types, mint marks and countermarks represent the part taken by the arts of design in the execution of the coinage. While the die has not made its impression on the blank, that

that is only an ingot; with the appearance of the type is born a coin. From that moment, this can fulfil its office without any other element of determination. This is proved by going back to the earliest coins of Lydia and of Greece. We see no trace of letters there. At the end of a certain time, perhaps half a century, is felt the need of a more precise determination. They thought of indicating on the coin the name of the city issuing it. All confusion was thus prevented; men were no longer exposed to take for each other two coins from different sources with identical types. We know what city first gave out this type; but it was soon followed nearly everywhere. At the beginning the engraver felt no embarrassment when it was necessary for him to place this legend on the field. He began by only placing there two or three letters, the initials of the name; then having become more skilful in using space at command, he ended by finding means to inscribe there this name with all its letters. Still there were some cities that did not wish to profit by this new skill of the graver; Corinth signed its coins only by a single letter, the kappa, which everywhere else had been dropped early. This unusual character sufficed to make its coinage recognized in the entire Adriatic basin, where it was in current use. So long as Athens counted in the Grecian world, it placed on its coins only the letter Α or Η. These coins were current in the north, east and south of Greece, among half-barbarous people; they did not like to be disturbed in their habits. Thus Athens held to conserving to its didrachmas and tetradrachmas as much as possible, the appearance in which they were formerly presented in those distant countries, and had found favor there. For the same reason, it scarcely authorized the engravers of its coins to follow the progress of the art, even in quite distantly. On its coins the head of Pallas retained an archaic appearance even in the full 5th century.

Where there did not exist motives of this kind to remain faithful to the old use of initials, what was usually engraved on the coinage was not the name itself of the city; it was the ethnic adjective derived from that, being on the coins of Syracuse, Syracusanion, Syracusanos, on those of Ephesus, Ephesianion, Ephesianos, on those of Rhodes, Rhodianion, Rhodianos, etc. Yet this rule has exceptions. On the coins of Agrigento is read the

name of the city, Akragas in nominative singular. It is the same for Tarente, when it desired to see there the word Taras the name of the eponymous hero, whose image is represented on the coinage or the name of the city. Sometimes, though rarely, this name is in the genitive; Akragantos, Zakynthos. There are also examples of the ethnic in the nominative singular; Rhegionos on a coin of Rhegion, Kydoniatas on a coin of Cydonie. Elsewhere is found an adjective terminated by a suffix that marks its dependence or appurtenance. On some coins of Panormus, for the normal formula is substituted Panormikon, Panormic (money). The legend Arkadikon, Arcadian (money) defines the federal coinage in Arcadia. There may be cited as examples of exceptional and singular formulas on coins of Thracian kings the legends Kotyos character, of Scythia nomina; on Cretan coins of Gortyna and of Phaistos the legends Gortynon to paima, Phaiston to paima. Nomina is derived from nomos, to cut, and paima to strike.

In certain commercial cities, as soon as the coinage of money had become somewhat active, the magistrates charged with it did not delay placing on this coinage their personal marks, of which we have given many specimens; but they could not think of engraving their names only much later, when engravers had learned to write. Abdera was one of the first cities where they adopted this custom. From the middle of the 5th century they signed with their name the coins that they issued. In the 4th and 3rd centuries, a number of other cities adopted the same rule. That is why on a coin are sometimes found several names of magistrates, which recalls the coining triumphs of the Roman republic. As for the signatures of artists engraved in such fine characters, as first to entirely escape the attention of numismatists, we have stated that they appeared late and are very rare. It is the same with words written with all letters or abridged, that indicate the value of certain pieces. Likewise entirely exceptional on some coins of Magna Grecia and of Sicily, where are found explanatory inscriptions analogous to those sometimes presented by vases. On the reverse of a coin of Pandosia is seen a nude young man, that holds in one hand a patera and in the other a branch of leaves; fish jump between his legs. It would seem that the last trait would have sufficed to give the sense that the engraver proposed to attri-

attribute to this image; but for greater clarity, he inscribed the word Krathis behind the back of the ephebe. This is the name of the river that waters the territory of Pandosia. Also is found the word Eypsas, the name of another stream on a coin of Selinonte. Elsewhere is an epithet giving the name under which was adored in a certain city the god represented on its coinage. On a coin of Galaria is read the word Soter near Zeus enthroned with sceptre in hand, and on a coin of Crotona is the word Oikistas,¹ behind a Hercules seated on a rock and armed with the club. Hercules was regarded as the founder of the city. On a tetradrachma of Syracuse, beneath the triumphal chariot in the great games, the engraver has represented an armor, whose presence on the reverse is explained by the word Atala, "prize of victory." Sometimes the legend indicates in what conditions the coin was struck. On a coin of the Sicilian city of Alaesa is the legend Synachizon.² This is an abbreviation of the same formula found at Sais with the three letters Syn.³ These coins were issued to circulate in several confederated cities. On the reverse of a coin of Miletus is this mention: - eg Didymion iore (drachma being understood). This drachma came from an issue made by the authority that administered the rich sanctuary of Apollo Didymus.⁴

Note 1.p.95. P. Gardner. Numes. Pl. II, 1, V. 2.

Note 2.p.95. The same. Pl. XV, 1.

Note 3.p.95. The same. Pl. XVI, 5.

Note 4.p.95. The same. Pl. XVI, 5.

On a stater of electrum with the type of a grating stag, which was struck somewhere on the coast of Asia Minor, either at Ephesus or at Halicarnassus where it was found, is read this curious legend: - Phannos em sera, I an the word of Phanes. (fig. 50)? As proposed, is it necessary to recognize in this Phanes son, of whom Herodotus (II, 4, 11) relates, that being chief of a body of Greek mercenaries in Egypt under Amasis, he betrayed the Pharaoh to pass into the service of Cambyses and aid the Persians to conquer the valley of the Nile? As a recompense for the service rendered, Cambyses established Phanes as tyrant in Halicarnassus, his native land. Or was not Phanes rather a banker, who issued these coins for the needs of the business relations, that he undertook with Lydia and with the cities of the coast, the adjacent islands and the Greek colonies

of Egypt? Rather this hypothesis appears to authorize the use of the word to sema, the mark. This would be the ~~the~~ ~~monument~~ of a private coinage, that in some places might have preceded a public coinage, and have suggested the idea of it. In this Ionia where Grecian genius in the 7th and 8th centuries displayed such marvellous activity, private men incited by the desire to gain might have thus preceded the State, and have been the first to give the example of many useful innovations.

Note 5.p.95. Babelon. Traite. Part I. Vol. I, p.383. Barclay Head. *Historia numismatica*. p. 529.

Chapter XVI. Numismatics. History of Monetary Art.

1. Materials of Coinage in the course of the archaic Age.

The first coins circulated in the bazaars of the Greek cities of Asia were neither of gold nor of silver. They were made of that natural alloy of gold and silver supplied by the river sands and mineral veins of the rocks of Tholus; but it was not long required for wise merchants like the Lydians and Ionians to be struck by the inconveniences presented by the coinage of electrum. It showed more or less frankly the yellow tint of gold; but if it pleased the eye, it had the defect of leaving the merchant uncertain concerning the proportion in which in each coin entered the more precious of the metals found associated there. Perhaps this merchant already knew how to test the grade of the metal with the touchstone. This stone was called the Lydian stone by the Greeks. It would then seem that in Lydia were discovered its properties, and that men had learned to use them; but this was lost time, and these assays could further give only very imperfect results; the ancients had no acids at command with the energy of those now employed for this purpose. This ^{was} what doubtless decided Croesus to take another method, of separating the two metals by refining. He adopted a double standard for his coinage. He issued coins of gold and coins of silver, the Croeseids as the Greeks said. (Pl. VII, 1, 2). These left memories that prove the eager acceptance of these coins of a good standard in all that region.

In spite of the advantage that they had found in it, the Greek cities could not follow the example given them by Croesus. They imitated him by nearly all renouncing electrum after the 6th century; but they were not able to concur in his gold coinage. Until the end of the Median wars, we shall not see any Greek city coin gold. During that entire period the only gold coins current around the eastern basin of the Mediterranean were first the Croeseids and then the Darics. The kings of Lydia and of Persia by the rich mines in their domains then alone disposed of an abundance of gold, which advised and allowed them to coin it.¹ On the contrary, there was not in Greece itself or in the territories outside Hellas as occupied by its colonists, mines that furnish this metal in abundance. The Sicilians alone then worked some veins of a mineral of gold.²

The Thasians had also found gold in the marble composing their island, and they derived a little more from the beds of Skapte Hyle or the adjacent continent, where they continued the work formerly begun by the Phoenicians.³ Siphnians and Thasians had derived from their mining benefits sufficiently great, that they were taxed, the Siphnians by exiles from Samos and the Thasians by Persian satraps; but the few hundreds of talents that yearly left those galleries were insufficient to supply the needs of a very active circulation of money. Gold was very scarce in Greece. When some ostentatious tyrant like Hiero, to show luxury desired to order for some illustrious sanctuary an important work of the goldsmith, he had great difficulty to find in the market for the artisan the necessary quantity of the precious metal.⁴ After the 4th century by the effect of the very close relation between the Hellenes and the Persian empire, this scarcity of gold was lessened; but gold came into current use in Greece in the mints only from the time that Philip of Macedon had made himself master of the auriferous lands of Mt. Pangæus, and started from it those waves of gold, that streamed into the Greek cities and there paid for the complicity, which concurred with the pikes of the phalanxes in triumphing over the resistance of Athens and of Thebes.

Note 1.p.98. The kings of Lydia derived their gold and electrum not alone from the auriferous sands borne by the torrents descending from the Æmolus. There must have been veins of the precious metal worked in Phrygia and Mysia. Those veins seem to have been alluded to in the tales current among the Greeks concerning Midas, that king of Phrygia, who changed into gold all objects touched by his fingers. The pseudo-Aristotle speaks of mines worked near Pergamon for the account of Croesus, without naming the metal obtained; perhaps this was gold. As for the kings of Persia, they disposed of the product of mines situated in the interior of the Asian continent.

Note 2.p.98. Herodotus. III. 57.

Note 3.p.98. Herodotus. VI, 46-47; VII, 118.

Note 4.p.98. Theopompus and Phanias of Eresos, cited by Athenus, VI, p.231,7. See the other texts collected by Böckh to prove this scarcity of gold in Greece in the 4th and 5th centuries. (Staatshaushaltung der Athenen. Book I, Section 3.

On the contrary, silver was early very common in Greece. In

In the Grecian peninsula and its insular dependencies as in Asia Minor were found nearly everywhere veins of argentiferous sulphuret of lead, that is still called galena from the name given to it by the Greek miners. Nothing has been found of the gold mines of the Thasians in their island; but in those heaps of scoria that exist on the southwest coast, silver is associated with gray antimonial copper, which forms there the greater part of the metallic residue.¹ In the mines of Mt. Pangæus, silver is found with gold. Herodotus affirms that Alexander, the prince that reigned in Macedon at the time of the first Median war, derived daily a talent of silver from a mine worked on his account on the western frontier of his kingdom near lake Prasias.² They were also in Cyprus near iron and copper. There were some in several islands of the Archipelago. We know this for Siphanus from Herodotus. In the course of a journey that I made in Greece fifteen years since, I heard of a company formed at Athens and that solicited a concession for working the beds of Melos, where had been found vestiges of ancient works. A little island very near Melos, the ancient Kinklos, had received the name of Argentiere from the French sailors who frequented those parts, because of the mines known to have been worked there. This metal is mentioned at Seriphos and at Antiparos, as well as at Samos in Ionian lands. It is also found on the adjacent continent in the mountainous district extending from the Phrygian Ics to the Olympus of Bithynia.³

Note 1. p. 99. L. De Launay. Description géologique des îles de Metelin et Thasos. p. 161-165. (Nouv. arch. d. missions scientifiques. Vol. I. 1891. p. 127-173). On the mines of the Thasians, see Herodotus. VI. 47. The Thasians spent in one day 400 talents of silver to offer a repast to the army of Xerxes. Herodotus. III, 57.

Note 2. p. 99. Herodotus. i. 17.

Note 3. p. 99. Galena is very abundant in Asia Minor at the contact of the calcareous and the eruptive rocks. This mineral is still mined now at Bulgardag (40.6 miles north-northeast of Merzina), and at Balla-maden (100 miles north-northeast of Samsun). K. E. Kries. Kurze Mittheilungen über Lagerstätten in asiatische Anatolien. (Zeits. für praktische Geologie. 1901. p. 141-161).

The Greek cities of the West that struck so many beautiful coins of silver, must not have been embarrassed in procuring

the material for their coinage. Northern Italy and Sicily have no mineral lands; but Sardinia was very rich with its rich beds, and by the intermediary of the Massaliotes, and especially by that of the Phoenicians of Carthage, they could derive from the subterranean treasures of Spain the ingots, then beaten by the hammers of the coiners of Tarente and of Syracuse. Africa also furnished its quota of the precious metal. This exclusive use of the silver standard in the entire archaic period explains the meaning that the word *argyron* had assumed in the current language. It was applied, as we do the word *argent*, to the real fortune, or whatever kinds of money it was composed. Also among the Greeks it was said of a rich man, "that he had much money." ¹

Note 1. p. 100. On this acceptance of the word *argyron*, proved by several ancient texts and numerous terms of the language, See F. Lenormant. *La monnaie dans l'antiquité*. Vol. I, p. 72, 174.

In the course of this long reign of silver, some cities of Asia Minor alone persisted in coining electrum, it is unknown why. Phocæa, Mitylene and especially Cyzicus, continued to issue great quantities of staters and of dracms of electrum. Until the end of the 4th century and even later when the coinage had ceased, the Cyziceniens, as they were called, remained the money most distributed in the entire basin of the Egean sea. The vogue enjoyed by all these coins is explained with difficulty; the standard of alloy varied from one issue to another. They passed everywhere as attested by many texts of authors and the accounts of the treasurers of the temples. It is known however, what depended on the quality of the metal of which they were made. "Phocæan gold is the worst of all gold," says Hezechiüs.

There is no reason to be surprised that most of the metalliferous deposits, indicated to us by the ancients as having been formerly very productive in the riparian countries of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, are not now worked. The quantity of the precious metals then in circulation cannot be compared to what it is in the modern world; it was very much less. Consequently those metals then had much greater value. It was then possible to work profitably beds, that in the present condition of the market would not pay for the trouble that they

would give. Further, then was employed slave labor for this manual toil, which reduced to almost nothing the cost of working.

Note 1. p. 101. Dr. Ing. Freise. Die Gewinnung nutzbarer Mineralien in Kleinasien während des Altertums. (Zeits. für pract. Geologie. 1906. p. 277-284).

During the entire archaic age, the ratio of gold to silver appears to have remained in Greece, what was long the rule of exchange in all Asia. In the empire of the Achemenides and in the adjacent countries, gold was valued at 13 times its weight of silver. ²

Note 2. Herodotus. III. 95.

2. Coins of Asian Greece.

Miletus, early the most powerful and richest of Ionian cities, was that in which the habit of great colonial enterprises must most quickly arouse the spirit of imitation and invention; thus numismatists are in accord in referring to the Miletan mint the first lumps of metal qualified by a stamp to fulfil the purpose of money. Nothing foresees that the coin could ever become a work of art.

Those first coins are all of electrum and from the end of the 7th century. They are ingots of round or oval shape, some being a flat plank and others more or less globular. Some have on one side only parallel strias, on the other being sunken impressions impossible to define (Fig. 57). On others is a star with balls, one part in relief and the other part sunk. This primitive money comprises quite numerous varieties in the cabinets of our museums, all of a character also indeterminate. It is scarcely money. Without a legend, there is not even a type there to represent the city. One is tempted to believe that these pieces were issued by private men rather than by the magistrates. The marks whose impression they bear notify the public that these ingots have been weighed and as the balance attests, that they correspond to one of the divisions of the system of weights of the city and its colonies. The bankers, if there were such that launched these pieces on the market, soon felt the need of placing more definite impressions on them, in which would be more easily recognized the seal of a certain counter. Here is an ingot with one face only grooved by strias (Fig. 58); but on the other are impressions sunk by three punches. In the rectangular punch occupying the middle

of the blank is distinguished the outline of a running lion; the surfaces of the other two punches are covered by irregular projections.

If there prevails great uncertainty on the conditions in which were struck these recimentary coins, the public coinage of Miletus seems to commence with a series of pieces of the same metal, that has for type either a lion rampant, sometimes turned to the left (Fig. 59) and sometimes to the right, a simple forebody of a lion, a muzzle of a lion (Fig. 60), or two and even four lions' muzzles always seen in front. Henceforth the lion personifies the glorious city. This type is found presented in various ways in an entire series of silver coins, that are referred to the second half of the 6th century.

There have been collected on this coast and on the adjacent islands a number of other coins of electrum, that by their entire appearance announce themselves also as the result of the first attempts of Ionian coinage. They are mostly classed among the uncertain, as numismatists say. By the system of weights the balance refers them and they are classified. They are divided between the miletan and the Phocæan standards. To the first belong the coins with the type of the stag and of the bee, which form the face of the coins of Ephesus, where these types reappear later. The coins of Phocæa are recognized by the type of the phoca (seal), which is the canting emblem of that city, and by the monogram Θ, that indeed appears to be a theta. The local pronunciation of the initial letter of the name of Phocæa then hesitated between two aspirate sounds, which the Greek language later must clearly distinguish by writing, but which always remained very near each other. A certain dialect employed φ where the other used θ.¹ To the Phocæan system was attached the first coins of Mitylene in the island of Lesbos, with the type of the calf (Pl. IV, 11) and the head of the boar, as well as those of Teos with the type of the griffin (Fig. 61). It is the same with the staters of electrum of Cyzicus. During more than two centuries, Cyzicus always retained the sunken square for the reverse of its coins, even when that had passed out of fashion. On the face the tunny at first occupied the entire field; then to diversify the appearance of its coinage, Cyzicus borrowed from other cities very varied types, to which it never failed to add the emblem that in a manner plays there

the part of a legend. Its engravers thus added the tunny to a head of Athena (Fig. 62), to a Triton (Fig. 63), to the head of a bearded man (Fig. 64), to a kneeling Hercules (vignette of Chapter XV), to the forebody of a cock (Fig. 65), to the muzzle of a lion (Fig. 66), etc. Lampsacus, Chios and Samos also had an electrum coinage in which the sizes seem sometimes to be approached to those of the Phœcean standard, sometimes the Miletan, and even sometimes that of the system called *Autol*. Note 1.p.103. On this subject see Babelon. *Traité*. Part II. Vol. I, p. 97-98.

Soon appreciated by commerce, the advantages of the monetary reform made by Croesus led the coastland Greeks to change their habits. For want of the gold, they struck pure silver. If they agreed to recognize the Cresseids in coins of gold and of silver, which have for type two foreparts of a lion and a bull facing each other (Pl. VII,1). Each animal extended a front paw. The lion has open jaws and the bull has a horn in front. On coins of cities of the coast, we shall find nearly everywhere motives of the same kind, heads, bodies or foreparts of the bull, lion, ram, wild boar, sphynx and griffin, actual or factitious animals. Heads or busts are frequently connected in pairs on the same piece, sometimes facing as here, sometimes back to back. By the character and arrangement of these emblems is divined the importance of the borrowings that art of Ionia has made from the arts of all adjacent Asia. In very different ways has the influence of the oriental style been exerted on the imagination and hands of the artists of that country. We shall find every trace of this penetrating influence, and it is not possible for it not to make itself felt from the beginning on this forming art of the decoration of the blank coin. The coinage of Croesus, so much sought and so popular from the day of its issue, must have been for much by the model that it offered, in the choice of subjects made by the Ionian engravers, when the coinage of silver commenced about the middle of the 6th century.

For their first silver coins, Ionian and Æolian cities retained the types used on electrum, Athens the bee (Pl. VII,2), Miletus the lion, Samos the lion and also the bull. The bull and the lion are the types of the Cresseids. But on the coins

But on the coins of Samos attributed to the reign of Polycrates (540-522), the progress of the art is already apparent.¹ These coins have on the face a lion's muzzle and the bust of a bull on the reverse (Pl. VII,4,5). The lion's head is seen in front and is of much better execution than on the coins of electrum; there is felt the work of a more skilful and more Grecian graver. Further, these are perhaps the most ancient pieces on which the engraver knew how to place a type in the sunken square on the reverse. Until then that had comprised only geometrical designs or the little impressions of movable punches. There is less accentuating in the modeling of the sphinx at Cyzicus. The type of Erythraea is a horseman, perhaps the hero Erythraeus, founder of the city, who mounts a horse at a gallop. The horse has movement. There is already a happy effort to render the spirit of the race. The winged bear of Clazomenae is not exempt from some heaviness, but there is a certain elegance in the griffin with one paw raised, that stands on the staters and drachmas of Teos (Pl. VII,6). The silver coins of Phocaea with the types of the seal and the griffin appear to have been struck with the same dies as its coins of electrum. We find at Lesbos a Gorgon's head putting out its tongue, with a sunken square on the reverse (Pl. VII,20), and another piece with a double type, on the face being a boar scratching his groin with a forepaw, and a head of Athena on the reverse (Pl. IV,4,5). The last coin presents a curious peculiarity. One reads on both sides the legend methymnaios. Methymna is one of the rare cities that commenced before 480 to place their names on their coinage. The numismatics of Lesbos further offers a singular diversity. On the obolus and half obolus is found a negro's head, on another obolus is a crowned head of Apollo, and finally on a diorachma are two calves' heads facing each other (Pl. IV,11). We reproduce the last type for the analogy that it presents to the Creseid. An arrangement of the same sort characterizes the coinage of Lampsacus and of Tenedos, on which are seen two heads back to back, one bearded and the other beardless.

Note 1.p.104. On the reasons for attributing these coins to Polycrates, see Babelon. *Traité*. Part II. Vol. I, p.289-290.

With the exceptional persistence of its coinage of electrum, Cyzicus only struck very rare and quite small coins of silver. Of all Greek colonies scattered by Miletus around the Euxine

sea, only two, sinope and Panticapeum, struck coins before 480. Sinope has for type the head of an eagle, and Panticapeum the muzzle of a lioness, that it borrowed from Miletus. This lion's muzzle also appears on the face of the coins of most Carian cities and is associated with reverses, whose type varies from one city to another (Pl. IV, 24). At Termera, this is a bearded Hercules with the legend Termerikon; at Halicarnassus and Cnidus are women's heads, that already aim at grace. One recognizes the Cnidian Aphrodite there (Pl. IV, 17); this is the first image that we possess of the celebrated goddess, that later would take form in the masterpiece of Praxiteles. The headress with the hair raised all around the skull beneath the band that retains it and is knotted above the nape in a thick ball, is nearly that of the illustrious statue. From Calyina is a statuer on which is represented on the face the head of a bearded warrior, covered by a helmet with nose-piece and fixed jaws, the top is surmounted by a thick and stiff crest (Fig. 68). This is the same helmet worn in the 6th century by the Carian hoplites. According to Plutarch, the Persians called Carians cooks, because of the crests of their helmets.¹ The style of this effigy is very archaic. The eye is a ball, the nose terminates in a ball, and the beard appears hard. The coin must date from the time under Psammetichus, when the Greek mercenaries landed at the mouth of the Nile and made the effect of men of bronze on the astonished Egyptians.² The face here is almost entirely concealed by a metal covering. The type of the reverse has an entirely different appearance. It is a lyre with 7 strings, whose body is made of the shell of a tortoise. This lyre is inclosed in a depression whose contours outline those of the instrument (Fig. 69). In this arrangement which modifies the ordinary form of the sunken square and in the entire design of the lyre, there is a freedom that contrasts with the conventional character of the modeling of the head. The engraver felt himself more at ease to reproduce a material object than to offer a faithful image of the human countenance. The type of the Reverse has been explained by a play on words. To designate the tortoise, the Greek language had besides the usual terms of Chelys and chelone a word Chelyina, which is found in the poets. Chelyina differs from Chelyna only by the initial aspirate. This tortoise shell to which were attached

the strings of the lyre, will enter the list of what we have termed canting arms.²

Note 1.p.105. Plutarch. Artaxerxes. II.

Note 1.p.108. Herodotus. II. 152.

Note 2.p.106. Babelon. *Traite*. Part II.Vol.I.p.438-439.

The crab of Cos, and for the island of Rhodes the fig leaf of Kamiros as well as the winged boar of Ialysos lend little to the effect; but on certain staters of Lindos are lion's heads of very beautiful character (Pl.IV,24). On the coins of the dynasties of Lycia are seen the bull, griffin and tortoise; but the animal most frequently represented is the wild boar. He must abound in that mountainous and wooded region. The engraver has sometimes made a very happy effort to render the pose of the stag, preparing to oppose the hunters (Pl.IV,5). In the sunken squares of many Lycian pieces is a singular motive called the triskele (three legs); it is made of three curved branches leaving a central disk. It has been proposed to see in it a solar symbol.³

Note 3.p.106. Dechelette. *Le culte du soleil aux temps prehistoriques* (Rev. arch. 1909. Vols. I, IV).

Enaselis, located on the border of Lycia and Pamphylia, gives the form of a boar's head to the prow of a ship, which it places on most of its coins (Pl.VII,8,10); but what is more curious in its coinage is the stater representing Hercules erect and overthrowing the cull with a human head (Fig. 70; Pl. VII,9). The two personages are bearded and their heads are seen in front. By the breadth given to these faces and the width of their tufted beards, this group recalls certain oriental types, the Bes of Egypt and the Izdubar of the Assyrian cylinders.¹ It is also necessary to remember the colossal Hercules found at Amathonte in Cyprus.² The Pamphylian cities of Aspendos and of Selge have for type a nude warrior, helmeted, with the round shield on his left arm on the face. In the lowered right hand he holds a short sword (Fig. 71). On the reverse is the triskele composed of three human legs here. Side, an Iolian colony, has on the face the canting type of a pomegranate (side), on the reverse being a head of Apollo or of Athena of very free work (Fig. 72). Kelenceis in Cilicia has for type a yedex, and Mallos has a figure of a winged woman, a Nike, whose attitude is that of the Nike of Archermos at Delos, which archaic sculpt

usually gives to persons running.³ As a reverse, all these coins of Mallos have a conical idol stone; this is accompanied by two symbols, that where most clearly struck appear to represent grapes (Pl.IV,21).⁴ History tells us nothing concerning the local cults of Mallos; but that Cilician city is quite near Syria, and we know what a role the conical idol stones played in the Syrian cults, were this only from the stone of Emesus.

Note 1.p.107. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I. Figs. 535, 536, 549; II. Figs. 225, 332, 337.

Note 2.p.107. The same. Vol. III. Fig. 388.

Note 3.p.107. The same. Vol. VIII. p.301-360; Figs.122-125.

Note 4.p.107. It is believed that doves are seen on certain coins (Babelon. Vol.I of Part II,p.580-581). In their images presented here, it seems to me difficult to recognize the birds.

We have already had occasion to define the very peculiar characters presented by the monuments of sculpture in the island of Cyprus, which very early was occupied and claimed by the Phoenicians and the Greeks.⁵ Thus was created a hybrid art, that if it lacks beauty yet interests the historian by what he finds there and distinguishes of the different influences, whose competition ended in a sort of compromise. The Greek cities of the island commenced to strike coins about the middle of the 6th century. The example was given by Salamine, where reigned a dynasty that claimed to be of the race of the Aecides. On the coinage of Salamine we read the names of Evelthon, Gorgos and Nicodemus, princes, the two first being known to Herodotus.¹ These names are inscribed by the letters of that syllabic alphabet, whose use was maintained at Cyprus until the 4th century.²

Note 5.p.107. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.III. p. 620-623.

Note 1.p.108. Herodotus. IV, 162; V,104; VIII, 11.

Note 2.p.108. On the Cypriote alphabet, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. p.473-498; Figs. 347-348.

Like the works of sculptors with too facile chisels, who cut in the limestone of the island so many statues and reliefs, the effigies of the coinage of Cyprus have a certain heaviness. One can judge of them by the type of couchant ram repeated on the faces of all coinage of Salamine (Pl.VII,11). On the reverse the ring cross, a symbol of Egyptian origin, which was elsewhere appropriated as an ornament, notivety Phoenician acc-

decorators (Pl.VII,12). This cross here seems to prove the relations that the island maintained with Egypt. About 560, Amasis had compelled the Cypriote dynasties to recognize his supremacy and to pay him tribute.³ It is possible that the presence of this symbol on the coinage of Salamine might be a mark of vassalage and official homage rendered to the Pharaoh of Sais.

Note 3.p.108. Herodotus. IV. 162.

This cross is found on the reverse of coins attributed to other cities of the island, Kitium, Idalion, Paphos and Soli. The types vary on the faces of these pieces: there are the lion crouching or walking, the lion's head, the winged sphynx, the bull with human head, the mask of the Gorgon, etc. Excepting some lion's muzzles that do not lack accent, all these are of rather soft execution. Yet two pieces offer some interest by the analogy which they present to the known monuments of Cypriote statuary. One of them is a tetrobolus. There is seen on the face Hercules walking at a great pace through a forest indicated by two pines with branches and leaves, the left arm extended forward and must hold the bow; but the blank must have been badly placed under the die; neither that hand nor the raised right hand brandishing the club have come out in striking. On the reverse is a bull beneath a laurel branch (Fig. 73). It is believed that here is reason to recognize a theme, that appears a favorite with Cypriote sculptors, Hercules carrying off the oxen of Geryon. The engraver had here cut in two the scene represented on a relief of very archaic style found at Athienan, the probable site of the ancient Golgos.¹ The bull on the reverse alone represents the entire hero taken by Hercules. A Again see on a stater a nude personage, whose attitude is the same as that of Hercules on the tetrobolus; but he announces himself here as Hermes by the cnemys floating on his shoulders and the caduceus is drawn on the field without thinking to place it in his hand (Pl.VII,13,14). On the reverse is an image of Egyptian origin, like the ring cross, the horned head of Zeus Ammon. By the character of the profile as well as by the arrangement of the beard cut to a point, this recalls the heads of many Cypriote statues.²

Note 1.p.109. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.III.p.573-577; Fig.387.

Note 2.p.109. The same. Vol.III. Figs. 350, 354, 504.

In connection with the coins that we have mentioned are arranged various pieces under the name of uncertainties of Asia Minor, that permit reference to that country by the places where found, the style of engraving, the form of the sunken squares, and especially the choice of types. None of them merits any particular attention.

Of the coinage of the Greek cities of the Asian coast and of the adjacent islands, we have given a sufficient number of specimens for one to judge of the part derived from the new invention by artists called to engrave an image on the blank coins. Whether the Lydians or Greeks have the right to claim the honor of that invention matters little; what is not doubtful is that the first coins struck by the Greeks are the coinage of the Ionian cities. In this as in many other matters, then to the Ionians belongs the merit of having been precursors and initiators; but the glory of being the first does not always fall to those that started earliest. They are often passed by others beginning later, that have had the advantage of finding the route traced. Indeed the Ionians taught the Greeks of the islands of the Aegean sea like those of the European continent and through them all the coastal peoples of the Mediterranean, the benefit found in substituting for the slow weighings of the crude metal the quickness of money passing from hand to hand, guaranteed against all suspicion and formed by the effigy and legend stamped on it by the State that issued it; but the Persian conquest came about the end of the 6th century to arrest the flight of their fortunate genius, and not among them from the first years of the following century did the engravers of coins, trained by and rivals of the contemporary sculptors, succeed in placing in the field of a small circle of silver an image, that in spite of its very limited dimensions, faithfully reflects the elegance and nobleness of the works of sculpture. This generous ambition of the engraver, this search for beauty of the type, is further what we shall see manifested before even the end of the archaic period; this will occur in places in European Greece and the Cyclades, particularly in Magna Grecia and in Sicily. On these coins of the cities of Asian Greece, figures of deities represented on foot are very rare; we have found there only a small number of female or male heads. What dominates by far are heads of animals, actual or

factitious. These images are more easily executed than those in which the engraver has attempted to reproduce the movement of the human body or the traits of its features. The engraver further has there another reason for adhering to this rather ordinary repertory; this is because for this kind of themes, he found models in oriental art. Thus is explained the great part in the entire coinage of Asian Greece at first by the lion, that antagonist of the great hunts that pleased the Pharaohs and especially the kings of Babylon and of Nineveh, and then after him was an entire series of composite animals, the winged lion, horse and boar, the bull with human face, the sphinx and the griffin. Those are children of an imagination and taste, that had not succeeded in seizing and rendering the superior beauty of the human figure, of a body and expressive face, play and spend themselves in combining forms that nature has separated. By the docility with which they suffer the influence of arts grown old, that do not have the appearance of richness, the engravers of Ionian and Cypriote coins show that they have not yet conquered their entire independence.

3. Coins of central Hellenic Countries.

Main and Northern Greece, Egean Islands and Cyrenica.

If various indications lead us to believe that on the coast of Asia, the bankers of Miletus initiated the Ionians in the use of money, the case is no longer the same when it is necessary to know how and when the Greeks of the western shores of the Egean sea learned to use that novel means of exchange. The first mint opened on those coasts was that in Egina. About the end of the 7th century, a certain prince Phidon at Egina struck coins of a size corresponding to a system of weights and measures adopted in the entire Peloponessus.¹ Phidon reigned over both Argolis and the adjacent islands. He even appears to have claimed the exercise of a sort of supremacy over all the States of the peninsula.

Note 1. p. 111. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 49-50.

The Temenides of Argos did not retain this predominant position long. Corinth and Sicyon prospered under the authority of the Bacchiades, Cypselides and Orthagorides. Sparta increased and caused Argos to suffer repeated defeats, by means of which Egina conquered complete independence. During a century and a half until the time when in 447 it yielded to the efforts of

Athens, this was one of the most industrious, commercial and richest cities of Hellas. It trafficked with the Phoenicians and even with Egypt. It took part in the founding of Naucratis, and had built there for its people a temple of Zeus.² Its merchants supplied the entire Peloponnesus with the wares of the Orient. To protect its merchant navy, it had a war navy. Its triremes alarmed Athens in the Saronic gulf, they distinguished themselves in the battles of the second Median war. In these conditions, the mint formerly established by Phidon could not cease. What attests its continued activity is the great number of coins of Ægina found in the islands of the Archipelago and in the Peloponnesus.³ Further, these coins all reproduce the same type; they have on the face the sea turtle and on the reverse a sunken square usually divided into 5 irregular compartments, triangles or rectangles.

Note 2.p.111. Herodotus. II. 178.

Note 3.p.111. In the course of my excursions in the Morea, I had long been struck by the great number of Ægina turtles brought to me by the peasants.

One divines the first attempts of the mint of Phidon in the oblong or globular lumps of silver, whose entire appearance betrays the awkwardness of a workman still very inexperienced. The image of the turtle is vaguely sketched and does not occupy the middle of the coin (Pl.VII,1,2), and sometimes is not entirely struck. Certain of these pieces also very nearly recall the bars and ingots of iron or of copper, that under the name of "little bits" long served to pay the price of a sale. When money appeared in its most rudimentary form, the ancient practice fell into disuse, and Phidon desired this to be noted, proud of the success of the innovation produced by him. According to Aristotle, he caused some of these bits to be placed on the walls of the temple of Hera in Argos;¹ they were shown as venerable relics of the past.

Note 1.p.112. Pollux. IX, 77.

Until 480, little change is noted in the series of the coins of Ægina. Only at length the blank became less irregular, and the shell of the turtle, at first smooth, presented along its middle a series of points forming a sort of dorsal spines. (Pl.VIII,3,4). Very frequently with punched countermarks like

the old coins of Asian Greece, all these pieces with turtles are without legends; but one cannot doubt that there is reason to attribute them to Ægina. If it is desired to reject them, it would be necessary to admit, that after Phidon Ægina struck no money, an inadmissible hypothesis. The autonomous Ægina of the 6th and 5th centuries was too enterprising and too rich not to have its mint, as then in all Hellas the cities had, which could not rival the importance of Ægina. It is understood that remained obstinately faithful to the type originated by Phidon. The particular coinage of the different cities of Peloponnessus, it appears had not supplanted in public favor the coins marked by the type of the turtle; they were scarcely current outside the frontiers of the State that issued them. On the contrary, the turtles of Ægina were familiar to all eyes and circulated everywhere, from the gulfs of Messenia and of Laconia to the entrance of the isthmus. These coins were like a common coinage, the national money of the entire peninsula. A lexicographer says:— "The turtle is a Peloponnessian coin." ¹

Note 1.p.113. Hesychius. (Greek). Likewise Pollux.IX,74.

Quite as near to central Greece as Ægina was to the Peloponnessus, Eubœa early had the two flourishing cities of Chalcis and Eretria. Both were skilful in working the copper furnished by the mines of the island itself, and exported to the principal markets of Greece arms and utensils of all kinds. The arts of plastic clay were also much cultivated. In the ardor of their expansion, they had founded colonies everywhere in the western coasts of the Adriatic, in the so-called Ionian islands and in Sicily; colonists from Eubœa had peopled and conquered for Hellenic civilization that peninsula of Thrace, that took the name of Chalcidice. For the needs of their business, Chalcis and Eretria struck coins of careful fabrication. All those of Chalcis had the flying eagle on the face (Pl.IV,3), on the reverse the wheel with four spokes; but those of Eretria presented more varied types, the mask of a Gorgon thrusting out the tongue (Pl.VII,20; VIII,5,6) and a cow's head, the same mask of a lion's muzzle, a cow turning her head to lick one of her hind feet, and an octopus with 8 volute tentacles (Pl.V,15, 1/). The last piece must be little earlier than the destruction of Eretria by the Persians. Its execution is already very free. The engraver has rendered well a very complex movement. He has

put suppleness in the bent neck of the cow and in that of the raised member. The head and flank of the animal are broadly modeled. To be noted also is a picturesque detail, the bird perched on the back of the animal. Who has not seen in a meadow a crow or a starling place himself thus on the back of one of the beasts of a herd to gather insects? If the artist has made proof of invention and skill, what is still more curious on that coin is its reverse. One is struck to find there a recall to a motive dearest to the Mycenaean decorator.² The Greeks of Euboea were of Ionian race and it is in the art of Ionia that is found most of the survivals of an art, whose tradition had been almost entirely broken in European Greece by the advent of the geometric style.

Note 2.p.113. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, p.929-926; Pl.XXI, Figs. 487, 489, 491, 492.

Carystos, third in rank of importance of the cities of Euboea, also had quite beautiful coins. On the face is a cow turning her head to lick the calf that she suckles; on the reverse is a cock (Fig. 74). On other pieces of the same city is a bull scratching his flank, or the forebody of a bull (Pl.VII,18). One will note the preference that the coiners of Euboea appear to have for images borrowed from the bovine species. The ancients connected the name of Euboea (Eu-boia, the country of beautiful oxen) with the myth of the nymph Io, who was loved by Zeus and gave birth to Epaphros in a grotto of the island, and was changed into a cow by jealous Hera.¹ These heads of oxen and cows were an allusion to a very popular myth, and at the same time a mark of origin, canting arms.

Note 1.p.114. Strabo. X. 1-3.

The coinage of Athens is less interesting by the diversity of its types and by their beauty, than by the part that it played, especially after the 5th century, in the monetary circulation in Greece and the adjacent countries, even those very distant. For that reason is it proper not to pass in silence its modest beginnings. Athens does not seem to have been one of the cities of European Greece in great haste to follow the example given by Phidion. This is suggested by the laws promulgated by Draco about the year 621 B.C. Nothing there is said of their arrangements implying the use of a metallic coinage. The assessment of fines was reckoned there in heads of cattle.

On the other hand, ancient authors are in accord in placing in the number of reforms made by Solon after 593 a monetary reform.² It would then be in the last years of the 7th century between the time of Draco and that of Solon, that the mint of Athens was opened. Those first coins of Athens were all without letters, and it is believed there is reason to recognize them in pieces of very primitive appearance, that have on the face a sunken square cut by 4 diagonal bars, with different types on the reverse, such as the owl, horse, amphora, knuckle-bone, triskele and wheel. Solon seems to have changed nothing in the types then current. He was satisfied to modify the ratio previously existing between the drachma and the money of account called the mina.¹

Note 2.p.114. Plutarch. Solon. XV,.; Aristototele. Athenion politeia).

Note 1.p.115. See the explanations of the reform given by Babelon (Traite. Part II. Vol. I, p.698) and Curtius (Histoire grecque. French translation. Vol. I, p.408).

In the pieces mentioned above most numismatists recognize Attic coins, before Solon and in his time.² This attribution has been contested. Certainty only commences with the rich series of coins that have on the face the type of the helmeted head, on the reverse being the owl in a sunken square with the legend ΑΘΗΝΑ, abbreviation of Athenion. When did Athens adopt these types? Who is the personage to whom are due these novel emblems, for which such a prodigious fortune was reserved, since they must perpetuate themselves with scarcely a change during several centuries? ³

Note 2.p.115. This is the opinion of Beule (Monnaies d'Athenes, p.15) and that of Babelon (Traite. Part II, vol.I, pa 698-723). He made important finds of these coins at Athens itself and in Attica. Others attribute these coins to Chalcis or Eretria (see the notes of Babelon).

Note 3.p.115. Babelon. Traite. Part II. Vol.I, p.723.

No text informs us in this respect; but all that is known of the history of Athens in the 6th century suggests a hypothesis, that offers a high degree of probability. We have stated elsewhere what a burst the genius of Pisistrates impressed on the life of Athens, and how by the initiative that he had taken the city was transformed, was ornamented by noble edifices occ-

decorated by sculptures, where marble tended to take the place of stone.⁴ There is reason to suppose that the attention of a chief of a State like Pisistratus must have been drawn also to the monetary types of the city, that he seemed to take up the task of preparing for the high destinies, that the near future held for it. The conjecture that presents itself to the mind elsewhere finds an indirect confirmation in what the historians tell us of the insistence with which in the course of his uneven career, Pisistratus always held to present himself as the protege of Athena. Herodotus relates how after his first exile, when Pisistratus undertook to seize the power again, by the aid of a beautiful peasant woman who represented the goddess, he succeeded in returning to the city behind the chariot in which the credulous multitude believed it saw Athena enthroned in person.⁵ Exiled a second time, when he had decided to appeal to arms to force the gates shut against him, he assembled his soldiers and partisans near the old sanctuary of Athena of Pallene, he marched on Athens from thence.¹ This devotee of Athena must have had the idea of giving as a mark to the coinage of the city the head of the goddess, under whose patronage he had placed himself, and with whom he inhabited the strong citadel. His palace and the two temples of Athena were contiguous there.

Note 4.p.115. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VII, p.315,316; VIII, p.29, 33-37, 55, 548-551.

Note 5.p.115. Herodotus. I. 60.

Note 1.p.115. The same. I. 62.

By their very rude fabrication is distinguished in a lot of archaic coins of Athens, those pieces that represent the first coins that Pisistratus caused to be engraved about the year 560 by the type of the helmeted Athena and the owl. What these pieces recall are certain fragments of sculptures on limestone discovered in the recent excavations on the Acropolis, and that men agree in recognizing as a remnant of the works executed by Athenian image-makers in the first half of the 6th century, before there was felt at Athens the influence of Ionian models.² Traits which characterize this old indigenous statuary are found again on those coins that open the series. See the effigy of Athens whose surface there occupies the entire surface of

the piece (Pl.V,9; VIII,9). "Her eyes appear pushed out of their orbits and are as round and globular as those of the owl on the reverse. This is indeed Athena glaucopis, the goddess with enormous eyes flush with the head, brilliant as those of the nocturnal bird. Also see those great half opened and thick lips, the long pointed chin, that itself reaches the middle of the figure, the pointed nose projecting forward, the too small helmet, the cartilaginous ear with a ring or heavy ball as a pendant. The hair is curled with an iron and arranged in rows above the brow, betraying a naive search for elegance."⁴

Note 2.p.116. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII, Figs. 84,86,275.

Note 3.p.116. The same. p. 345.

Note 4.p.116. Babelon. Traite.Part II. Vol.I, p. 730.

Yet under Pisistratus the artists of Chios and Samos being called to Athens initiated the sculptors of that city in marble work, and there is seen to arise the style termed the second Attic archaism.⁵ The fabrication of the coinage improves by degrees. Whether they date from the last years of Pisistratus or from the reign of Hipparchus and Hippias, many coins show a visible advance (Pl.VIII,7,8). This is always the same type; but the helmet is better placed on the head, and its body is a free relief. The arrangement of the hair is simpler than in the first sketches. If the eye has the defect in front view on a face in profile, its orbit here is not so round; it opens in almond form. The nose prolonging the line of the brow is too pointed; but the nostril is well drawn. The ear is also placed much better. The lips are still prominent and are closed. The chin is broad and firm. The cheek is modeled with care and sketches that smile, which in the thought of the artists of that epoch must give a benevolent expression to the images of the deity. This head of Athena approaches that given to the goddess by the author of a native relief found on the Acropolis.¹ There is certainly some analogy between the two monuments. The execution of the marble is more archaic. The nose is more tapering and the strongly marked recession of the lower part of the face gives to the marble profile a more awkward and more primitive appearance.² Perhaps it results from this comparison that it is proper to place the coins in question about the last quarter of the century, at about the time of the reign of the two Pisistratides.

Note 5.p.116. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII,p.546-574.

Note 1.p.117. Babelon.Traite.Part II.Vol.I,p.745.

Note 2.p.117.Histoire de l'Art.Vol.VIII,Plg. 314.

When one tries to classify these coins according to their more or less advanced style, he finds some that are distinguished from the preceding not alone by their execution, but also by certain peculiarities in adjustment, not previously presented by the engraving of coins. "In place of a helmet with an entirely plain and smooth body, there appears a helmet with body ornamented by three large olive leaves extending from the ear to above the brow. Behind the ear, the helmet is decorated by a branch in a spiral curve, that leaves the arm to end in an elegant palmatum. Concerning the effigy itself of Athena, the hair of the goddess is henceforth arranged in two bands on the brow and the temples. These bands replace the curls made with the iron or the wavy drops of the front parts. Finally, on the nape, little tresses emerge beneath the helmet, arranged in rows of beads and raised in a ball. On the reverse is regularly an olive shoot in the sunken square. It earlier contained elongated leaves in variable number around a central berry. It is henceforth uniformly composed of the olive berry with two leaves well displayed. Finally, behind the owl appears the crescent for the first time.

At what epoch did these changes occur? Being given the traditional character of the types of Athenian coins, one can believe from the preceding that there was required a very extraordinary event to decide men to modify thus the image of Athena, and that this modification should be respected through the ages.¹

Note 1.p.118. Babelon.Traite.Part II.Vol. I,p.63.

This event is believed to be the battle of Marathon, that by the surprise of the conquerors themselves made a profound impression on the Athenian mind. What confirms this conjecture is the fact that the Athenians struck then a decadrachma with the type of Athena crowned by an olive branch, which is unique in the archaic coinage of Athens (Pl.V,7,13). The head of Athena is there the same as on the didrachmas and drachmas; but the details are more careful. Thus the ear is still too large and has for a pendant, not an enormous ball as on the tetradrachma, but a delicate jewel elongated like a tear with two pearls at

the base. On the reverse the type of the owl differs from that of the tetradrachma. It is an owl in front view and not in profile. With extended wings, it seems to soar in space. One can imagine it flying thus over the Athenian army to protect it during the combat. The olive branch is like that of coins of less size; but the crescent is not traced there.

The coins that announce themselves by their style as contemporaneous of that beautiful piece were issued in very great quantity; they are very common in collections. On the contrary, there are preserved altogether only half a dozen examples of the decadrachma. Only a very few proofs of that coin seem to have been struck. We have no reason to believe that they were not placed in circulation, like those representing the other multiples of the drachma; yet it cannot be denied that this coin is regarded as a medal. What gave it something of that character was the rarity of the piece, its exceptional size and the effort made by the engraver to attain a finer execution, than in the coins that left the ^{same} Mint in great quantity.

Further, there is nothing here in the style opposed to the proposed hypothesis. The analogy is very apparent between the head of Athena of the decadrachma and that of several female statues, the kores of the Acropolis, as they are called, which were discovered on the excavations of 1836. On these statues and on the coin is the same profile line, the same almond eye, the same bands on the brow, the same slightly heavy chin, the same jewels in the ears, the same seeking for an expression that desires to be a smile.¹ Where the resemblance is perhaps yet more striking is when one compares the face of the effigy of the coin with the two bronze statuettes of the museum of the Acropolis, that represent Athena Promachos.² Now all the kores were found in the layer of rubbish, that came from the devastation suffered by the Acropolis in 480, and men agree in recognizing these works that date in the last years of the 6th or the first years of the 5th centuries. As for the statuettes of Athena fighting found in number in the same deposit,³ not only by their fabrication is one tempted to assign them a date very near that of the conflagration kindled by the Persians. At what time could this type have been more in favor than on the morrow of the day, when the tutelary goddess was armed with spear and shield, and on the plain of Marathon had aided

the Athenians in repulsing the invasion?

Note 1.p.119. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VII, Figs. 289-304.

Note 2.p.119. The same. Figs. 308, 309.

Note 3.p.119. In the museum of the Acropolis are counted 13 examples of those Athenas. (De Ridder. Catalogue des bronzes etc. p.297-314.

The mint of Athens continued to reproduce with routine fidelity till the full 4 th century, the type introduced by Pisistratus. At most the engraver decided, we do not know when, to rectify the drawing of the eye, that until then in the archaic mode, had been drawn in front view in a face presented in profile. Nearly that which recalls still the effigy of Athena in the time of Pericles, is the head of the antique image of the oldest temple of Athena, which is not that of Athena Parthenos that Phidias erected in the temple built by Ictinos. The coinage of Athens then enjoyed among the half barbarous peoples adjoining the civilized world, a vogue proved by the numerous counterfeits made of it in the north and south of Greece; it was necessary to disturb the habits of that vast connection.

Another coinage whose circulation was scarcely less extended, and for which by the same reasons the city was no less careful to retain its customary appearance, was that of Corinth. From the 8 th century under the dynasty of the Bacchiades, Corinthian vessels scattered colonies on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, one of which, Corcyra, soon became very flourishing and very wealthy. In 735, Corinth also founded in Sicily that Syracuse, which such brilliant destinies awaited. About the same time a Corinthian constructor, Aminocles, endowed the Grecian navy with a novel type of structure, the trireme, the war vessel of the Greeks. The prosperity of Corinth increased again under the founder of the new dynasty, Cypselos. To all the markets of the Mediterranean the potters of Corinth exported their painted vases, and its bronze-workers sent their mirrors, furniture and utensils of all kinds. It is believed to have been under the long reign of Cypselos (657-629), that Corinth began to strike coins, and this became ever more active under Periander, son and successor of Cypselos. He carried to the highest point the power of Corinth, and opened new outlets for its industries.

From the beginning, Corinth placed on the face of her coinage

Pegasus, the winged horse that one of her legendary heroes, Bellerophon, grandson of Sisyphus, mounted to fight and conquer the Chimera. On the reverse was a sunken square like that of Egina (Pl. IV, IX, 18; VIII, 10). Beneath the horse is a kappa, the initial of the name of Corinth as formerly written in an archaic alphabet, some letters of which soon fell into disuse. On the most ancient of these coins, Pegasus has a very proud aspect. The engraver has well rendered the movement of the courser still untamed, that rises on his hind feet and rears. Later the head of Athena Chalcites is inserted in the sunken square; it is sometimes replaced there by a mask of the Gorgon; but this type of the reverse remained very mediocre in execution, at least during the archaic age. One would say that the artist did not attach the same importance to it as to the face. The true type of the Corinthian coinage was the Pegasus, by which it was recognized at once by all customers of the city on the two seas.¹ Also to profit by the eager reception that these coins found on so many distant markets, the colonies of Corinth adopted the method of striking coins only distinguished from those of the metropolis by the absence of the monogram, whose ownership was reserved by the latter. One after another, this was done Ambracia, Anacterion, Leucas, Apollonia, Epidamnus, etc. There were also struck staters with Corinthian types in Italy and in Sicily.¹ Corcyra alone, to affirm the complete independence that was early her ambition, and that she conquered forever after the death of Periander, had types that belonged to herself from the day that she opened her mint about 580.

Note 1. p. 120. Bismarck, as the Latin poets Virgil and Horace say in speaking of Corinth.

Note 1. p. 121. Barclay Head. *Historia nummorum*. p. 341.

These types present no analogy to those of Corinth. Corcyra posed as a rival and even an enemy of her metropolis. She desired to appear as owing nothing to her. In Euboea we already find this motive, perhaps borrowed from some Phoenician patera or some Mycenaean intaglio, that she had adopted at first, of a cow suckling her calf (Fig. 75).² On the reverse was a sunken square decorated by one or two flowers (Fig. 76 and Pl. VIII, 22). Elsewhere with the same flower on the reverse, on the face is only the forepart of a cow lying on the ground; one of her legs projects forward and the other is folded under her body.

(Pl.VIII,21). What justifies attributing to Corcyra these pieces without letters is, that on the coins of the 5th century on which the same types are repeated, is read the letter K and sometimes the three letters K O R. In the flower of the sunken square it has been desired to see a sketch representation of those gardens of Alkinoos described by the Odyssey. The ancients identified Corcyra, now Corfu, with the Homeric island of the Pheacians. The famous labyrinth of Crete is thus represented on the coinage of Cnossos. In execution the cow on the coins of Corcyra does not equal that of the coinage of Garrystos (Fig. 74); it is less correct and firm in modeling.

Note 2.p.121. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.III,p.789-790; Plgs. 552, 553; VI, p.853; Pl. XVI,15).

To return to the coinage of Peloponnessus, the entire north of the peninsula, Pelionte, Argos, Achaia and even Sicyon, in spite of the prosperity enjoyed under its Ortnagoride princes, and despite the fame of its sculptors, do not present pieces that have a true art value. However, to the engraver of the coins of Argos may be attributed the merit of having well seized the outline of the wolf (Pl.VIII,11,12). Arcady offers more varied types with Demeter veiled (Pl.VIII,13) or without veil (Pl.IV,17;Pl.V,10), and Hera with Zeus Lykeos on the face, (Pl.VIII,1) and the head of Despoina on the reverse. There are also several federal coins with the legend A R K A (Pl.VIII,15), with the bear of Mantinea (Pl.VIII,14). Elis in the west of the peninsula will strike about the end of the 5th century beautiful coins, on which is believed to be found a copy of the chryselephantine head of Pheidias' Colossus; but near the year 500, it already issued coins of careful work, interesting by their types. These allude to the Olympic games, of whose presidency Elis was assured by the destruction of Pisa, and to the worship that all Greece came to render to Zeus Olympos. On the face is an eagle flying and holding in its beak and claws a serpent that coils around it and seeks to slay it, (Pl.VIII,17), on the reverse being a nude Zeus, bearded, resting on the right leg, the left thrown forward, in the raised right hand he brandishes the thunderbolts. He advances the left arm with open hand, on the wrist being placed an eagle with raised wings, turning its head to look at the god. The legend is Olympeion (Pl.VIII,18). In that image is the reproduc-

reproduction of a very archaic statue of Zeus, whose type will be found later in Zeus Ithomates of Messene and in the Zeus of Aigion, works of the Argive sculptor Ageladas.¹ This type of the eagle in full flight is coupled on other coins of Elis,, either with a winged thunderbolt, or with a Nike with wings spread and walking with rapid steps, raising with the right hand the folds of her vertment and holding a crown in her right. (Pl. IV, 1, 3). This Victory is one of the best images found in the series of archaic coins of Greece. The running movement is rendered here in a manner less conventional and less forced than in the Delian Nike of Archermos, in a certain bronze statuette and many paintings of vases.²

Note 1. p. 122. On Ageladas and on this type, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 467-469; Figs. 231-233.

Note 2. p. 122, The same. Vol. VIII, Figs. 122-123.

Sparta only commenced to strike coins very late, about the end of the 4th century under the king Areos.

In regard to Corinthian coinage, we have spoken of that of the Corinthian colonies of the coast of Epirus and of that of Corcyra. There is from Cephallonia a very pretty piece with the type of the nymph Procis and a ram.

Of all cities of central Greece, that which has enjoyed in history the most brilliant role is Thebes, which at times was the fortunate rival of Athens and of Sparta; but Thebes, and after its example the other Boeotian cities, adopted from the very first a type which they then reproduced to satiety during several centuries. This type is that of the oval shield with two notches (Pl. VIII, 19). Boeotian coinage with its shields always the same is as common and monotonous as that of Egina with its turtles.

These customs that thus became established and noted for the benefit of a certain coinage, where it was in a very extensive radius the instrument of exchange most in favor, cities of the second or third order could not take into account. Their money circulated only within the limits of their narrow territory. This nothing induced them either to follow the taste of the day by refining the types adopted at first, or even to substitute others for them, if the old had ceased to please. Thus no less than a half century (this mint does not appear to have been opened before 520 at earliest), Delphi placed the ram's head

on its coins, single or doubled, the head of the goat, a negro's head of careful work, the tripod and the patera.

It is the same in Thessaly, where coinage had not begun much before the Median wars. Most types of the face there allude to the fat pastures of the country and the fertility of its arable lands, while on the reverse in the sunken square, the sandal of Jason recalls the memory of the old local myths. At Larissa a horse lowers his head to the turf; above is a partridge or a cicada (Pl.VII,21). These recall the tall grass of the meadows filled with game, where passed in herds the horses, that the famous Thessalian horsemen mounted. Elsewhere is the head of a bull and of a bridled horse. There is also a nude hero, Jason or Thessalos with hat thrown back on his nape, who conquers a bull. On the reverse is a bridled horse (Pl.IV,7,14). At Pharsalus it is a head of Athena covered by an Attic helmet. On the reverse is the head and neck of a horse (Pl.IV,19,22). At Methydrion, a horse bounding and a head of barley. At Cranon, Pheres and Scotussa, is found the hero conqueror of the bull, the horse in various attitudes, the head of barley. All this coinage is that of a country of great cattle-breeding and rich culture.

In the vast region extending south of the Ripner mountains, now the Balkans, from the northern slopes to Olympus and the eastern slopes of Pindus to the shores of the Euxine, there dwelt in the time of the Median wars a number of tribes termed barbarians by the Greeks. From the little known or rather divined of a history never written, these tribes were divided in clans frequently at war with each other, and in the damp plains of the lower country about the mouths of the great rivers and in the high valleys of the interior, they led a life that greatly resembled that in which the Albanians have been retarded till our days in the west of the Hellenic peninsula. The Greeks earnestly informed themselves about all that concerned the old civilizations of Egypt and of Asia, but were little interested in these anarchic and confused, that were concealed from their eyes behind a screen of marshes and dense forests. At most, struck by the strange orgiastic rites that characterized the cults of these mountaineers, they placed in Thrace the scene of certain adventures of Dionysos, and attributed them to this warlike and hunting people, deities, which they

confounded with Ares and Artemis. They also believed that some trace of Hermes and of his mytns was found there.¹ With that exception, they did not seem to care much to inquire into the customs or even the names of the tribes that peopled the valleys of the Strymon, Nestos and Hebre. Herodotus alone with his curiosity always aroused, sought to collect some data concerning the social condition and the customs of this Thracian nation, as he calls it, that occupied the area between the Egean and the Danube; he summarizes these in connection with his tale of the expedition that Megabyzus undertook in Europe at the order of Darius, but he passes over it quickly and does not emphasize it.²

Note 1.p.124. Herodotus.V.7. See VII, p.110-111, where is a question of a temple and an oracle of Dionysos, situated in the high mountains of Satres.

Note 2.p.124. The same. V, 3-10.

Yet in the 6 th century those tribes had already risen from the savage state. The Greeks had therefore initiated them in certain arts of civilized life. The transmission was made by the intermediary of Hellenic colonies on the coast, due to the commercial relations maintained with their indigenous neighbors. These had first learned to write; but from those masters they had not only borrowed the alphabet; they had very quickly appropriated the Lydo-Ionian invention of money. Everything advised them to borrow this. The richness of the silver mines of Mt. Pangeus had been revealed to them by Phoenician workings. They continued these, and however primitive that doubtless were the methods of extraction employed, they obtained the precious metal from those veins. They hastened to coin this metal to pay for the purchases made at the coast, and thus they struck coins when many cities in Greece itself had no mints yet. On many of those coins they placed legends attesting the existence of many tribes, whose names have not been preserved to us by any ancient text. This coinage of Macedonia and Thrace is very interesting by what it adds to our ethnographic knowledge, by the choice of types that have a very peculiar appearance, and by the style of the engraving. A last trait that characterizes those northern coins is their exceptional dimensions. Many of them seem to be octodrachmas. Coiners did not have to economize silver; as it is said, they had it in abundance.

The diameter of the blanks further aided the work of the work-still rather novices.

The tribes known to us only by the legends of the coins are the Derronians, Orreskians and Zeleens. On the coins that reveal them to us are found types also found on those on which are read the names of the Eoonians and Eisaltes, that are mentioned by the Greek historians. This relationship of types gives reason to think that all those tribes inhabited the same country around Mt. Pangeus. The coins struck by one of them circulated among their neighbors. As for the types, most seem to refer to the labors of the field and to raising cattle. There is a person armed with a whip and seated in a chariot drawn by one or two oxen. On the examples best struck are distinguished the willow rods of which is made the body of the chariot. Above the team and in the field is a Greek helmet with long plume. A type that seemed to have obtained even greater favor is that of a nude and bearded man, walking between two oxen that he leads to the right. He is covered by the caucis or Macedonian cap, a tress of plaited hair hangs on his back; he places his right hand on the rump of one of the oxen; with the advanced left arm and closed fist, he subdues the other animal held by a thong and raising its head. The last type comprises many varieties. The reverse of these pieces is sometimes entirely flat and nearly smooth. Further in the shallow sunken square is seen the triskele, a norseman, a wheel, or merely four equal squares. One hesitates in the interpretation proposed for this type of oxherd, that appears of have been so popular among the tribes of Pangeus. The two javelins held in the hand on some of these coins and the nudity always found, advise one to see there instead of a simple driver of oxen, rather a conqueror that comes to subdue and subject to the yoke for the first time wild bulls. This would be the same god or hero, the patron of the laborers, a sort of Thracian Triptolemus, that it is necessary to recognize in the nude personage that drives the chariot; he will there be represented in a different attitude of repose, when on the morrow of his exploit, he walks through the fields that he has made fertile. One would be tempted to believe that the natives, obedient even to a suggestion coming to them from some city on the

coast, at least in places had sought to identify their god of agriculture with the Grecian Hermes, inventor of the useful arts. This may be supposed from a coin of the Derrovians, unique so far, where the man on foot that walks near the oxen holds in the right hand a caduceus (Pl.IV,8).¹

Note 1.p.126. Babelon (*Traite*.Part II. Vol.I,p.1033) prefers that the type of this coin represents Hermes driving off the oxen of Apollo, as related by the Homeric hymn. It seems to us doubtful that this purely Greek myth penetrated among these barbarians, while they might have heard some one speak vaguely of a Hermes, promoter and patron of the most necessary arts.

On the coins of the Orrestrians with the type of this divine oxherd, there is seen to appear two other types comprising numerous variants, that of a horseman standing on the ground near his horse, and that of an impetuous ravisher bearing in his arms a menad (Pl.IV,12). For the first of these types, sometimes pulling on the bit he seeks to restrain the horse that attempts to snort and rear. Also the lover of the menad is a centaur on the coinage of the tribes of the interior. On that of Lete, a city of Mygdonia, this is an ithyphallic satyr. He sometimes appears to chat with the woman. Elsewhere he seizes her by the wrist or carries his hand to her chin (Pl.IV,20).

The execution of all these images is marked by an energy that does not lack a certain zest. The reliefs of the body are rendered with an exaggeration in which is felt a sincere effort, still very awkward, to attain the truth. The movements of the man and of the animals are correct and even have a certain fire. We believe it an error to desire, as proposed, to find something of the qualities and defects of this execution in the style of the artists Polygnotus of Thasos and Paeonios of Mende, who in the 5th century left northern Greece and went to work at Athens and Olympia.¹ Yet this execution has its originality, that is perhaps explained by even the character of the people for whom were engraved these coins. Passionate and sensual, the Thracians must place in their first essays in relief something of the violent instincts natural to them. Had their art survived, it would have been boldly realistic and a little brutal.

Note 1.p.127. This is the theory formerly stated by H. Brunn in his Memoir entitled: - Paeonios und die Nordgriechen Kunst. (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. II, p.184-200). It is scarcely maintain-

maintained today; yet this study no less contains many just observations.

Alexander I was the first king of Macedonia to strike coins on which he inscribed his name; he reigned from 498 to 454. Those of his pieces regarded as most ancient continue the coinage of the Bisaltes, whose territory and mines had been annexed to his States; they are of the type of a warrior standing near his horse; but then for other pieces also signed he adopted the type of the horseman walking. This rider is crowned by the *causia* and clothed in a short *chlamys*; he holds two spears in his right hand. These coins must have been struck at Aegae, which was the capital of the kingdom before Pylaea; they have on the reverse a bust of a goat, as canting arms of that city. (Pl. IV, 26, 23). Note the proud bearing of the horse, the easy pose of the rider, and the picturesque character of the goat. Greek historians give this Alexander the surname of Philhellene. It may be believed that he made the first appeal to the competition of the Greeks to whom he claimed to belong, when as a descendant of Hercules, he demanded the right to have a chariot race in the arena of Olympia. These coins belong to the last years of that long reign. They must have been engraved by Greek artists, contemporaneous with the pupils of sculptors like Onatas and Ageladas.

On the other hand, the coinage of cities of Chalcidice and of the islands near the coast recall in certain respects that of the Thracian tribes with which the Greek colonists were in commercial relations. Thus is found at Thasos the type of the satyr that assaults a nymph (Pl. IV, 16). The motive is entirely similar; the execution is very similar in both; but the modeling on the coins of Thasos is more distinct than on those of the Orreskians. Did they awkwardly copy the coins of Thasos, or have the Thasians borrowed from their continental neighbors a type, whose execution they perfected? It is difficult to say. The personage seated in a chariot and raising his whip over the team that he causes to walk in steps, is found again at Olynthe (Pl. IV, 6; Reverse, Pl. VII, 9); but there horses draw the chariot and in the field is a shield instead of a helmet. In the lion devouring a bull on the coins of Acanthus and of Abdera (Pl. IV, 2) and in the rampant lion on the coins of Chersonesus, it is perhaps necessary to see an allusion to the

ravages caused by those carnivora in Thrace; when Xerxes passed there with his army, they devoured many of his camels. In the same country were also wild bulls, whose heads were ornamented by horns, that by their enormous size astonished the Greeks, to whom the native hunters came to sell them.¹ They must more than once have witnessed in their native forests the unequal combat represented on the face of the coinage of Acanthus. With a rapid bound, the lion sprang on the back of the bull. He was surprised, However strong he might be, he succumbed under the clasp of the paws and the teeth that tore his flesh.

Note 1.p.128. Herodotus. VII, 125, 126.

The series of these coins is interesting to study. The first have a very archaic appearance with the heavy dots, the lines by which the engraver sought to render the hair of the lion and the dewlap of the bull. These too minute indications have disappeared from the more recent. The execution is very broad and the modeling is very careful. Between these two coins is the same difference as between two fragments of groups, where Attic sculptors have treated the same theme.² One of these monuments is doubtless earlier than 550; the other must date from the second half of the century. The staters of Acanthus are very common; one can follow in them the development of the style. located at the bottom of a gulf well protected against winds and very near the mines of Mygdonia, Acanthus must have early attained a high degree of wealth.

Note 2.p.128. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII, Plés. 278, 282.

The city of that region with Acanthus, that had the most important coinage was Abdera, situated near the mouth of the Nestos. A colony of Teos, it copied the griffin of its metropolis and its slightly affected elegance. On the contrary, that the city of Dicea near Abdera placed on its coins, one recovers the fabrication of the most ancient staters of Acanthus, the same seeking for energy, in the modeling, the same processes of rendering. (Pl.VII, 17, 18).

Several islands of the Egean sea were early commercial centres, very prosperous and sources of art. From the 8th century, the Ionians scattered throughout the entire archipelago of the Cyclades assembled at the festivals of Delos. One would expect to find on those shores coins, whose style would seem to be affected by the examples given to the engraver in the course

of the 6th century by the sculptors of Paros and of Naxos, that went to initiate the Attics in working marble. The pieces that we have rightly assigned to these islands do not correspond to this expedition. Because in most of those islands in close relations with Ionia, men had begun very early to strike coins. Then they remained faithful to the very simple types first adopted. The coinage of those islands consists of globular pieces of massive appearance. The types most frequently found are the amphora or the grapes; olives and vines then formed the chief wealth of those isles. Melos has the pomegranate, a carting emblem. There places the dolphin on its coins, a type suited to an island city. I only see in all this series but a single coin that truly has art, merit, that of Siphnos. On the face is the head of Apollo, the hair enclosed by a little band and raised at the nape. On the reverse is the flying eagle (Pl.V.12,21). One would be tempted to believe that the Siphnians, enriched by mines of gold and silver, had ensured the services of engravers, that were more skilful artists than those serving the mints of the adjacent islands. By its noble air and the purity of its lines, this profile recalls those of the monuments of Attic statuary, that seem to have been executed a very brief time before the sack of the Acropolis.¹ The lyre on the coins of Delos is presented with care. As quite a rare type is noted the frog of the coinage of Seriphos. (Fig. 78). The frog was connected with Apollo.

Note 1.p.129. Histoire de l'Art.VOL.VIII,Pls.299,347.

The cities of Crete only commenced to coin money after the Median wars. Cnossos seems to be the only city whose coinage dates earlier than 480. There are coins of Cnossos of very archaic appearance. There is already found the type that Cnossos will retain till under the Roman empire. On the face is the Minotaur in the conventional attitude of running; he holds a great stone. On the reverse are frets thought to represent the Labyrinth of Crete (Pl.IV,10,13).

Like that of Cnossos, the coinage of Cyrene offers very little variety. Everywhere is seen to recur on the face the image more or less summarized, of the medicinal plant silphium, whose roots and seeds were exported to the entire Grecian world, and formed one of the riches of the colony. On these coins first appeared in pairs the seeds of the shrub, and then a little

later the shrub itself with its leaves and fruits. (Pl. VI, 22). As if that opulent city had felt the desire to vary the appearance of its coinage, it ended by placing on the reverse of its pieces different types in the sunken square, a star, an eagle devouring a serpent, a hind, or a head of Zeus Ammon with ram's horns. That reverse for which the engraver seems to have taken most trouble seems to represent a scene from the garden of the hesperides, which the imagination of the Greeks placed in that region (Pl. VII, 23). There are recognized Hercules and the nymph Cyrene. Hercules is standing, covered by the lion's skin and leaning on his club with the left hand. On another piece is seen the same nymph seated on a throne and picking the fruit of the silphium from a stem with three rows of leaves rising before her; but for merit of style, none of these coins is comparable to the stater furnished to us by the little island of Siphnos. It will only be in the second half of the 5th century that the great African colony will have coins, that by their execution will accord with the situation that it occupied in the Greek world. Her engravers will then know how to give a beautiful character to that head of Zeus Ammon, which her predecessors had already placed on the most ancient pieces of Cyrenaica.

4. Hellenic West: Magna Grecia; Sicily; Greek Colonies in the West.

In Asian Greece have we seen coinage originate. Then we have seen successively opened mints for striking it in the islands and on the coasts of the Egean sea and in all European Greece; but the movement that extended this tendency from east to west could not stop in that direction. It could not fail to extend beyond the narrow Adriatic and by the broad ways of the Mediterranean to the distant colonies scattered over the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and even to those of Gaul and of Spain, by the adventurous boldness of Chalcidians, Corinthians and Phocians; yet though the Greek spirit was slow in comprehending the use, that it could make of the new means of exchange, its use was far from extending as rapidly as it would have done in our days. Doubtless, by the assemblage of all the scattered sons of the Hellenic race at the great games of the isthmus and of Olympia, to which men went so far, especially by the

flotillas of swift ships, that after the season of storms, darted in all directions in each spring to renew the bonds of affiliation and of commerce by which so many cities were connected, which rarely communicated except by sea, the new ideas flew quickly on the wings of Greek ships from the columns of Hercules to the back of the Euxine sea, from Cyrene to Marseilles and Adria. Yet however mobile this was in its first expansion, the young and living world of adolescent Greece, the rapidity of this transmission was not comparable to that in the modern world, to that benefiting every invention which comes by a stroke of genius to profoundly modify existence in civilized societies. Greece had neither railways, steam navigation, not telegraphs. It was necessary for her to count more on time and distances.

In these conditions, we cannot be surprised to have to state, that more than a century passed from the time when at Miletus and Ephesus was made the first trial of coined money, and that when the Greek cities of the West decided to strike coins. Yet when they resolved to do this, several of those cities had already attained a high degree of prosperity; then one is tempted to be astonished at first sight, that they could wait so long to assure themselves of the advantages of a monetary circulation suited to their convenience. What explains this delay, even more than their distance from the centres of Hellenic life, is the situation occupied on the coast of a country whose entire interior was occupied by peoples termed barbarians by the Greeks. The commerce carried on by them with these adjacent tribes was one of barter; they could not do without money; but on the other hand, in cities with such an intense life, they must feel that they would gain by having a coinage, that simplified transactions on local markets and facilitated exchanges between places. Men doubtless commenced by requiring these services from coinage of foreign origin, from that which the metropolises of all the colonies had for many years issued in great abundance. Bankers and changers, the tripezites, on the tables to which was due the appellation serving to designate them, offered in piles to their patrons eagles of Chalcis, Gorgons of Eretria, Pegasus of Corinth, also perhaps turtles of Egina, the current money of Peloponessus. Each merchant only had to choose in all this specie the coins that would bear a

premium in cities where he intended to make purchases.

Yet it was a servitude and trouble to depend thus on mints, that one can neither regulate nor foresee the production, to be compelled always to employ in business coins struck according to very different standards. The currency of this money must continually vary, according to the importance of receipts and of demands. The inconveniences of this condition were apparent. Men could not resign themselves to suffer them indefinitely on all that eastern coast of Italy, where was planted so vigorously Hellenic civilization, and in the great adjacent island in which it flourished with no less splendor. Then came the time when the principal cities of Magna Grecia and of Sicily undertook to open mints at about the same time. These mints seem to have become active only about 550 or 540. The appearance of these coins, the style of their effigies, the alphabet of their legends, all concur in suggesting to numismatists the adoption of that date for the commencement of this coining.

A coinage introduced at such a late date could not present the same character as that of the country in which were made the first attempts in coinage. Cities like Tarente, Sybaris and Syracuse could bring from the outside to establish their first mints, workmen that in well equipped mints were initiated in all the refinements of the monetary art. The pupils trained by these masters had no need of long apprenticeship. Much before the end of the 6th century in all these rich cities of southern Italy and of Sicily, the various arts of metal were practised with talent and success. Men cast, made repoussé work, chased bronze and silver, imitated in bronze. Sybaris was destroyed in 510, but was famed throughout Greece for its wealth, the child of its industry. It exported to the Etruscans those tripods and other furniture of luxury with which were equipped their festal halls. Here then at the origin of the series of coins was found nothing resembling the thick ingots of Ionia, punched with images often nearly indistinct and all covered by countermarks, even nothing that had the weight of the most ancient turtles of Egina. In western Greece the coinage thus never knew the experiments and the failures of the beginning. It was born adult, if one may so speak. There the first hour each could tell all its name and what city it represented. The type is there accompanied by a legend, that gives in full or abrid-

ged the name of that city.

Very far from having the massive appearance of the oldest coins of the ancient Asian and European Greece, the pieces of southern Italy in the form of broad disks, thin and flat as they appear, most nearly approach our modern coins; but what distinguishes them is, that these are badly struck coins, at least in the first times of coinage and for most cities. Some of these coins are sunken only in appearance. The sunken image on one side is the simple inverse of the relief on the other face. This reverse indeed produces on the whole the type of the face; yet it differs therefrom in some minor details. But the difference might escape a too rapid glance at the coin; yet it is not a work executed by the repoussee process, that must be recognized in the coins in question. These pieces assume the use of two dies, the type being engraved as sunken on one, while on the other it was in relief. One is right in affirming this for many pieces of Tarente, Sybaris, Poseдонia and Crotona.¹ We shall cite only one example, borrowed from the coinage of Caulonia. On a stater of that city is seen on the face Apollo Catharsius, nude and standing, with the reversed legend Lycne, with a little genius placed on his arm and a stag before him. Same type on the reverse but without the legend. The little genius is also lacking. The stag occupies the same place as on the face; but behind the god is a stork in relief. (Pl.V, 1, 2).

Note 1. p. 134. See text.

It is not alone by the form of the coin and by the mode of execution of the engraving, that there resemble each other all the coins of the Greek cities of Apulia, Lucania and Bruttia.

There are between those cities other traits of relationship and more significant analogies. They belonged to the same monetary system in which all secondary pieces are fractions of a stater of 8.16 grammes. Finally, in that series of coins with sunken reverses are found a certain number on which are combined, divided between both sides of the coin, the types and legends of two different cities.² In this curious uniformity of the coinage that circulated from the gulf of Tarente to the strait of Messina, in the unity of standard that is the law of these coins, and not this combination on the same piece, of the images and inscriptions by which are characterized the

products of two distant mints, is divined the result of an agreement established about the middle of the century for the creation of a sort of federal money, between the cities whose names are read on these pieces. When in this foreign Greece men finally resolved to strike coins, then adopted a method whose reasons are easily seen. For the entire group of these cities that were in constant business relations, there would be great benefit if these coins that they prepared to strike could circulate in all southern Italy without need of exchanges and complex calculations. Most of those cities were Achaian colonies. All these assembled annually at the national festivals celebrated in the vicinity of Crotona, near the temple of Hera Lacinia. Perhaps there had been for a certain time a political alliance between these two cities, which was concluded under the influence of Pythagoras and disciples. This attempt for confederation struck against the competition of interest and of pride, which caused the bloody struggle in which Sybaris perished, crushed and destroyed by Crotona; but it had lasted long enough, that there were rooted customs which would not disappear on the morrow of the day of the rupture of the agreement by which they were born. Tarente, a Dorian colony, and Rhegion, a Chalcidian colony, judging from the rarity of their joint coins, very quickly withdrew from the agreement into which then entered at first, but the group of Achaian cities remained faithful to it for a number of years, until the time when the progress of taste and perhaps also economic considerations advised the abandonment of a procedure, that had found no imitators outside the country in which the public had so strongly taken it into favor.

By the systematic use made of sunken images, this Greco-Italian coinage became singular, and this made it more difficult to place its pieces on foreign markets; but by that fancy it first the first announced itself as the product of an art still restricted by some conventions and not freed from all constraint, already entered into full liberty of faithful interpretation. Figures of real or factitious animals were nearly all the themes, that the most ancient coiners of Ionia and of Greece risked treating. If they dared to attempt the human figure, as they sometimes did in northern Greece, in the rendering of the form and movement is an exaggeration and a strange awkwardness.

At most in Corinth and elsewhere, they already succeeded in placing in the circle of the coin the head of a man or woman, that suited well the outline and had a very happy effect. In Magna Grecia and especially in Sicily, the engraver at first had higher ambitions, served by a very superior talent of execution. His repertory is more varied; he assigns a great place to the nude male body, the bodies of the ephebes which contemporary sculptors studied so passionately, and that they succeeded better and better in seizing and in rendering its inflexions and beauty. Under his skilful graver, the heads of gods and of heroes, of goddesses and nymphs are varied; some assume more nobility and majesty, others more charm and amiable elegance.

See the coin in the rich staters of Tarente classed first in order of age (Pl.V,18). On the face is Apollo Hyacinthos nude and kneeling with the right leg advanced. His head is enclosed by a band. With the right hand he carries to his face a flower and seems to inhale its perfume. In the left hand he holds his lyre under his armpit; on the reverse is the same type without the legend Taras and the flower. Apollo is nude. However complicated his attitude, it is not stiff. There is even grace in the movement of the right arm. The proportion between the members and trunk is very correct. Its modeling is well conceived; but it was executed with some lack of skill. By three great projections like balls he has marked the relief of the shoulder and of the breast. He used the drill for this purpose and it served him badly. In the same mint, when the sunken reverse was renounced, the form soon becomes more supple. He might almost be reproached with having sometimes slightly been careless on coins, where with the type of Taras on a dolphin alternates either with a hippocampus or a youthful head, so that one cannot say whether it be male or female. (Pl.IX,1,2,3). This same science of movement and of form is found in Poseidon brandishing his trident at Poseidonia (Pl.VI,16,18); and in the Apollo Cathrasios of Caulonia (Pl.V,1;VI,6). The two divine personages have a proud bearing with a slightly theatrical pose. In the effort made by a tool to firmly accent the larger divisions of the bony framework is felt an intelligent imitation of the best statues of the epoch. Same qualities are on the coins of Metaponte on which is represented on the face

the river Acheloos. Acheloss is bearded with a front view. Bull horns rise on his brow. (Pl. V, 3).

The youthful head on the staters of Tarente is elegant (Pl. VIII, 16); but the mint then producing the best works of that kind in Lucania was that of the city, that first gave itself on its coins the name of Yele, which the Romans called Velia. It was the latest of the Greek colonies of that country. The Phoenicians founded it a little after 544, when most of the population embarked on its fleet and sailed west to flee Persian domination. There is both charm and severity in the profile of the nymph ornamenting the face of the staters of Velia (Pl. VI, 11). The artist has no less the certainty of his hand in the images placed on the reverse. These are sometimes a lion walking with open jaws and sometimes a lion's muzzle (Pl. VI, 14). In both of these types the style is very broad and the touch very energetic. Elsewhere in the series of Magna Grecia are other fine figures of various animals, the bull at Siris, Sybaris, Laos and Rhegion, and the hare in the latter city. The most curious of all those images is that of the bull with human head, which Laos placed on its staters. It has a long beard, hair frizzed on the brow, horns projecting forward and the head enclosed by a band. At Rhegion is found the same bull with human head; but it is less distinctly characterized. There as at Laos, it represents the short torrents descending by great leaps from the crests of the Apennines, and the irresistible force of their sudden freshets.

By the specimens given of the coinage, one can appreciate the interest and variety offered; thus some surprise is felt when the eyes are cast on the series of coins, that in the archaic period form the products of the mints of Metaponte and of Crotona. Those two cities rivaled Tarente and Sybaris in importance and wealth. At Metaponte is indeed the beautiful piece, one face of which we have reproduced (Pl. V, 3); but it is alone of its kind. The inscription that it bears is the "prize of Acheloos," and indicates its commemorative character. It was struck on the occasion of the games which that city celebrated in honor of Acheloos, father of the Sirens, creator of all springs, inventor of the mixture of water and of wine. Since Poseidon personifies salt water and Acheloos fresh water, hence the benefit and power of its spouting and of its course in river

Then this piece in this sense would rather be a medal than an ordinary coin. With this exception the most ancient coinage of Metaponte is only composed of sunken pieces, where the same type is repeated on the face and reverse, that of the wheat ear recalling the fertility of this little State. (Pl.IX,7,8). It is the same for Crotona. On the face is never any other type than the tripod of Apollo (Pl.IX,5,6). On the reverse is sunken at first the tripod, then the eagle and finally in a shallow square is the lion modeled in relief; but even on those last pieces that appear most recent, the execution is summary and soft. We have already given the explanation of this routine for other cities, Corinth and Athens. The wheat ear of Metaponte and the tripod of Crotona were well received by the tribes of the interior, whose mines and forests, fields and pastures supplied the coast cities with a part of the merchandize that they consumed and exported. It appeared wise to the sagacious merchants, that the Greek colonists should not interfere with customs in which they found their account.

Like the Greek cities of southern Italy, those of Sicily only commenced very late to coin money. About 550 or 540 the colonies of Chalcidice, Zancle, Naxos and Himera, gave an example followed after several years by Selinonte, Agrigente and Syracuse, then by Leontion, Segeste and Catana. About the year 500 men agree to place the beginning of the Syracusan coinage, that became so rich and brilliant. These dates are also only approximate. To establish them have been taken into account the style of the engraving and particularly the form in which are presented in the legend certain characters of the alphabet. We know by the texts engraved on marble and bronze at what time and in what part of Greece, a certain form has fallen into disuse and has been replaced by a different one. There are even toward the middle or end of the series some pieces, which permit dating with more precision certain facts stated by the historians of antiquity.

We do not find in Sicily the sunken coins of Magna Grecia. This procedure was employed in the island only by a single city, Zancle. In adopting it, that city had imitated its very near neighbor, Rhegion, separated by the narrow strait of the sea now crossed by railway trains on a ferry, but as at Rhegion, this practice was soon abandoned at Zancle, which in 494

took the name of Messina, that it has retained almost without change to our days. Then subject to Anaxilas, who reigned over both shores of the strait, it reproduced the type of Rhegion with nearly the same legend; it copied the coins that on the face have a chariot harnessed to two mules, on the reverse being a mare running (Pl.IX,17).

The themes are also not so complex in that Sicilian coinage, that one has reason to regard as the oldest. On the first issues of Zancle is nothing but a dolphin, symbol of the sea, in the midst of a crescent representing the outline of the admirable roadstead called the sickle by reason of the contour described by its shore (Pl.IX,4).¹ At Naxos, on one side is a bearded head of Bacchus (Pl.VI,12), on the other being a bunch of grapes (Pl.IV,15), types obvious to those of the island of Naxos, which had supplied its contingent to the group of immigrants that founded the colony. At Himera it is the cock with a sunken square on the reverse (Pl.IX,15,16). Everywhere artists, before conquering the difficulties presented to them by the interpretation of the human form, knew how to seize the traits that defined the different species of animals. The cock is here very alive and well posed. The archaic character of the execution is much more marked in the Diogenes of the coins of Naxos (Pl.VI,12). Note his eye in front view with angle much raised, his long nose, the thick mass of his beard ending in a point, the parallel locks of his hair, indicated by very fine dots, and which is gathered in a mass falling on his nape.

Note 1.p.138. Thucydides. VI,4.

Such is the starting point in Sicily; but to judge of the rapidity of the advance made there by the monetary art, it is proper to consider particularly the coinage of Syracuse. From the beginning it is distinguished by the type already found at Rhegion, that of a personage standing in a chariot (Pl.IX,9). Two horses are here harnessed to the chariot. On the reverse is a simple sunken square. With an issue that must have closely followed the preceding, there is seen to appear at the centre of the chariot the female head, that men agree to recognize as that of the nymph Arethusa (Pl.IX,10). Henceforth during more than a century, on those two themes of the head of the nymph and of the mounted chariot will be exerted the talent of the engravers, to whom the great and glorious city will entrust

the execution of its coins. Artist after artist will apply himself to develop and perfect each of these themes, that he will join on all pieces. He will ornament the female head with jewels and vary its headdress; he will model its flesh with a delicacy and increasing knowledge; he will trace thereon purer profile lines. As for the chariot, he will harness four horses to it, whose movements will be diversified, and above which he will cause a winged and light form to soar (Fig. 55). Images created by his graver will end by being sufficiently approved, that he will be authorized to attach his signature.

Between the years 500 and 480, the time had not yet arrived when the engraver obtained that reward of his effort; but the intelligent persistence in that effort made itself felt from that moment. It already presaged the coming masterpieces. In 485 Gelon, tyrant of Gela, took possession of Syracuse and established himself there. He enlarged and enriched Syracuse by transporting there a part of the inhabitants of Gela and of other Sicilian cities; he made it the capital of all southeast Sicily. In 488 at Olympia Gelon won the prize in the chariot race;¹ perhaps it was in the same year that his brother Hiero, his future successor at Syracuse, obtained in the race of mounted horses the first of his three Olympic victories.¹ All Greece echoed with the fame and glory of the Dinomeide princes, celebrated by the poets that made a business of singing of the victors at the great panhellenic games. Concerning this has been made a conjecture that appears very plausible; it would be on the occasion of those triumphs that Gelon's engravers modified a type already placed on Syracusan coinage; they added to it then the image of the goddess Nike at the top of the field. On most pieces this Nike flies toward the driver of the chariot and seems to offer him the crown held in her hand. Elsewhere she stands near the heads of the horses, or flying she accompanies them in their march forward (Pl.VI,3,4). On the other side is the head of Arethusa between 4 dolphins, that represent the waves of the sea. That the waters of the Alpheus are said to traverse without mixing, to spring forth at the edge of the island of Ortygia (Pl.VI,1). The execution of the die is very firm and already very free. There is flexibility in the movement of the driver. Standing in the chariot, enlarged by the long and close tunic in which is clothed the celebrated chari-

charioteer of Delphi, he leans forward to give the reins to his coursers, which he has brought to a walk after the finish of the race. On the coins of Rhegion and of Messana, the second horse is completely hidden by the one nearest the spectator. To be sure of a real double team, it is necessary to count the 1 legs. On the coin of Syracuse the second horse proves his existence by an abrupt movement of the head. This is held back and rises above the neck of the animal in front. (Pl. VI, 3). Thus one has a sketch of the beautiful arrangement that will end by the successive labors of several generations of artists. By slightly forcing the perspective of the side view, Konon and Evenetos succeeded in grouping thus the horses of a quadriga, so that each one from head to ground was entirely visible to the eye. To each of those 4 coursers springing at a gallop, they gave a movement of the legs, chest, head and neck, that distinguished him from his neighbor, a movementⁱⁿ which one felt all the spirit of the race, manifested in various ways (Fig. 55). No artist of the time of Gelon would have dared to play with the difficulty thus; but the engravers of dies of Denys the elder, when they succeeded in winning this wager, only drew from a motive already dating more than a century earlier, which contained the germ of its primary data.

It is the same for the so-called head of Arethusa. In the medallion of Evenetos, the free abundance of the tresses of the hair adds to the size of the head. The eye is exquisitely modeled. The iris is visible between the eyelids widely opened, and it lights the entire face. The mouth is very fine, and the ~~recess~~ of the chin clears all the lower part of the face. Size does not there exclude charm. On the didrachmas and tetradrachmas contemporaneous with Gelon, the engraver could not yet attain this perfection. Take the most careful of all his work, the decadrachma known by the name of Demaretion, that where Arethusa has the brow enclosed by a laurel crown (Pl. VI, 2, 7). The trace of the conventions of archaism are still perceptible there. There is the same dryness and an exaggerated symmetry in the rendering of the hair. This is applied on the temples in broad bands. Parallel striae groove the part covering the top of the head and continue on the compact mass adhering to the nape. As for the eye, the engraver has not yet succeeded in frankly presenting it in profile, and has not put light in it

The lips are thick and the chin is a little heavy. In spite of these defects the whole has a very grand air. Particularly by certain details one feels by this piece, how the artist that engraved the die is already skilful and master of his graver. Return to the reverse; see the Victory flying over the quadriga; she has a singular lightness. In the little lion on the reverse, the originality of the outline of the feline is seized with rare accuracy. The reduction of the loins contrasts there with the mass of the forebody covered by a tufted mane.

From the time of an advanced archaism, Sicily has other beautiful coins beside those of Syracuse. If Agregente with her eagle and its crab (Pl. IX, 11, 12), like Selinonte with her parsley leaf on both sides of the piece (Pl. 90, 13, 14) had a very poor coinage, if Leontion limited herself to copying Syracusan types, that Segeste and Gela also reproduced sometimes on one side of their coinage, Leontion, Catana and Gela yet offer types not lacking interest. At Catana on the face is a bull with human head with long pendant beard (Pl. V, 16), and a fish beneath, on the reverse being the nymph Catana like a winged victory walking with great strides (Pl. VI, 5). With the right hand held forward, she has a long floating band; with the lowered left hand she raises the folds of her tunic. The style is a very firm one there; but there is more accent in the type repeated on the face of nearly all coins of Gela, the forebody of a bull with human head (Pl. VI, 10). At Leontion is found on the reverse a lion's muzzle surrounded by 4 barley grains (Pl. VI, 14). The type of the lion alludes to the name of the city. Like the wheat ears of Metaponte the grains of barley recall the fertility of the fields cultivated by the inhabitants of that city.

There was in the northwest of Sicily a city, Eggeste or Segeste (the form of the name varying in the authors), that had been at first the capital of a tribe called Elymians. Greek colonists established themselves there. When their influence had become predominant, they built that beautiful Doric temple, whose ruins now cause the admiration of travelers. From the first years of the 6th century, to strongly affirm that they were Greeks by race, they desired to have their own coinage. Entirely surrounded by Phoenician agencies, Solunte, Panormus, Eryx and Lilypeum, Segeste in that region was like the advanced post of Hellenism; but while valiantly sustaining the struggle, had

still assimilated the indigenous element in only incomplete fashion. This produces the complication and singularity of the legends on the coinage of Segeste, deciphered only with difficulty.¹ As for the types of this coinage, one of them is the head of a woman and only an imitation of the Syracusan type of Aretnusa (Pl.V,8); but the other is original. There is recognized the river god Crimisos, who according to a local myth was united to the nymph Segesta and became the father and founder of the city. The Segestans had deified the torrent near the city, but instead of giving Crimisos the form of a bull, according to the custom generally adopted for that kind of representation, under the form of a dog they personified the violence of the liquid element (Pl.V,6). Greek artists nowhere else took that method, that I know of.

Note 1.p.142. Babelon. *Traite*. Part II. Vol. I, p.1558-1580.

Like the cock of Himera, the dog of Segeste was very welcome. If the Sicilian engravers had already triumphed over nearly all difficulties presented to them in the interpretation of the human figure, for a stronger reason they excelled in seizing the traits characterizing the different types of the animal form. On a coin of Messina, on one side is the head of a bull, on the other being the muzzle of a lion (Pl.V,5,14); this having a very free relief and very firm accent. This mask of a lion is found again, but then in profile, on the reverse of the coins of Leontion (Pl.VI,14); it is drawn there with no less energetic boldness. The image of the horse is sometimes harnessed and sometimes mounted, for example on a coin of Gela (Pl.VI,16), and constantly returns on that coinage; it is almost everywhere faithful to nature there. The proportions of the body and members are very correct. The projection of the shoulder is detached from the roundness of the flank that is effaced. The horse walks easily and carries his head well.

In the course of the survey that we have made of the products of the monetary art at its beginning, in western Greece, Italy and Sicily, have we found the most advanced works. There is the most freedom in the work and the most purity in the lines, the modeling of the nudes is most knowing and the heads have most nobility. By the composition of the types and by the execution of the engraving, the coins of Syracuse excel all that we have found in Asian Greece and in the Hellenic peninsula.

This is a phenomenon that does not fail to astonish. That this western coinage having commenced late never knew the awkwardness of first attempts, that it attained at the very first a higher average is understood; but why did the Sicilian engravers so quickly surpass in skill and sureness of hand those of Ephesus and of Miletus, of Corinth and Athens; why did they have this lively feeling for beauty of relief in a higher degree than any of their rivals? Engraved stones and coins only transcribe and reduce the types created by the sculptor. Now not in the West at the time of the Median wars had the statuary accomplished the advance, that opened the way to Polycletes, Myron and Phidias. That was in Ionia, at Samos, Chios and Naxos; at Argos and Sicyon, then at Athens. For the entire archaic age is cited but one sculptor, originally from Magna Grecia, Clearchos of Rhegion. Authors have not preserved to us the name of a single Sicilian sculptor. When the princes reigning at Rhegion, Gela and Syracuse desired to be represented in the Altis of Olympia or on the sacred way of Delphi by monuments, that perpetuated the memory of the crowns that they had won in the great national games, they ordered from the goldsmiths of Ionia and the bronze-workers of Egina, tripods, chariots and statues.¹ In the little remaining from the reliefs decorating the friezes of the Sicilian temples, we have believed ourselves correct in seeing merely the aid of a sort of provincial art, that is the continuation and reflection of the art of Peloponnesus.² In those conditions, it is a real surprise to the historian to have to recognize this superiority of the coinage of western Greece, and particularly that of the Sicilian coinage, which attains its most finished form in that of Syracuse.

Note 1. p. 144. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 505-506.

Note 2. p. 144. The same. Vol. VIII. p. 505.

However little one reflects on this, he thinks that he divines one of the reasons of this superiority. When they commenced late to strike coins, those cities of Italy and Sicily, unlike Phocæa, Egina and Chalcis, Corinth and Athens, did not have the humor and habits of customers accustomed to the old types of their first coinage. In opening their mints, they had but one thought, of obtaining from their engravers types as beautiful as possible. The general tendency of the work and its art char-

character were dictated by a programme thus defined; but it remains no less difficult to render an exact account of the circumstances that caused and favored at Syracuse the flight taken early by the monetary art. Syracuse was then far from cities then the intellectual capitals of the Hellenic world. It was neither at the source nor on the line of passage of the great currents of poetry and of art, which in that dawning and increasing perfection on which Grecian genius proceeded toward those masterpieces, in which it would find the clearest and strongest expression of the ideal, which it long commenced to conceive. Yet there the engraver best succeeded in enclosing in the narrow field of the coin an image, in spite of its smallness, that gives the same impression of grandeur as a bust or a statue. How did artists employed by Syracuse be first to give the example of those brilliant successes of the graver?

To the question so proposed can a reply be made only by the hypothesis more or less specious. Here is all that seems to present a very marked character of probability. It is known how passionately the illustrious tyrants of Syracuse, Gelon and Hiero, were attached to calling and retaining at their court by the attraction of a snowy hospitality, those that passed then in Hellas as the leaders in lyric and dramatic poetry. Interested as they were in ensuring the concurrence of all of their contemporaries, who gave or rather sold glory, they could not pay less expense for sculptors than for poets; they must have paid royally for the works executed on their account by the Egineans Glaukias and Onatas; but those were not so free in their movements as a Pindar, Simonides or Eschylus. They were chiefs of industry at the same time as artists. Where they were established, they had to create vast workshops, largely supplied with plastic clay and metal ingots, where an entire people of diligent workmen labored to enlarge the sketches modeled by the master, make the moulds, run melted bronze into them, to draw out and retouch the pieces that successively left the coverings of earth broken by the hammer. This numerous staff and complex equipment, the bronze-worker could not discharge on any day to satisfy the caprice of an ambitious and prodigal prince. If he desired a statue to reproduce his image, on which he could read his name and the mention of his victory, he engaged the sculptors of Egina, that when the work was once finished

they should charge themselves with sending it to Olympia and erecting it on a pedestal there.

Thus were fabricated outside in the cities having a monopoly of the metal arts, monuments that were exposed near the most sacred temples of the mother country, and with the triumphal odes of pensioned poets, concurred in informing all the Greeks of the great things accomplished in the West by Theron, Gelon and Hiero, vanquishers of the hereditary enemy, the Phoenicians allied with the Medes; but it could not be with the coinage as with images for show. The coinage must be struck at the place according to the needs of the local circulation, under the oversight of representatives of the city, ordinary magistrates or tyrants whose usurpations had been absolved by the splendor of the services rendered. This coinage, even if not abundant, sound and beautiful in appearance, again contributed by the vogue it obtained, to enhance the prestige of the State that issued it. To obtain this result, it was first necessary to command a great quantity of the precious metal. We know the prosperity of the chief Greek cities of Sicily at that time. The victory of Himera alone placed in the power of Gelon 2000 talents of silver.¹ Material then was not lacking for coining, and to use it, there sufficed to bring to Syracuse some skilful engravers. To fashion and temper their dies, they found everywhere the necessary metals, then to prepare and strike the coins, crucibles, balances, an anvil and hammer. To design these accessories, the Sicilian princes could apply to the celebrated sculptors, of whom they were assiduous and generous patrons. It would then be the business of those princes to acclimate and settle them at Syracuse by the allurements of a very liberal salary, the artists whose talent was appreciated.

note 1.p.146. Diodorus. XI. 26.

This explains the exceptional and precocious beauty of certain Sicilian coins, particularly the coinage of Syracuse. This beauty is not the result of a happy accident. It was sought and desired by intelligent and discreet chiefs of State. Doubtless neither the effigy nor even the name of the prince appeared on these coins; but in all that passed them from hand to hand, they recalled the prowess and great taste of the princes that selected these types, mutely recalling the memories of the vic-

victories obtained in the national games, of Greece and of the defeats inflicted on Carthaginian enemies. The firmness of the execution of the images and the purity of their lines proved the value of the concurrence ensured by those enlightened protectors of letters and arts, for the fabrication of their coinage, by the city which had made them arbiters of its destinies.

Thus was formed by the initiative taken by the Deinomenide princes, the school of Syracusan engravers. It did not disperse and fall until after that dynasty was overthrown. Under those princes, Syracuse became the most populous and most powerful city of the entire island. The admiration aroused by its coinage was a homage rendered to this preeminence, one of which it was justly proud. Thus in spite of all the storms that traversed its democratic regime, it held to not allow itself to be despoiled of that glory. Its engravers, perhaps the sons of those employed by Gelon and Hiero, in any case their pupils, remained faithful to the types created by their predecessors; but careful to profit by the rapid progress made then by statuary in Peloponnesus and Attica, they enlarged their style. In less than a century, they came to inscribe the name of Syracuse on coins that are true marvels, works most accomplished in all points, that have ever been produced by coinage in any time and any country.

For the period that occupies us, the history of this art cannot be pushed beyond the study of Sicilian coins. It is only in the second half of the 6th century, that the colonies planted on the Italian coasts of the Adriatic commenced to follow the examples given them by their metropolises; but the delay was still much more marked in the Greek cities of Rhodian and especially of Phocæan origin, that were founded on the shores of Gaul and of Spain. A greater distance separated them from the mother country. Very scattered over a vast extent of coasts, they were situated on the borders of countries inhabited by peoples treated as barbarians by Greeks. These cities were then the last to obtain the full benefit of a practice, that when they had finally adopted it was long years after it had entered into the custom of all the rest of the Greek world. Massalia was the most active, boldest and richest of those outside colonies; now only about 450 did it undertake to coin money. To judge by the style of the engraving, a much earlier date cannot

be assigned to the little pieces of silver, that appear to be the first issued by its mint. They bear the head of a woman on the face, on the reverse a crab accompanied by the letter M, the initial of the name of the city.

It is further unnecessary to imagine that before that late time, there had been any sort of money circulating in the western basin of the Mediterranean.

To succeed in protecting among them for private persons and the public the spirit and ornament of Grecian life, the inhabitants of Massalia and of the other colonies on those shores remained tributary to the centres of that Greek civilization with which they were proud to be connected. From thence they derived books and art objects, furniture, fabrics and jewels by the intermediary of Ionian and Corinthian navigators. In return they delivered to those sailors the wares sold to them by Celtic and Iberian tribes, particularly the metals furnished by the mines in the interior. They exchanged merchandize; but a part of these was paid for by means of money that all these merchants from overseas brought from their native land. At Massalia and in its offices, men quickly became familiar with the types and legends of all those foreign coins. They knew them to be of good alloy; these were sought and required everywhere. By very numerous finds, whose evidence agrees, one could form a correct idea of the part that these imported coins played during more than a century in the commerce of what, we should for the Greeks the extreme West. In the northwest of Italy, to the south of Gaul, the east and south of Spain, have been exhumed coins at many places, sometimes sporadic, sometimes grouped in great quantity, sufficient to form what numismatists term treasures, that about the end of the archaic age were struck by the cities of Ionia and Hellas, whose ships did not fear to risk themselves in these distant seas. Among the pieces thus exhumed from the ground, from Etruria to Betica, there are some from Lampsacus and Miletus, Egina and Athens, Corcyra and Velia; but what predominates by far in this cosmopolite coinage are the coins of Phocæa and its associate Mitylene. The galleys of Phocæa had been the first to push to the columns of Hercules an adventurous point, and to take the initiative in disputing with the Phoenicians the benefits promised by the exploitation

of an entire world, whose natural riches had not been suspected till then. It was like a curtain torn away, when in some years after having recognized Corsica and Sardinia and then the Balearic islands, the Phocceans established their agencies at the moutns of the great fluvial routes, like the valleys of the Rhone, Ebro and Betis. In that prodigious enlargement of the horizon, that suddenly opened such a fine career to the spirit of enterprise and speculation of the Greek merchant, there was something analogous to what would be for Europe in the 16th century of our era the discovery of America.¹

Note 1.p.148. For the details of those finds and for the analysis of the elements of the monetary circulation in the western basin of the Mediterranean, see Babelon, *Traite*, Part II, Vol. I, the chapter entitled: - *Le tresor d'Auriol et les principales trouvailles de monnaies grecques primitives en Occident.* (p.1571-1613). What particularly justifies the conclusions to which the author arrived, is the catalogue that he made of the coins composing the rich deposit found near Marseilles, known under the name of the treasure of Auriol. This treasure appears to have been buried about 460 or 470.(B.C.?). At the time of the discovery it comprised 2130 silver coins, enclosed in a clay vase covered by a flat stone.

The sailors of Phocœa and of other cities taking part in the commerce of the West left in payment in the different places frequented by them, the coins that they had brought from home; but this international currency was far from sufficing for the needs of a monetary circulation, that would become gradually more active as the prosperity of these colonies increased. Men saw themselves then nearly everywhere, at Massalia and elsewhere, led to manufacture for local use pieces, that are imitations more or less careful of Greek coins of various origins, particularly of Ionian coinage and especially of the coins of Phocœa and of Mitylene. "These imitations are sometimes irregularly standardized. Sometimes their types very skilfully approach the original prototype, and sometimes they may vary from it so far that the initial image is almost unrecognizable. There are even some formless lumps without types, which remain the retarded evidences of the period during which the metals were exchanged in the state of ingots." ¹

Note 1.p.149. Babelon. *Traite*. Part II. Vol. I, p.1575.

All these pieces are without legends and with a sunken square on the reverse. Nowhere is the trace of a legend, that by giving the coin an official character would guaranty its value. The magistrate has not intervened in that fabrication. Private industry charged itself with it, and for the weights as for the engraving of the coins, it is satisfied to be nearly correct. It could not be otherwise; in truth this was only a sort of fiduciary money, only serving to regulate small purchases in retail commerce, or to make change in great payments. In all that coinage was not one stater; even the drachma is very rare. The blanks of these little pieces is generally of very irregular shape, so that frequently in striking, the impression of the die is not entirely apparent.

Not only the Greeks of the coast used between them this counterfeit money. In Gaul and Spain have been found deposits in the interiors of the countries. The natives that lived near the Hellenic agencies had assumed a taste for money. They freely accepted these in payment for raw products supplied to the cities of the coast, and it seems that then frequently stored them as articles of value. This gives reason to consider the appearance of most of these little pieces exhumed in the countries served by this industry. They seem quite new; they are almost the choice from the die. On the contrary, when one finds on those coasts some coins of Ionia or of Hellas, those are very worn. It is divined that they have passed through many hands before coming to end their career in these distant regions.

7. General Character of archaic Grecian Coinage.

In the preceding pages the reader has seen a selection of specimens of the products of the art of coining, for the period comprised between the beginnings of that art and the years that closely follow the result of the Median wars. Not from that period date the masterpieces of the graver, those admired by modern medallists, and whose mastery they despair of excelling. These masterworks originated only later in the course of the 5th and 4th centuries, when sculptures by Polycletes, Myron and Phidias, Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus, shall furnish the engraver with models, that will teach him to present various interpretations of the living form, but all equally free and faithful. Yet by the types surveyed one can henceforth for

a just idea of the course that this art pursued in Greece among the people that had been its true creator. He takes into account the efforts that these engravers of all these dies imposed on themselves for casting a ray of beauty on those ingots, at first merely a convenient medium of exchange. With some pieces of Hellas and the islands, especially with the coins of Magna Grecia and of Sicily, one already divines how Evenetos, Kimon and their anonymous rivals knew how to give nobility and grace to the images, that they had to enclose within the narrow field of a didrachma or of a stater.

At the beginning the impression received by the ingots intended for monetary circulation did not vary in themes and appearance from those found in the works of the sculpture of the 7th century. Place them near each other, intaglios of that epoch chosen by chance in the cases of the Cabinet of Antiques, and the first Lydian and Ionian coins; you will be struck by the resemblance. What dominates in both groups are figures of real or factitious animals, the latter being images of composite beings, wherein caprice of the workmen ingeniously combines forms taken from various types of organic life. Perhaps the same hands sunk here in fine stones and there in metal; but in all cases for the two trades is only one of the same repertory. The service that the banker or the State required from the ingot which it stamped, was the same as the private man expected from the steatite or cornelian that furnished him with a seal. All that either desired is, that by the virtue of the mark placed on the material, the metal or the gem represents to them, either the credit of the merchant, that of the city that guaranteed the value of the coin, or the act of will by which a certain person promises a third person. In these conditions, what first of all preoccupies the artisan is to adopt for the intaglios or coin, that he is charged to execute, a figure that by its singularity distinguishes the seal of his patron from the seals of his fellow citizens, or the coinage of one city from that of another. Thus is explained the extreme diversity and the singularity of this sculpture and of this coinage. Everywhere is felt an intense desire experienced by the engraver to diversify the work to which he applies himself for the time, not to expose the public for which he works to confuse similar

objects, seals or coins, by reason of a too accurate resemblance.

This result is pursued at first by means of patent endeavor, by bizarre combinations of heterogeneous forms, but the engraver will obtain it later at less cost, when his hand becomes more flexible, and he shall have been at the school of grand sculpture. Then will poetry and religion usually suggest to him the choice of his types, and at least until the morrow of the death of Alexander, he will continue to accord a very marked preference to motives of that kind. For each die that he engraves, the artist is held to make an effort of invention, to find a form, that by the choice and arrangement of the traits borrowed from reality, worthily translates one of the ideas that Greek thought forms of those supreme powers in which it personifies the forces of nature, and the laws by which are regulated the phenomena of the physical and the moral worlds. Is not this obligation for the imagination of the artist a stimulant very different in action from what custom has assumed, since the 3rd century B.C., and that it will retain in our modern societies, of making a portrait the principal type of their coinage? In the rendering of these effigies of emperors and kings, of princes little and great, he could place much skill and fidelity, among the ancients as in our days; but the models placed before him will rarely be beautiful, and during 30 and sometimes for 50 years, there will be the same traits, scarcely changed from one issue to another, which he must reproduce on the surface of his coinage. In the copies that he presents, will he not risk allowing the facility and a rather routine execution? In the accomplishment of his task, even where he employs most conscience and talent, this monotonous repetition of the same princely head will never have the attractive variety of the coinages of free Greece. Before the establishment of the vast kingdoms issuing from the dismemberment of the Macedonian empire, each city had its particular types. These were transmitted from one generation to another; but the engraver applied himself to perfect these types, or to diversify them by the introduction of some new detail, to make more majestic or more charming the image of the deity venerated by his people, to represent on one side of the coin a motive commemorating a recent event. By the effect of the very special conditions in which was developed the life of the Greek race, the types of

the coinage have been in space almost infinite in number, and in time the same in which they seem to have been best fixed by tradition, they have always admitted variations in such number, that among our medallists we find only a few pieces of the same city, that appear to have been struck with the same die. By this means the study of this numismatics has for the historian of art a more vivid interest than that of the States of Christian Europe.

It is not alone the character of their themes which confers on these Greek coins the advantage of being true works of art, more generally than ours, and to a higher degree they owe this merit in a certain measure to their mode of execution. That did not permit attaining in form and the striking of coins the precision guaranteed by the work of the machines today at the command of the industry of coinage; but for the imperfection of the mechanical procedure was a compensation. If the methods then in use were rudimentary and so remained during long centuries, they made a more direct appeal to the initiative of the workman, much greater than those now employed in our mints. In the operations with which he was charged, this workman put intelligence and taste impossible to the workmen, that with us control the hydraulic presses from which the coins escape in thousands in a few hours.

The requirements of a monetary circulation quite otherwise active than that of former times have led us to give to the coins circulating in our societies a form sensibly differing from that affected by antique coins. "Before all in modern coinage, men seek that the blank receiving the impression must have a perfect regularity, be equally flattened on all parts of both sides, so that the coins may be combined in piles. This is indeed a great convenience for keeping silver in a strong box, and a serious guarantee against theft, for a mere glance suffices to ensure that a pile of coins has not been reduced in height, while it is necessary to count each piece or resort to the balance to verify, that nothing has been taken from a lot composed of coins of irregular form enclosed in a sack. Thus there were decisive reasons for adopting this form, although it may be very unfavorable to art, by compelling the engraver to give to the types a too slight relief, that must make no obstacle to piling the coins. ¹

Note 1.p.153. Fr. Lenormant. La monnaie dans l'antiquité.
Vol. I, p.280-283.

"For the rest, these slight reliefs alone suit a coin in the form of a flat disk, and nothing is more disagreeable in effect, than the medals struck today to perpetuate the memory of important events, with their types projecting strongly from an absolutely flat surface. Quite otherwise is the appearance of antique coins of great dimensions, for example of the decadrachmas of Syracuse with their beautiful lenticular shape, swelled at the centre and thinned at the edges, in which is recognized so well the marvellous feeling of Greek artists for fitness. The projection of the coin increases the value of the central part of the type, which the engraver conceived to draw attention to that point, while the field gradually recedes toward the circumference, and thus has not the importance as on our medals of today, that crush the type. Particularly in the heads that decorate the principal side of the coins does the superiority show in a striking manner. A variety in planes is gained there, a firmness and power in the modeling, a refinement in the contours, receding and arrested at the same time as nature gives them, which cannot be attained with the modern system. One feels air and life circulate. The type of the coinage thus equals the most beautiful effects of sculpture, while the effigies of our own coinage are flat and without relief. Those of commemorative medals are raised more and seem unskilfully struck on a blank of uniform thickness that supports them."

"Here intervenes the difference in the processes of fabrication. Antique coinage was struck by the hammer. Modern coins and medals are struck by mechanical means of great power. The use of these machines has produced an important economy and a considerable increase of rapidity in the production; but art has lost, as it nearly always loses in the use of machines. The hammer strikes less strongly than the balance pole or the hydraulic ram, does not crush the blank in the same manner, and thus permits avoiding the hardness and dryness of contours, defects noted on all our coins, but which were unknown to the numismatics of antiquity. Handled by skilful workmen, the hammer was an instrument obedient to the will as the chisel of the sculptor. The coiner could regulate the force of his blow as he intended, render it more or less violent, as required by

the nature of the die by which he had to produce the impression. It was easy for him to arrange so as to make the principal vigor of the stroke bear unequally on the different points of the surface of the coin, in order to give more projection and more value to certain parts of the type. On the contrary, the effect of a machine cannot be regulated in the same fashion. It does not know those delicate shades that have so much importance in the execution of works of art. It strikes with violence, with the uniform and brutal regularity of an unconscious force."

Chapter XVII. Black Pottery and monochrome Vases with Reliefs.

Before commencing the study of Grecian painting and of the painted vases on which we shall seek its reflection, it is proper to make known by some examples a pottery of a very special kind, the black pottery and monochrome red pottery, which seeks the elements of its decoration in the projecting designs, which the workman has distributed over the surfaces exposed to view. The processes by which this decoration is obtained approach those employed by the engraver on hard stone or metal and sculpture. It is sculpture again that elevates this industry. The images that it applies on clay are slight reliefs executed either by the modeling tool, by the use of the roller or by pressing in a mould.

Those products of this kind which particularly attract the attention of the visitors of our museums are of this pottery of a lustrous black, that among archaeologists it is customary to designate by the name of "bucchero nero," a name given to it by Italian antiquaries.

These vases are of very different forms and sometimes of very great height, and abound in all collections in which have been gathered the equipment of the tombs of Etruria. Men were long inclined to recognize in them the products of an industry entirely local, whose invention and monopoly must be carried to the account of Tuscan workshops; but in examining it more closely, one must correct that assertion in a certain measure. In this country of long feasts and good cheer, the ceramist was bound to furnish his patrons with a pottery for display; but to fill and decorate the fields, he did not have the advantage like the Greek potter, of using paintings whose themes were borrowed from the inexhaustible repertory of a mythology that the imagination of the poets had marvellously diversified. Then what he attempted on the painted vase was hardly more than to copy or imitate with more or less skill the Ionian, Corinthian or Attic vases, those of the Lucumans, lords of Tarquinii and Clusium, Agylla and Volsinii, imported into Etruria to ornament their houses and then their tombs, just as three or four centuries ago they introduced into Europe the porcelain of China and of Japan. Those counterfeits could not be very nearly

prized by connoisseurs. To present to them a pottery, that with a national character its charm and originality, it was necessary in the native workshops to seek something else. What they undertook was to arrive at reproducing by means of certain fashions of treating the clay, the color and appearance of vases of metal, whose first models had been offered by the contributions of Ionian industry, but which the hammer and chisel had very soon learned to execute with rare mastery. They did not content themselves by copying their contour and curve. Due to the beautiful polish received by the clay, they could make it as shining as bronze, and even enliven these sombre tones by a discreet application of leaves of gold and silver. The effect thus obtained was found nearly equal to that secured in the workshop of the metal-worker, when bronze was inlaid by the precious metals. The illusion was carried even to deceive the eye. What completed the resemblance were ornamental motives sunken or in relief, and applied figures in high or middle relief. In this manner the piece found itself provided with a decoration which imitated that, which the bronze-worker and goldsmith required from the incisions of the graver or the boldness of repousse work.

In Greece, where the painted vase dates from prehistoric times, the industry of black pottery could not have the same fortune as in Etruria; its technics could not end in the same complications and the same refinements. Why should the Greek workman give himself so much trouble to cause clay to play the part of metal, when he had found means of giving to that clay a decoration more appropriate to the nature of that material, one that comprised a very different kind of ornamentation, than that of those overlays of metal in which the Etrurian workmen displayed such laborious ingenuity?

If for this reason the black pottery, a servile imitation of metal, had no future in Greece, one would not be justified in believing that the Greek potter was ignorant of that sort of vessel. Vases or fragments of those vases made of a paste of dark color have been found at a great distance from each other in many parts of the Hellenic world. At Naucratis, Rhodes and Samos, i.e., in Ionian countries have they shown themselves most numerous;¹ but they have also been collected at Selinonte

in Sicily, on Cyprus and on Crete, then on the island of Lesbos and on the neighboring continent at Neandria in Eolis, in the cemetery of Iortan near Pergamon, in various places of the Troad.² They have been gathered on the site of Olbia, the distant Miletan colony at the back of the Euxine. The Acropolis of Athens has yielded some pieces; likewise Beotia.³

Note 1.p.157. Salzmänn has found and drawn a number of these fragments of vases with reliefs (Necropole de Camiros, Pls. 26, 27, 28). For Samos, see Böhlau. Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen. p.110-121; Pl. IX, 1-8.

Note 2.p.157. On the ceramic fragments exhumed at Iortan, see Comp.Rend. de l'Academie. 1900. p.269.

Note 3.p.157. Pottier (Catalogue du Louvre, etc. Vol.I, p.1.2-158 Vol. II, p.324-325) refers to various mentions of black vases discovered in Grecian lands, made in archaeological literature. Olbia does not appear on his list; Lischke cites it (Jahrb.189.; Arch. Anzeiger p. 18).

Since the first finds of this sort, it has been asked if all this pottery was not of Etruscan fabrication, and if it had not been scattered by maritime commerce over the coasts of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. In exchange for the painted vases sold by Miletus and Corinth, Chalcis and Athens, Etruria might have furnished its black pottery. Reflection has led men to discard this hypothesis. Doubtless it did not appear impossible that the Ionians, who frequented Etruscan markets, may have sometimes brought specimens of that black and lustrous pattern, that was as we should say, a specialty of Tuscan industry; but if they had that fancy, it seems that they would rather prefer to keep the exhibit most beautiful and largest of those vases, best showing the effects that the Etruscan workman had obtained from that technique. Now this is represented outside Etruria, in Greece proper as in its Asian and African colonies, only by vases in very small dimensions or by fragments of the same. This singular fact only has one explanation: the Greek ceramist knew how to prepare this dark paste; but he only made of it an ordinary vessel, for which he had no trouble of invention. At the Louvre (hall A) are little cups of this kind, that are believed to have come from Rhodes.

Only at Naukratis in Egypt have the excavations yielded fragments of black pottery, that are the remains of vases of quite

large height, decorated tripods, goblets with conical bases and cups with flat bottoms. On several of these fragments are dedications engraved with the point, which attest that these vases were consecrated to Aphrodite by Lesbians originally from Mitylene or some other city of the island.¹ In these inscriptions have been recognized the alphabet and forms of dialect in use at Lesbos in the time of Alceus and Sappho. It is probable that gifts all intended by a singular accord to offer to the goddess, not the products of their national industry, but those of a foreign industry, products in current commerce, no more at Naucratis than at Lesos? Here is also a reason still more convincing for rejecting the idea that the black pottery of oriental Greece could be of Italian origin. At Samos was found the best preserved specimens, cups, cups with feet, pitchers and vials (Fig. 79). Some light touches of white show on the gloomy surface, whose black lustre does not fail in brilliancy; but in the fracture and in the interior of the cup, the clay has neither the hardness nor the frank tone of the Tuscan bucchero. It is soft and friable; a fragment of one of these vases being plunged into water, it disintegrates and melts like sugar there. This clay is not black, but of a chocolate color.² It is felt that there has not been applied here the care in preparing and burning this clay as in Etruria. Thus is confirmed the idea formed by us of the little importance that the Greek potter always attributed to this fabrication.

Note 1. p. 158. F. Petrie and E. Gardner. Naucratis. Part I, p. 419; Part II, p. 47, 48, 65-66; Pl. XXI, Nos. 736, 733.

Note 2. p. 158. Böhlau. Aus Ionischen etc. f. 119-121.

Black pottery having thus played only a very secondary part in the evolution of ceramics in Greece, there is really no place here to discuss the very much controverted question of the procedure by which the workman came to color the clay thus. In one point is agreement, the nature of the coloring material. The black is not due to the use of a clay that had in the pit this special color. According to the results of several analyses, it is by the introduction of a quantity of carbon into the paste, that represents 2 to 3 per cent of the total mass. This carbon is intimately mixed with the clay and has changed its color. But how was this mixture made? On this point, opinions differ. Most archaeologists that have occupied themselves

with this pottery explain the coloring by prolonged smoking, that caused the carbon to penetrate as an impalpable powder into the pores of the clay. As this smoking was made in the open air and in unskilful fashion, or in a closed vase and by wise methods, it gave imperfect results, as in the very ancient vases of a coarse fabrication that the Italians term *impasto*, or uniform and excellent results.

In this case a final operation gave the vase the metallic tone aimed at by the workman. When this vase left the oven, it was covered by a light coating of wax or resin to give it brilliancy and to make it impermeable; it was then polished with great care and the piece was finished.

Other experts in Etruscan things do not admit that smoking could alone produce these effects. They believe that on the outer and inner surfaces of the vase while still raw was a coating of lampblack and carbon, which firing incorporated with the clay. However this may be, the success of the firing depended on the skill with which was managed the fire. When it was pushed too rapidly or the heat was carried too high, the carbon deposit was consumed in place, the clay then retained its red tone, imprinted on it by the flame of the oven in ordinary conditions.¹

Note 1.p.180. On this process and the different solutions proposed for making black vases, see Pottier. Catalogue etc. Vol. II, p.293-294, 315; Schliemann. *Ilios*. Egger's trans. p.210-2

In whatever manner one desires to understand the mode of fabrication, it was certainly the same in the East and in the West. From one group of workshops to another, procedures must not have sensibly differed; but what can be asked is, where and by whom were they invented? The Etruscans perfected them and made a very different use of them than the potters elsewhere; but did they create this technique or have they received its elements from outside? There is a question to which one cannot reply with full certainty. When it is proved that the *impasto* with its clay badly smoked and merely browned by the fire, preceded the *bucchero* of the Etruscan tomb, one would be tempted to believe that the Tuscan workman was able by his own means and experiments to impose his methods; but on the other hand, Etruscan civilization after the 7th century bears the traces of so

many borrowings, at first made from Phoenicia and soon afterward from that Greece, that one is inclined to assume as the origin of this industry. As a rude sketch of a type that never succeeded in freeing itself, the impasto would be Italian; but for the clay as the buccnero to learn to imitate metal, it would be necessary that foreign models should come to stimulate the native workman, or that perhaps even the secrets of the trade were taught to him by some one of those Greek potters, that according to tradition went to establish themselves in more than one Etruscan city. Men appear to have known how to make this black pottern in the Orient much before the time when the buccnero industry flourished in the West. There is a certain vase of this kind, collected in Egypt, to which from the objects found with it, one believes it right to attribute a very high antiquity: the year 2000 has been mentioned.² Without ascending to that, the buccnero of Cyprus and of Rhodes seems in general to be earlier than the 6th century; at least this is indicated by the age assigned to the cemeteries from which it came.¹

Note 2. p. 160. F. Petrie (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1890. p. 276; Pl. XIV, 9)

Note 1. p. 161. These vases possessed by the Louvre and British Museum came from the cemetery of Camiros; now to the 7th century are referred most of the tombs excavated by Salzmann (Potter. Catalogue, etc. I. p. 149).

What again confirms the hypothesis of the importation of the procedure into Etruria is the fact, that recent discoveries have placed beyond doubt. At the Louvre and in other museums are seen large plates and great jars or vases, that came from Caere and other Etruscan cities, which present a very peculiar character. Some have only smooth surfaces; but where there is a decoration it projects from a surface 0.75 to 1.18 ins. thick. Sometimes brown, their clay is usually of a reddish tone. On a number of pieces, this ornament only comprises geometric designs, chevrons, eggs, triangles, etc.; but elsewhere the figure plays a part in the ornamentation. This was executed by means of a cylinder on which had been engraved in intaglio the images that it was desired to have in relief on the jar. Applying pressure, the cylinder was rolled on the clay while still damp. This entered the hollows of the mould and made an impression later hardened by the fire of the oven. By being rolled thus

in contact with the paste, the cylinder repeated the same motive indefinitely. Whether this represented men, real or factitious animals, these kinds of bands extended around the vase near its upper edge. Sometimes the artisan employed a slightly different method. He forced his plastic clay into moulds, from which he took as many impressions as necessary, of a head or of a personage, which he then utilized as overlays. He cemented these overlays with a little slip after each other on the field that he wished to decorate. In this case the images are farther apart with less regular intervals between them.

The Etruscans were at first regarded as the inventors of this technics; but in these later times, vases of this kind are often found in fragments in very great numbers at various points of the Grecian world, so that one believes himself compelled to renounce that idea.²

Note 2.p.161. Pottier. Les vases archaïques a reliefs dans les pays grecs. (Bull. Corr. Hell. 1890. p.491-509. Also vases a reliefs provenant de Grece (Monuments Grecs, etc. 1885-1888. p.43-59. Pl.VIII).

This very massive ordinary pottery was destined for domestic use, and did not have the pleasing appearance of the sort of originality, which could have explained in a certain measure the exportation of the buccero nero. The excavations of Hissarlik and of Cnossos have proved that from the prehistoric age, the people settled around the Aegean sea knew how to fabricate for preserving grain and liquids, those great jars of clay burned in the kiln, which they sometimes attempted to give a rudimentary ornamentation.¹ They placed on them circular bands or chevrons, rosettes, leafy branches. This mode of decoration, the Etruscans had borrowed from the jars filled with oil or wine brought to them by Hellenic commerce.

Note 1.p.162. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, p.211, 252-253, 461; Pls. 57, 173.

Nearly twenty years since, there was already a long list of fragments of vases with reliefs, that had been collected in Sicily and east of the Adriatic.² Not worth while to extend it for the little now undertaken in that research. We shall only have the embarrassment of choice to present here some specimens of this ornamentation, selected from the most interesting of their themes.

Note 1.p.162. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. II, p.211, 252-253, 461; Figs. 57, 173.

Note 2.p.1-2. The most complete is that given by pottles as appendix to Article on monuments de l'association des etudes grecques.

Here is first a fragment from the excavations of the Acropolis of Athens (Fig. 80). By its curvature and thickness, it is recognized that it came from a vase analogous to those of Caere. The subject represented here is one of those very often found on the painted vases of the 6th century in episodes, like the departure of a hero for the combat; of an Amphiaraus or a Hector. protected by a large round shield, helmet on head and spear in hand, a warrior springs on a chariot to which is harnessed two horses. On this chariot stands the driver with reins in hand. He is clothed in a long tunic that covers the same person in the celebrated bronze of Delphi. Over the chariot is a scorpion. The relief is weak and very flat. In placing his mould, the artisan has not thought to arrange an interval between the impressions, that succeed on the clay from the rotation of the roller. The head of the first horse is thus found to nearly touch the helmet of the warrior preceding him in this march.

On a fragment of a vase of the same type purchased in Laconia, the image was doubtless obtained in the same manner and is more complex.¹ Two nude warriors are in combat with crossed spears. One has the round shield and the other the shield with two side notches. Beneath their feet is the corpse of a combatant. Behind them at each side is a person taking part in the struggle. That on the left holds a bow. This is a group that very frequently appears on Corinthian and Attic vases of the 6th century.

Note 1.p.163. Le Bas. Voyage archæologique. Plates and topography, sculpture and architecture published and commented on by S. Reinach. 1888. pp.99 + 105 pls.

of the two processes that we have examined, the second was applied in the decoration of a vase of red clay, a fragment of which was found in Beotia as assured, and it is now in the Louvre.(Fig. 82).¹ Of what formed the ornamentation, there remains on the piece in question only the heads and torsos of two women. With the arm raised and the palm of the hand turned away, it is divined that their attitude was that of adoration and prayer.

to ornament his work, the potter had made choice of a motive that we have already found on more than one archaic monument;¹ he had represented a chorus, i.e., a file of women clad in festal garments and marching with cadenced steps, whose rhythm was usually marked by the sound of the flute, coming to render homage at a tomb or an altar. The movement is the same for both women. They formed a part of an entirety in which were repeated the same poses and the same ritual gestures; but between the figures, in the proportions as in the details to the adjustment and modeling there are slight differences which suffice to demonstrate that we do not have under our eyes impressions from the same mould. These differences are not such that could be explained as retouches with the tool. The right figure has a longer face than the left, the mouth is better drawn and the chin is stronger. The two pendant tresses of her hair are arranged on each side of her ear, and not thrown back as for her companion. The drapery covering her chest extends much higher. On only one of the two images, that on the left, are seen on the shoulder concentric circles in which are believed to be recognized the heads of brooches serving there to fasten the fabric. Each of the figures has been treated separately. This was a little relief that before burning, the potter added to the body of the vase. Thus executed separately, the dancers do not hold hands, as they frequently do in images of the chorus left to us by sculpture and painting.

Note 1.p.164. Pottier. *Monuments grecs*. 1885-1888, p.44-48.

Note 1.p.165. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.III, Plqs 399, 48.; VII, Plqs. 59, 96; VIII, Plqs. 145, 153.

The clothing is nothing but the primitive Dorian, most simple of all. It consists of a peplos made of a great rectangular piece of woollen, whose upper part is turned down over the chest and back to form what the Greeks called the apodygma, while the rest of the material is held to the waist by a wide girdle and extends close to the body. The little rounds perceived above the brow must represent either the projecting buttons of a sort of diadem, or round pieces of gold combined with the hair, similar to those that the Mycenaeans of both sexes sewed on their garments.

All concurs here in giving the impression of a very remote

date. These are the fashions of rendering the hair by little opposed lines in herring-bone form; the body seen in full with the face presented in profile; an enormous eye in this profile drawn in front view; in the angular lines of the strong and ungraceful projection of the nose. There has been mentioned the 6th century in the time of Pisistratus. I should prefer to believe in the last years of the 7th century.

Particularly in Beotia did the ceramists appear to have a marked taste for ornament in reliefs. They applied this ornament on great amphoras, many fragments of which are scattered in the museums of Europe, but of which it has been possible to restore some nearly complete examples. The clay is red in the fracture and was carelessly prepared; it contains many little pebbles; but these vases with their partly perforated vertical handles no less have a very beautiful curvature in spite of some heaviness (Fig. 83). The reliefs of very archaic character were executed with care. Those amphoras must be objects of a certain value.¹

Note 1. p. 166. De Ridder. Amphoras a reliefs. (B.C.H. 1898. p. 439-471, 497-519; Pls. IV-VI bis). Also in Delanges Perrot. p. 296-301. Vases archaïques a reliefs. The fragments described belong to the Cabinet des Antiques of the National Library. Their source is unknown; but from the nature of the clay and the character of the technique, they appear to De Ridder to be of Beotian origin.

To appreciate the objects of this fabrication, there are particularly two nearly entire amphoras, possessed by the museums of Athens and of the Louvre. Both have a striking resemblance, both in the entire plan of the ornamentation and in the execution of the images. These ornament only one face of the vase, a peculiarity explained by the destination itself of the vase. All these amphoras came from tombs. They were show vases placed over the tombs. There they played the part taken in Attic cemeteries by the colossal vases of the Dipylon.¹ Erected on the funereal mound or cippus, they received decoration only on that side presented to the eyes of the visitor to the necropolis, when he followed the road through it on leaving the city.

Note 1. p. 167. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, p. 55-60; Pls. 4-8, 48, 49, 56, 60, 61.

On both vases, on the side of the shoulder are two bands on which is a series of passing animals between triple or quadruple fillets. These are deer belonging to different species; but they all have the same fine and slender proportions. On the neck and within a frame added to the fillets on both sides and beneath the lip are palm leaves and verticals, then a scene forming the principal motive of the decoration. On the vase of the museum of Athens, standing between two lions is a woman clothed in a wide robe in bell form without a girdle.² Two women of lesser height are clad in the same fashion and appear to support the raised arms of the large figure. She has her hands opened with palms in front in the attitude of adoration. In this personage can only be recognized a goddess. It is very probably Demeter, the great Beotian divinity. The wild beasts stand beside her and her gesture seems to charm and soothe them. The branches extending from her temples allude to her empire over the plant world. She is the mistress of both plants and animals. Her power extends over all nature. On the vase of the Louvre is Perseus crowned with the petasus and armed with the sword, who goes to slay the Gorgon (Fig. 84). There will be noted in this group the singular form given by the potter to the victim of the hero. The myth is well known. From the blood of the Gorgon is born the winged courser Pegasus. Now to announce the metamorphosis that is to be produced, the modeler has created here a monster like the centaur. He has joined to the woman as a train the hinder parts of a horse. I do not know a relief or ceramic painting in which the subject was understood in that manner.

Note 1.p.167. We have already found these robes in bell form in the rude figurines of terra cotta, that also appeared to come from Beotia, and which date from the 9th and 8th, or at latest the 7th century. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, Figs. 28-31)

Two other vases from the same source are much less well preserved. On one, the field of the neck is occupied by the image of a procession, at the head of which marches a woman holding a sceptre, followed by four other women carrying a coffer. (Fig. 85). On the other vase, there is on the same place a combat between two warriors, perhaps the combat of Hercules and Kyknos. The lower zones of the body and of the shoulder here show files

mounted archers, and there a line of oxen that a warrior drives before him, then a band of hoplites on the march. What is most curious in this decoration is the frieze of archers. They with bow on shoulder and quiver on back have caps with top turned backward, that I have seen nowhere else (Fig. 86). Even the motive of the mounted archer is but very rarely found on the monuments of Grecian art.

When these amphoras have been studied and described, one asks by what procedure were executed the images decorating them. At first sight, it might be believed that they resemble each other, that the originals occupying the horizontal zones were stamped in the damp clay by means of moulds; but more careful examination proves that in these bands are no two figures that are exact repetitions of each other. In the poses are slight variations, and especially if measured with precision, the dimensions of the bodies differ. Punches and moulds were employed only for quite secondary details and inside the figures; such as the rosettes that decorate the robes. One cannot doubt that the reliefs were not stamped. They were modeled freely.

"For the modeling itself, the workman could proceed in two ways; either to trace a sketch on the body of the vase and then fill in the contours; or the reliefs were made separately like a flat cake, then applied on the ground. In both cases, the work could only be done in place."

"The process of overlay was impracticable with figures so long and so thin, so that it would be necessary to deform them further to fit them to the convexity of the ground. See now the ceramist might be imagined at work. With a fine point he first sketches the outlines and spreads the layer of slip, more or less thick according to the projection that he intends to give the image. Then he only has to model summarily the outline thus formed in relief, hence the traces of the finger that are still quite visible on the vase of Athens. Most frequently the primitive contour must disappear beneath the clay applied. If some trace of it remains, the potter can efface it at pleasure, or to accent the projection can form it anew and thus restore the edges. Modeling being completed, the engraving begins. By some lines are marked the folds and embroideries of the clothing as well as the separation of adjoining parts. Punches then impress

ornaments on the robes of women and on the caps of archers; but all this last work was pure decoration. The essential was the sketch. There could be manifested the originality of the artisan, in the choice of scenes to represent and in the grouping of the figures. Good or bad, the work of the Beotian modeler was indeed a personal work." ¹

Note 1.p.170. De Ridder. Bull.Corr.Hell. 1898. p.512-513.

Beotia touched Euboea. It must profit much by the vicinity of Chalcis, that city whose industry and commerce in the 7th and 6th centuries had an activity, whose memory was preserved by histories; in these later times the monuments have confirmed the evidence of the literary texts. Rich by the product of the mines that it worked in the island, Chalcis fabricated besides arms and furniture of bronze, vases of the same metal that were sought in entire Greece. Doubtless inspired by these models, both for form and decoration of their vases, were the Beotian creators of this funerary pottery with reliefs. In the repertory offered them for the ornamentation of these pieces of great luxury, they only had to choose. For the horizontal bands, they took these continuous motives of files of animals or of warriors, single combats or preparations for combat, that we find on the painted vases; but for the scene on the neck, they had the care of adopting themes that recalled the local cults and their traditional rites, which thus corresponded to the funerary destination of these amphoras. The tomb was placed under the protection of the god of the country. Here they placed the image of Demeter, the patroness of the damp and rich lands of Beotia. There they represented the murder of the Gorgon, that the Beotian poet caused to figure on his shield of Hercules. Elsewhere it is the image of a chorus, one of those processions and dances of women repeated in all religious festivals.¹

Note 1.p.171. We have already found these representations of the chorus in sculpture on metal pateras and in ceramic painting (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, Figs. 399, 482; Vol. VII, Fig. 5) we shall again find them frequently on painted vases of the classical period.

All these amphoras have enough common traits that one could believe them sent from the same workshop, or at least all could

seem to date from the same time. According to the character of the fabrication, men incline to place their execution about the year 600. In that country has been found none of more advanced style. There was at a certain time a local fashion, that does not seem to have had a long duration.

If on these Boeotian amphoras, the reliefs were modeled on place same as the body of the vase,¹ other types permitted the use of overlays made separately and then joined to the piece that they decorated. We have mentioned the island of Rhodes as a country in which there was a taste for this sort of ornamentation. Now here is a vase said to come from there, perhaps a perfume-burner. It is made of heavy and thick clay, like that of the smoked bucchero. It has the form of a cup supported by four cariatids. These are certainly related pieces, as well as the necks that project from the terminal lip of the vase. This vase is distinctly later than the Theban amphoras; it dates from the 6th century. (Vignette at end of Chapter).

Note 1. p. 174. From vases of form similar to the Boeotian amphoras appear to come fragments gathered in the Cyclades (*Revue Arch.* 1905. p. 288-291; Graindor. *Vases archaïques et reliefs de Tinos*). The fabrication of the images strongly recalls that of the reliefs of the funerary pottery of Thebes.

Because of the correct movement and the firmness of the design, there can be carried back no farther than the middle of the century the scene of a combat, that decorates a fragment collected at Sparta in the recent excavations.² It is the neck and a part of the shoulder of a vase whose form must be nearly that of the amphoras of Thebes. On the shoulder it had figures only in a horizontal band. The potter had represented there the preparations for the combat, which we have already found elsewhere at the same place (Figs. 80, 81). A warrior follows his squire and is just mounting his chariot. Behind that chariot is a dog that seems to smell the ground. The outlines have a rare truth. On the neck are two warriors fully armed and struggling together over a corpse. One of them has a round shield, the other a round shield with two notches like Boeotian coins. Behind one combatant is an archer. Behind the other is a slinger holding in his hand a stone to be thrown. Perhaps the sling was indicated by a line of color. This scene, whose theme was furnished by an episode of the *Iliad*, is a commonplace of archaic

art, and the ceramic painters will still employ this motive frequently during the entire 5th century.

Note 2.p.172. Annual of British School at Athens.Vol.XII,p.292;Pl.9.

The fabrication of these vases with reliefs did not cease with the archaic age. Some are known that date from the 5th and 4th centuries; but the pieces so ornamented are then generally vases of much less size than the great jars to which this mode of ornamentation was first applied; in crateras, pithoi, aryballas and lecythes, is verified this persistence. Thus it remains established that the Greek potter inaugurated this technique and never renounced its practice; but it suffered during two or three centuries from the formidable competition of the painted vase. In the course of that period it was relegated to the second place; it continued, but in the shadow and quietly. When in the 3rd century the industry of painted ceramics began to languish in Greece and to vanish soon after, decoration in relief profited by this decadence. It then produced vases of careful and very elegant execution, that are truly objects of luxury. Modeled separately and well attached to the ground, the figures project from the surface of the clay like those of a frieze in an entablature.¹ The potter then returns to methods, whose habit he appeared to have lost. He again sought his models in metal vases.² If he does not propose to reproduce their color and lustre, as formerly attempted in the time of the lustrous black bucchero nero, he copied their forms and ornaments. What served him to fill the surfaces of his vessel are the figures that the hammer of the chaser caused to project on the sides of the vases of gold, silver and bronze, where these fine and light overlays were firmly attached. During the entire duration of the Macedonian age, the type appearing to enjoy most favor in Greece is that of cups, very frankly accused of the imitation of metal. Then are commonly termed cups of Megara, because they were first invented and mentioned there; but in truth neither the first nor the principal centres of that industry are known. Soon after, the use of the pattern called Samian or Sigette pottery is seen to extend into all countries bordering on the Mediterranean, then become Roman provinces. The most beautiful examples of them a

are supplied by the Tuscan workshops of Arretium, which ended in rivaling those of central Gaul, of the country of the Arvernes. About the beginning of our era, moulded pottery had everywhere killed and supplanted painted pottery.

Chapter XVIII. Painting.

1. Data to be utilized in writing the History of Greek Painting.

A singular history is that of Grecian painting, or better said, of painting in Greece. For whoever would write it without the aid of the literary texts, by the sole evidence of the monuments themselves of this art, it would have an entirely paradoxical character, that of a defiance of all conjectures and all probabilities. Figures of geniuses, men and animals, have been preserved to us in Crete and Argolis, at Cnossos and Phaistos, Mycenae and Tyrins, on many fragments of frescos, and those frescos date from at least 12 and perhaps from 15 centuries B.C. It has sometimes been asked if the authors of those paintings were truly, as we believe for our own part, the ancestors of the historical Greeks; but whatever solution is given to this problem, we know what colors were employed by the painters of that remote age, now they understood and rendered form in the cities, that all later must be counted in the number of Greek cities.

As these discoveries prove, it was then possible that certain images traced by the brushes of the masters celebrated by antiquity from Polygnotus and Micon to Parrhasius and Apelles, might escape all chances of destruction. That hope has been conceived; but it has not been realized. Even in the excavations executed with the most method and care, like those of Olympia and of Delphi, nowhere has been seen to appear, either on the smooth surfaces of the blocks that once formed the walls of porticos and of halls, or on the sheets of plaster detached from the surface, a trace of the decoration that the brush had formerly spread over the panels arranged by the architect. When the ruins of the edifices of Mycenaean Greece have been lost to view, to recover the mural painting, it is necessary to take the road to Italy and visit the caves of Etruscan cemeteries, then to descend to the age of Augustus, to study the frescos that decorate the house of Livia on the Palatine at Rome, and especially near Naples, those that owe their safety to the thick layer of ashes that Vesuvius has scattered over the cities, that it destroyed in the year 79 A.D. As for easel paintings, it goes without saying, that no one has come to us. The thin wooden panels on which they were painted, have not had for

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protection from destruction the safe retreats of the tombs in the valley of the Nile, and the marvellous dryness of the sands which cover them; they have not had the same fortune as the tablets glued on the mummy cases, that have preserved for us the portraits of the men and women of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

In these conditions, it is possible to form a somewhat precise idea of Greek painting, of what it was during the long centuries that passed away between the Dorian invasion and the beginning of the Roman empire when it produced works, whose authors in antiquity saw their names associated in public admiration with those of the most famous architects and sculptors? When this question is proposed, one is tempted to reply by a negative at the first moment. All the descriptions, anecdotes and judgments collected in the ancient writers, it is said, cannot replace the total absence of the monuments. Words determine a form and a color, represent them to the eyes and cause their true character to be seized.

On reflection, the case does not appear so hopeless. In themselves alone the literary texts will remain obscure and very insufficient; but they are illumined when compared with certain monuments, that without depending on painting properly so-called, refer to it by the entire fashion and spirit of their decoration. Contemporaries of the paintings that formed the glory of the masters, these monuments reflect its figures and groups in their appearance and style. We allude here to painted vases, to which it is necessary to add as products of the same techniques, the funerary or votive plaques of clay, that were ornamented by figures, and the terra cotta sarcophaguses of the kind of those furnished by the cemetery of Clazomene to the museums of Europe. Engravers of fine stones, those who executed the dies of coins, and the modelers that fashioned the terra cotta figurines, were inspired by the works of their time; they borrowed types from them and at a distance followed the movement and progress of statuary. It was nearly the same for the decorators attached to the workshops supplying luxurious pottery, of vases ornamented by figures painted on clay. They likewise had to suffice for the needs of a prodigiously active manufacture; so that they fulfil without fatigue or delay their daily task, they were obliged to possess an entire repertory of patterns and sketches, or for the current work they not only inv-

invented subjects, but also as characterized by their attributes and traditional poses, the figures comprised by each episode of the myths from which was preferably employed the material of these illustrations; they even designed for most of these themes the arrangement of the personages, that were seized best at first sight in the meaning of the scene represented at bottom of the cup, or one side of the amphora.

How was composed what we should call the portfolio of those ceramic painters? Authors do not tell us; but certain facts are well attested in the history of the arts of the modern world, that give us an idea of what those portfolios must have been, to which designers constantly had recourse, in the best equipped workshops of ceramics. When one has commenced to study Italian faience of the 16th century known under the name of majolica, here is what is ascertained; usually from cartoons furnished by the best painters of the time, the artists worked whose brushes decorated by such rich colors the vases and plates of the workshops of Faenza, Gubbio, Deruta, Urbino and Venice. When these models were lacking, they were aided by engravings by Mark Antonio and other Italian masters; in the last quarter of the century, they frequently borrowed from Flemish engravings.¹ Cartoons and engravings gave them the personages and the grouping of the figures. At the same time in France, Benicand and Leonard Limousin in their painted enamels appear to have always utilized models similar to those used by the Italian artists in faience. There are found in their work very numerous copies of well known paintings.¹ The beautiful coloring of the enamel and the harmonious combination of the tones pre-occupy the masters of Limoges, and to those these they devote their efforts. Men have even asked whether all of them knew how to design, or at least if it was necessary to know it; they are sometimes satisfied to transfer to metal the sketches supplied to them by some famous painter.² Were it only to enclose the principal motive within those charming arabesques lavished by their fancy, the faience artists of Umbria must have freely used the pencil and brush; but no more than the French enamelers did they invent themes, and they have not created a style. The same necessity is always imposed on the arts that confine themselves to industry by the infinite multiplicity of the work

produced by them; they cannot seek the fountain of their life, cannot have sought elsewhere than in the major arts, in those that by the works conceived with reflection and executed without haste, express the highest thoughts and noblest sentiments of a people and an age. Those master works are adapted to the conditions of their special technics; they present transcriptions of them arranged or reduced, which they ornament in emulation by all the magic of colors that the fire is their capricious and powerful assistant, makes resplendent with so much brilliancy on the sheet of copper or the vessel of clay.

Note 1.p.173. E. Muntz. *Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance*. Vol. III, p.168, 254, 663, 725.

Note 1.p.173. Enamels of Leonard Limousin now in the Louvre were executed from the designs of Niccolo dell'Abbate, one of the Italian painters that Francis I called to decorate his chateaus. Some of these pretty sketches still exist; the edges of the paper are pierced by a needle in holes. It is divined that they were applied thus on a sheet of copper doubtless covered by a preparation, which by the aid of a point which followed the outlines, caused the transfer of all lines of the image. (Molinier. *L'emaillerie*, p. 291.

The situation of the ceramic painters of Greece was not entirely identical with those of our modern artworkers. Less advanced than have been from the 9th or 10th centuries of our era the Chinese and Japanese, the Greeks did not know how to repeat and fix an image by an impression on materials such as papyrus, parchment or cloth. They did not know printing. Among them the decorator thus found himself deprived of a precious resource, the assistance of those slight images that mobilize fresco or painting. The collaboration of the potters in fashioning, desiring to appropriate themes approved by the public, personages and groups, movements and characteristic expressions, were compelled to take their sketches at the place before the works of the masters, which they could not have done, if they had not a great habit of drawing, rapid and sure, and with a free hand.

From the moment when mural painting had become the enthusiastic and faithful interpreter of the noblest religious conceptions of Greece and of the joys of its patriotism, the decorators of clay must suffer the influence of those works exhibited

at Athens, Delphi and elsewhere, under the porticos where gathered the multitude of citizens and of strangers. Those works gave the tone for the myths and actions that they represented. To a certain personage had they assigned an attitude, that better than any other seemed to correspond to the role attributed to him by tradition. There was a certain arrangement of a well known scene, which seemed so happily invented as to be imposed henceforth on whoever treated the same subject. By a stronger reason, those paintings for each epoch determined the character of what is properly called the style. Among them and by them the interpretation of the living form yearly became more and more correct and freer, that it appeared and entered into the practice of novelties, such as the use of foreshortening, front and three-quarter views came to put some diversity into those paintings, in which the faces had been so very long presented only in profile. All these advances and conquests in execution could not remain a dead letter for artworkers, who were less paid by glory, yet acquitted themselves in their work with as much intelligence and zeal as artists of genius.

The chiefs of the workshops must frequently have had the idea of taking for decorating choice vases, some heroic adventure, that quite recently had furnished the subject of a painting to one of the better painters of the time. In such a case could he fail to invite the collaborator to transfer to the clay some of his most beautiful figures, some of the best received fresco groups, famous then in all Greece? the vase was destined for export. It would go to the Cimmerian Eosphorus, to Cyreniaca or to Italy. Would not the distant purchaser to whom it was offered pay more, when he believed himself certain to find there at least a partial copy of some masterpiece that he could not hope to see so soon? About the year 460, the impression was the same among all the pilgrims, that after having been present at the Pythian games, resumed the way to their native cities. In the tales of their visits to the sanctuary, they agreed in boasting of the beauty of the frescos of Polygnotus, by which he had just decorated the lesche of the Cnidians. Now on more than one of the vases of that time are seen represented episodes of the sack of Troy by the Greeks and of the journey of Hercules in the realm of Hades. Is it not probable that in those paintings of most careful execution, the

ceramist has undertaken the task of reproducing some of the groups, that had attracted the most attention in the celebrated painting? By the borrowings made from those grand pages of mythical history he has desired to give in some sort, extracts from the book, what we would call choice morsels. Greece on the morrow of the Median wars read the Iliad Persis of Arctonius of Miletus and the Nekyia of Homer in the translation into relief made by Polygnotus. This translation formed a new law, even a new order. To renounce the types and groupings that it had accredited, required a succession of several generations of artists, and that taste should change.

Had all the historians of Grecian art applied themselves to seek on the vases of the first half of the 5th century the more or less vivid trace of the genius and style of Polygnotus, we have no reason to believe that it would alone be the painters of history, whose works would have been examined and utilized by ceramic painters. Why had not his predecessors, Boularchos, Eumares of Athens and Cimon of Cleonea, his contemporaries Micon and Pancesus, like his successors Parrhasius and Zeuxis, contributed in the same manner to supply the decorators of pottery their contingent of themes and groups, figures and expressive movements?

Certain paintings of vases may then serve us for comprehending and interpreting the evidence of ancient authors, those relating to what we term historical painting. We cannot use these paintings merely as engravings and photographs would be by a modern writer, that attempted to determine the talent of a painter from these documents without having seen his paintings; But it is still necessary to remark that the decoration of vases with black figures with their white and violet overlays greatly resembled that of the most ancient mural paintings. Even the coloring imitated them. It reproduced nearly the effect and appearance of the entirety. For vases with red figures, the difference would become more marked between mural painting and painting on clay; but even then, there would still remain in the copy what engraving retains of the painting.

If it be then established that we have been and must seek in the study of painted vases a useful addition to the very rare information gleaned in classical literature, the difficulty begins when it is necessary to survey for that purpose a multi-

multitude of vases, and to distinguish among those thousands of images, those in which mural painting is most probably reflected, with the peculiarities of its technics and the personal style of its most original masters. In that investigation is no general rule that can be applied everywhere. Only questions of species and of method to be followed in the attempt to solve them, will always be the same. The revealing indication of the presumed concord will sometimes be the identity of the theme. If we recognize in a vase painting a scene that must have its marked place in a painting mentioned to us as a work of the first order, we incline to believe that the ceramic painter was inspired by that painting, and that almost attains certainty, when in the ornamentation of the vase we recognize certain modes of interpretation mentioned by the texts to which we refer. Elsewhere this beginning of proof is lacking to us; for all the great frescos of the 5th century, that do not have a detailed description of the kind left to us by Pausanias of the paintings of the Ilesche of the Cnidians; but sometimes even the execution of the ceramic painting suggests very plausible conjectures. On more than one vase it presents characters that seem to correspond to the definition that the ancient authors give us of the style of a certain famous painter. Then behind the modest work of the artworker, we believe we perceive that of the truly creative artist.

For the meaning of the subject, the choice of personages, and their distribution in the field and the movements assigned to them, painted vases under the reserves indicated above, cause us to best understand what may have been the grand compositions of Greek painting; but they are of less assistance to us, when we desire to obtain an idea of the part of color played in those paintings. Doubtless for the 7th and 6th centuries, vases with black figures furnish useful data in that respect; but it is no longer the same in the 5th century for vases with red figures. They no longer preserve the lines of the connected models nor the trace of the contours. We must then seek elsewhere the information necessary to us, and we shall find some of value in the reliefs and painted steles.

Deprived of all internal modeling, the most ancient Greek reliefs, like those of the Egyptian tombs, are rarely more than paintings in which the figures are as flat as the ground, and

are detached from it only by a slight projection. Those monuments hitherto received in our museums were cleaned and even scraped before entering them. They present only the natural gray of the stone; but since a half century, when sculptures of tufa or marble are taken from the earth in the excavations, men have always endeavored to seize and to note on those fragments even the least traces of color. The time of discovery is recorded, and knowing that these already faded tints have every chance of being paler and entirely effaced on contact with the air, men have been compelled to copy them in water colors executed when on leaving the trench the tones still retained some vividness. If the relief of Hercules and of Hydra in Attica, and that of Chrysapha in Laconia,² were brought to light with a coloring as visible, as that at first of many female statues of the Acropolis of Athens,³ it would perhaps have been thought right to credit those monuments to painting rather than to sculpture, as we have done. Whichever one of the two arts one would connect the painters that contributed to the execution of these works had on their palettes the same colors, as those who decorated the public edifices by their frescos. The same staff of artists sufficed for both tasks. By a remark of Praxiteles, whose memory is still preserved, we have the proof that painters of proved talent did not disdain to lend their assistance to the sculptors. When one asked the celebrated statuary which of his marbles he most esteemed:—he replied, "Those to whom the painter lent a hand." And Pliny adds:—"He attributed so much importance to its painting."¹ Now Nicias was the author of easel paintings, which the kings succeeding Alexander covered with gold.²

Note 1.p.182. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Fig. 273.

Note 2.p.182. The same. Fig. 215.

Note 3.p.182. The same. Pls. III, IV, V. On this coloring of marbles see also Lechat. *Note sur la polychromie des statues grecques*. (*Revue des études Anciennes*. Vol.X, p.161-168).

Note 1.p.183. Pliny. H. N. XXXV, 133.

Note 2.p.183. The same. H.N.XXXV, 132; Plutarch. *Oeuvres morales*. 1093 E.

On these statues and reliefs where we suspect and succeed in finding some touches of his brush, the painter interposed only as the auxiliary of the sculptor; but here are restored to our

curiosity by recent excavations are certain works, that he executed entirely with the sole resources of his art. We speak of those Attic steles on which the chisel has not been invited to cause the image representing the dead to project; this image was only painted on the slab of limestone or of marble.³ On each stele was a single figure. The motives and poses present little diversity. The coloring must be very simple; but there remains only very slight vestiges of it. Yet what gives reason to think that it comprised several distinct tones is, that the marble does not present the same appearance everywhere. Its surface is more intact in certain parts of the image than on the rest of the field, a difference explained by a well known fact; certain colors resist better the dampness of the air and ground; they have preserved the surfaces that they cover.⁴

Note 3.p.180. G. Löschke. *Altattische Grabstelen*. (Athen. Mitt. Vol. IV, p.36-44, 289-306, Pls. I, II; *Altattische Gemalte Grabstelen*. (Athen. Mitt. Vol. V. p.164-194, Pl. VI).

Note 4.p.183. It suffices to recall here the find of several hundred painted funerary steles, that were discovered at Pagasae in Thessaly. They appear to belong to the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. If on the greater number of these steles, the painting has left only very confused traces, some 20 of them present very well preserved paintings. (*Ephemeris*. 1898. p.1-80, Pls. I-IV). On the same monuments, also see Rodenwaldt. *Zu den Grabsteinen von Pagasae*. (Athen. Mitt. 1910. P.118-138).

These steles are further not the only monuments of this sort, which can aid the historian in his research. Many other fragments of paintings on marble and on clay can be compared to them, some of which paintings appear to have had the character of votive offerings. Others served to decorate temples or rich residences. This has been proved by the excavations of Campania. In one of the most luxurious dwellings of Herculaneum have been found five of these paintings, that have the appearance of drawings in red chalk. another entirely similar was discovered at Pompeii.⁵ In those monochromes it is agreed to see very carefully executed copies of works dating from the Hellenistic epoch and perhaps earlier; the style of Zeuxis or of one of his contemporaries, that has been recognized in the best and least effaced of his marbles, that of the plaques of knuckle bones, on which is read the signature of Alexander of Athens.

Note 5.p.183. In several programmes of Winkelmannsfeste at Halle, Carl Robert has given the best commentary and the most faithful reproductions of those monochromes. I. Votive Gemälde eines Apobaten. 1895. II. Die Knöcherspielerinnen des Alexandros. 1897. III. Kentaurenkampf und Tragödienscene, zwei Marmorbilder aus Herculaneum. 1898. ^{IV.} Der milde Silen, Marmorbild aus Herculaneum. 1898. V. Niobe, ein Marmorbild aus Pompeii. 1903.

In spite of appearances, Grecian painting has not entirely perished. Although none of its original creations exist, an entire part of it can be seized and restored in large measure. This part saved from the lost work is the drawing; it is also the composition to a certain point.

No vase was a sufficiently large field to lend itself for the entire rendering of one of those vast entreties admired in the frescos of Athens, Platea or Delphi; but when the ceramic painter desired to present to his patrons a reduced image of one of his paintings, he had a choice between two methods:- by the elimination of persons in the second plane, he could give a summary of the entire scene; or also he could select in these and take from it the episodes, that had most particularly attracted the attention of the public. Those abridgements or extracts suffice to show us how the contemporary masters of the brush grouped their figures, and understood how to render by expressive forms the idea of the feeling.

This is something, it is even much to know how a painter draws and composes; but it is not to know the whole. What distinguishes the art of the painter from the other arts of form is, that it attempts to reproduce the form not only as the touch revealed to the finger of the blind, but also as our eyes see the colored form, with the lights and shadows whose play modifies at each instant the values and relations of the tones. Color constitutes and defines the painting. Now it must be confessed that we have but a very imperfect idea of what the color could be in a fresco of Polygnotus or a painting of Apelles. By the ancient authors and by the inscriptions, we know what procedures were used by these artists; by the remains of the polychrome decoration of the architecture and sculpture, by the chemical analyses made of the substances gathered on these fragments, we also know what coloring materials then employed.

but what we do not know is what use then made of them, what vigor they gave to their tones, how they degraded and dissolved them, how they made them gleam in the light, how they reduced and extinguished them in the shadows. All these questions are asked without the means of replying otherwise than by hypotheses, and it would run the risk of grave errors to pretend to solve these by examples taken from the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs or those of the houses of Pompeii or of Herculaneum. The most ancient Etruscan paintings resemble by the exclusive use made of yellow and red, of black and white, the oldest Greek vases. In the more advanced, those at Tarquinii which appear to date from the 5th and 4th centuries, the scale of tones is more varied, and by many details it is felt that the authors of these paintings have been to the school of Greece for the drawing; but the costumes and types have a quite special and local character. The frescos of Pompeii are more directly connected to the tradition of Grecian painting, yet one cannot admit that they have a right to represent that painting, that its masterpieces have survived in those paintings. Campanian frescos come too late; they cannot claim that role of honor.

Suppose that there had perished all the work of Italian or Flemish painters preceding the 16th century A.D.; should that come by a glance at the paintings exhibited at the Salon in 1910 to form an accurate idea of the appearance presented by a fresco of Giotto or a panel by Van Eyck? With some few exceptions, the paintings of Pompeii are very mediocre. They were executed by very skilful decorators, that worked very rapidly and were paid by the square yard, as we would say. The tourist that has seen them and believes that he can recognize Greek painting of the classical age, would be the dupe of a singular illusion. He would not be able to judge of that painting, more than one is authorized to judge of modern painting, when he has seen wall paper with subjects that represent the chief views of Switzerland or the adventures of Monte Cristo." ¹

Note 1. p. 185. Paul Girard. *La peinture antique.*, p. 128.

The historian of Greek painting must then renounce the hope of attaining the same precision and certainty as the historian of sculpture. The latter labors on the monuments themselves.

He palecs himself before them when he wishes to define the style of a school or of a master, and even when those works have been broken and nearly reduced to bits, he finds in even the least fragment the ever vivid impression of the idea incorporated in that material. He feels this idea alive in all the accents of modeling, in the bites of the chisel that cut the marble, in what bronze or terra cotta allows to be divined of the play of the tool that fashioned in moist clay the sketch of the figurine or statue. It is entirely otherwise with the painting. There also we passionately desire to elucidate the assertions of the ancients, and to control their judgments by the study of the original works; but those withdrew from our sight and escape our grasp, We only see pale refelctions of t them in the monochrome images, that are further only partial reproductions, pages torn from the book.

According to all appearance, the final discoveries will never fill the gap that we have indicated. Our successors are c condemned in advance to experience the regrets that we have just indicated; but this cannot authorize us to lose interest in Grecian painting. We shall never have a clear and direct v view of this painting that time has reduced to dust, as we have of architecture and sculpture; but this is no rason to renounce in the history of Greek art, giving it the place and part to which it seems to have a right from the .amiration, that it inspired in antiquity. We know the procedures employed by the literary texts, and by what may be termed minor painting, by the remains of the polychrome decoration of sculpture, by the steles on which color supplied the lack of relief, by the frescos of certain Greek or Etruscan tombs, and by the portraits painted on wooden panels, whicn the Egypt of the Ptolemies interred with its mummies; then it is necessary to search and determine what method and effects of great artists, in those works whose loss we deplore, can be deduced from all this techniques and from those diverse methods. To form an idea of them, the historian in our days is no longer reduced to take into account only the word of Pliny, anecdotes more or less apocryphal and summary estimates nearly everywhere in writers mostly incompetent in the matter. Since there has been seized and measured the importance of the inquiring and regulating effect that historical painting exerted in ancient Greece on all trade

in which the artisan used the brush, one will no longer hesitate here to invoke first of all the evidence of the monuments. Doubtless it does not go so far as to show us the fresco or easel picture in its integrity, with its figures and grounds ornamented by the charm of color and its joyous variety; but it allows us to find again with an approximation that must be very close to the reality, the character of the arrangements and of the design. Here as for architecture and sculpture, we can now follow on fragments from one generation of artists to another, the progress of conception and of execution. We can define by examples not arbitrarily chosen the genius of a master and the style of a school.¹

Note 1.p.187. By making judicious use of all those indirect means, Paul Girard has come to present a very clear and very living survey of this history under the title:- *La peinture antique*. (Bibliothèque de l'enseignement des beaux arts). The volume is illustrated by 285 well selected figures, all black.

2. The different Kinds of Painting.

It results from the study of the texts and of the monuments that Greek antiquity knew three methods of painting, fresco, distemper and encaustic. We cannot undertake here to explain the theory of these different processes; they will be found explained in special works! ² It will suffice to define briefly each method by the traits that distinguish it and characterize its technics.

Note 2.p.187. Nowhere has this theory been presented with more precision and competence than in the *Memoir of Otto Donner* (*Abhandlung über die antiken Wandmalereien in technischer Beziehung*) at the beginning of the work of Helbig (*Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*. 1868).

As its name indicates, fresco painting (*al fresco*, the Italians say) is that executed on the fresh plaster of a wall. Its colors are diluted with water, but it employs only a small number, using only those of mineral origin. Colors furnished by the animal and plant kingdoms are forbidden to it, as well as all adhesives containing organic materials. Colors and adhesives would be attacked, decomposed and blackened by the lime contained in the plastering. If by its presence in the wall this lime thus limits the liberty of the painter by compelling him to reject certain tones, on the other hand it charges itself

with fixing the colors placed on the wall by the brush. While these penetrate into the wet layer that absorbs them as blotting paper absorbs ink, the lime perspires and casts forth as a sweat a solution of hydrate of lime. On contact with the air, this combines with carbonic acid. Thus it gradually creates over the entire surface a thin and transparent skin of carbonate. This glazing is sufficiently hard to resist washing. Friction alone succeeds in detaching it from the colored surface, that it protects from inclemencies.

The practice of fresco painting in the basin of the Egean sea dates back even to the very ancient civilization of primitive Greece. At Thera, in all the villages buried under the ashes of the great volcanic eruption, lime plastering covers the walls of the houses, and already the brush traced there not only broad bands of many colors, but likewise foliage and flowers, whose vivid colorings it sought to reproduce.¹ In Argolis, at Tiryns and Mycenae,² at Cnossos,² and Phaestos³ in Crete, that colored decoration is much more complex. Besides all varieties of linear ornament, there are seen to appear plant forms and figures of men and animals. If in the time of the reign of the geometric style, nothing has been found that resembles those frescos of the Mycenaean age, this is because the excavations have not brought to light edifices that date from that time; but the custom of colored plastering could not have been lost among the tribes, that on the calcareous soil on which they built their dwellings, and had everywhere at the foot of the work, rocks from which was obtained lime. They built of small materials, and could not feel the need of concealing that rude masonry by polychrome roughcast, as their ancestors had done.⁴

Note 1.p.188. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, p.538-539; Figs.210-

Note 2.p.188. The same. Vol.VI.p.532-543; Figs.205, 213-219, 222, 239-241, 245; p.883-892; Figs. 437-444.

Note 3.p.188. A.J.Evans. *The Palace of Cnossos*, provisional report. 1900.p.12-13, 15, 1901,p.26,56,94, Fig. 17; 1902. p.58, 59. *The Mycenaean tree and pillar cult*. 1901.p.94-98, Fig.6w,Pl

Note 4.p.188. L.Savignoni. *Resti dell'eta Micenea*, scoperti ad Haghia Triada presso Phaestos., p.57-60, Pls.VII-IX. (*Mon. ant. Acad. dei. Lincei*. Vol.XIII, 1903).

Immediately after the renaissance of the arts in the 6th and 5th centuries, while the ceramists borrowed from the fictions of the poets the themes of the decoration of their vases, other painters represented at a larger scale the same myths on the walls of temples and porticos; they also depicted there sometimes historical scenes, especially battle views. The authors mention many of those works; they indicate the subjects of a certain number of them; they give a detailed description of some; but then nowhere state the procedures employed by the artists. Various conjectures have been expressed concerning them. A certain learned man has believed that wooden panels were fixed in the walls or suspended before them.¹ But the sole text that can be invoked in support of that hypothesis is of a very late epoch, the 5th century A.D. and by a writer that never occupied himself with art matters.² It is further in contradiction of other texts more worthy of credit by their character and their date, with the countries used by contemporaries and historians of art, when they speak of the work of the great painters of the age of Cimon and of Pericles. Anaxagoras relates of Alcibiades, that desiring to have his house painted, he shut up therein the painter Agatharicos and held him a prisoner there for four months.¹ Likewise Pliny says, that Polygnotus painted an edifice at Delphi (lesche, of the Corinthians) and at Athens the portico called Poecile; he worked gratis for that portico, while Micon painted another part for a price in silver.² If some uncertainty may remain as to what Pliny meant by painting an edifice or a portico, all doubt concerning the sense that he attached to those words would be removed by the following phrase:—"Prusias painted with a brush, when it was necessary to rebuild them, the walls of an edifice of Thespies, that had formerly been painted by Polygnotus."³ It would do violence to the words to pretend to find here the mention of movable pictures, paintings of Polygnotus, that had suffered from the effects of time, and were restored by Prusias.

Note 1. p. 189. Raoul Rochette has sustained this opinion against Hittorf. (*De la peinture sur mur chez les anciens*, in *Journ. des Savants*. 1833. The different opinions expressed on this question have been surveyed and discussed by Letronne in his *Lettres d'un antiquaire*, etc. 1835. He returns to this debate in his *Appendix aux lettres d'un antiquaire*. 1837. He admits

that certain edifices contained paintings fixed in some way to the wall; but he establishes by very solid arguments, that the great compositions of the painters of the 5th century were painted on the wall itself.

Note 2.p.189. Synesius (Letter 135) states that the *stoa* possible no longer merits its name since a *proconsul* (Greek text). The sense of *sanis* is a plank or wooden panel; but Synecias lived in Egypt, where easel paintings abounded that dated from the Hellenistic period, and he could write *sanis* without attaching a precise sense to this term, to designate any painting, whatever its fashion. If it be true that a governor of Achaia despoiled the painted portico of its frescos, he must have done so by a procedure similar to that employed today, by separating from the wall the colored plastering and fixing this on a ground. We know from Pliny that this operation was commonly practised at Rome. When the temple of Ceres was rebuilt there, which was decorated by the paintings of Damophilus and of Gorgasos, "those paintings were detached from the wall and enclosed in a frame of planks." (H.N.IV. XXXV, 45). These paintings with borders, wall panels placed on planks surrounded by a frame were the *sanides* of Synecias. Pliny, for another work of the same kind employs the expression "wooden form." (H.N.XXXV, 46)

Note 1.p.190. Andocides. Against Alcibiades. 15. (Greek).

Note 2.p.190. Pliny. H.N.XXXV, 59; see XXXV, 40. Aristoclidēs, who painted the temple of Apollo of Delphi.

Note 3.p.190. Pliny. H.N.XXXV, 123. (Latin).

Then one can doubt that he could not fail to see true mural paintings in the great compositions, that on the morrow of the Median wars came to decorate the walls of public edifices; but it has been proposed to admit that the artists painted, either in distemper or encaustic, on the marble itself, as they did to whom we owe the monochromes of Herculaneum.⁴ This conjecture appears to us no better founded than the preceding one. First it is little probable in the numerous edifices thus decorated, that the walls were made of marble blocks. Great edifices constructed entirely of marble were scarcely at Athens, and only after the middle of the 5th century. Now if the marble with the beautiful polish easily given to it, lent itself to directly receive painting, it was not the same with limestone of coarse grain, which everywhere else formed the body of the structure.

Further, it results from several texts treating of mural paintings of that kind, that they were usually executed on what we term plastering, that the Romans called the covering. Pliny says: - "There exists at Elis a temple in which Panaemus, brother of Phidias, had applied a coating into which entered milk and saffron; thus even now when the walls are rubbed by the thumb moistened with saliva, the odor and taste of saffron are perceived."¹ Elsewhere he speaks of a very beautiful painting, the ornament of a temple of Sparta, which the ediles Murena and Varro undertook to transport to Rome to decorate the Comitium. The coating was detached, then applied to brick walls and enclosed by a frame of wood.²

Note 4.p.190. This hypothesis was expressed by Carl Robert in his first work on Polygnotus. It seems to be renounced there. (Marathonsschlacht, etc. p. 104.

Note 1.p.191. Pliny. H. N. XXXVI, 55.

Note 2.p.191. Pliny. H. N. XXXV, 49. Vitruvius reports the same fact (II, 8-9). and employs the same terms. The mention of the coating again appears in Pliny in regard to very ancient paintings, that were admired in the first century A.D. in the old temples of Latium at Ardea and Lanuvium (H.N.XXXV, 6). What completes the showing that this can only be a question of mural paintings, are the details given by Pliny. The paintings in one temple had retained their freshness, although the ceilings of the edifice had disappeared. If this referred to movable panels, they could not have been left exposed to all storms; in the temple of Ardea and at Lanuvium, Caligula could easily have satisfied his desire to appropriate those paintings. What prevented him from so doing was that the wall was in too bad a state to bear the delicate operation of detaching the coating.

A careful examination of certain antique monuments confirms the conclusions to which we had been led by the study of the texts. This is the case for an edifice in exceptional preservation at Athens, known to all travelers by the name of temple of Theseus. It appears to be demonstrated, that like the true Theseion, the Anakeion and the painted portico, there were mural paintings which covered the entire wall. This had a height of about 19.7 ft. between the terminal cornice and the dressed slabs forming a plinth at the bottom of the wall, which

was not polished like the surface of the plinth, but only cut with the pick.³ If on that wall the marble must remain visible, would it have been allowed to present this appearance of unfinished work? It is difficult to admit, when one thinks of the

minute care shown everywhere by the masonry of Attic structures of the 5th century. This cannot be the effect of negligence of the workman; but when it is supposed that a painted decoration was applied on that part of the surface, it explains the form given to it; this is just what would make it most fitted to receive and retain the coating on which would then extend the colors. Placed on a smooth vertical plane, the stucco would not have adhered. On the contrary, the setting and adhesion were guaranteed by the roughness of the stone.

Note 3. p. 191. The fact is attested by a letter of Dörpfeld consulted by Carl Robert on this subject (*Die Marathenschlacht in der Poikile*, etc. p. 88). It had already attracted the attention of careful observers, notably of Semper and of F. Thiersch (*L'etronne. Lettres d'un antiquaire a un artiste*, p. 100-105).

It is the same with the walls of the hall on the Acropolis of Athens, that was found on the left of the Propylea and commonly called the pinacothek. There also in the interior the walls had not been polished; they were only pointed.¹ In the time of Pausanias, there were paintings in that hall, some of which were still visible, while others had been effaced by time. This last indication does not cause one to think of easel pictures. Why would one collect and keep in a sort of museum paintings on which the eye longer distinguishes nothing? On the contrary, there is no difficulty if there are referred to mural paintings what Pausanias says of those vanished images. Tourists visited that chamber with a pious curiosity, admiring what remained of the antique works, and seeking in what was no more than a vague and light shade, the trace of the genius of former times, just as today in the refectory of S. Maria della Grazie in Milan, they attempt to find in the faded colors of the Last Supper of da Vinci the traits given by the great painter to Jesus and his apostles.

Note 1. p. 192. *L'etronne. Lettres d'un antiquaire a un artiste*, p. 110, (on the evidence of an architect of Dreux). Beule, *L'Acropole d'Athenes*, p. 108.

Note 2.p.192. Pausanias. I, 22-8. (Greek text).

If in those edifices, the wall by its mode of dressing shows the office that it formerly fulfilled, it long since lost all its coating; there remains on the marble neither a plate nor even a bit.³ This cannot be surprising. Those buildings are 25 centuries old and have always been occupied. After the fall of paganism, the temple of Theseus became a church. As for the Propyleion, this served during the entire middle ages for residence and storage until the freedom of Greece. The dukes of Athens had their palace there; Turkish agas dwelt there. Due to the excellence of the masonry, those walls remained standing and have retained all the fineness of their joints; but as a result of the different uses given to the rooms composing them, now many times must they have been washed and scraped, repainted or whitewashed!

Note 3.p.192. Still an excellent observer, F. Thiersch, describes the internal wall of the cella of the temple of Theseus as "recovered by white stucco, on which are yet perceived lines incised in different directions, confused remains of drawings without vestiges of color." (Letter of March 24, 1834, to the Library of the Institute.

The question is then solved; Grecian antiquity practised mural painting, that preceded in Greece painting in a studio. In the 6th and 5th centuries, it was particularly by grand compositions displayed on the walls of porticos and temples, that the painters rivaled the sculptors. It is possible that some of these artists may have sometimes painted on wood panels; some paintings of this time are cited in the sense in which we now understand this word;¹ but not by works of this sort did Polygnotus and Panaenos become illustrious, neither their predecessors nor their contemporaries. Customs changed in the 4th century. Since then by easel pictures were especially made the reputation of painters; but it no longer to mural painting adhered the preference of Apelles and of Protogenes, a taste for them was never lost, neither in the Greece of the successors of Alexander nor in Hellenized Italy. While in the Orient skilful decorators covered with colors and figures the houses of the rich merchants of Delos,² other artists in the West passed their brushes over the walls of Etruscan tombs and on those of the temples of Caere, Lanuvium and Ardea. Rome even

found her Polygnotus in Fabius Pictor, who on the walls of the temple of the goddess Salus, to flatter the pride of his contemporaries, had represented the battles and victories of the second Samnite war. This tradition had never been interrupted, continued by the paintings of the Rome of Cesar and Augustus, then by those of the cities covered by the ashes of Vesuvius.

Note 1.p.193. Pliny, (H.N.XXXV, 5a) mentions a painting of Polygnotus, that in his time was exhibited at Rome in the portico of Pompey.

Note 2.p.193. Marcel Bulard. *Peintures murales et mosaïques de Delos.* (Foundation Piot, Monuments et Monnaies. Vol.XIV).

These paintings of the Palatine, of Casa Tiberina and of Pompei, for the entire period of classical antiquity, are the only ones that we possess in numbers, and consequently are the sole ones to which direct observation can usefully be applied; now the most competent judges do not hesitate to declare, that all were executed on wet plastering; but they admit that on certain particularly careful paintings, certain colors that would have been decomposed by the lime, and that were required by the painter for the effect that he desired to obtain, were laid afterward by the distemper process on the dry plaster.³ Those retouches do not appear to have been in very frequent use, and did not take from that painting its true character; this remained and was everywhere fresco. Several chemical analyses were made of the colored stuccos of Pompeii. Those appearing to merit most confidence allow one to affirm, that in the particles detached from those frescos are found only the colors commonly used in fresco, and that no trace is found there of wax, nor of any adhesive, such as egg, gum or milk.¹

Note 3.p.193. The members of the Academia Ercolanese, when for the first time they published these passages, they stated them to have been executed in distemper, and other learned men have spoken of encaustic; but a painter of merit, Raphael Mengs pronounced for fresco, also Mazois, the architect who in recent times studied with the most care the ruins of Pompeii. Otto D Donner, a painter by profession, has resumed at leisure this study at the place; he has himself practised the various processes between which men hesitated; he believes that he can affirm that much the greater part of the Pompeian paintings are frescos in the proper sense of the word. Distemper played a

very secondary role there; as for encaustic, he has found not a single example of it. (*Die erhaltenen Wandmalereien*, p. 11.) The question of technique much less attracted the attention of the artist Pierre Guzman, who very recently reproduced with much fidelity a number of the paintings of Pompeii. He rejects all idea of encaustic paintings; but he believes that fresco was little used at Pompeii, and is inclined to think that most compositions of some importance were painted in distemper. (*Pompeii, la ville, les maisons, les arts*, p. 374-378). On the contrary, Henry Gros and Charles Henry, who then also studied this question as technicians familiar with the various processes of painting, are of Donner's opinion, and recognize frescos in most of the paintings of Pompeii (H. Gros and C. Henry. *L'encaustique et les autres procedes de peinture chez les anciens. Histoire et technique*. p. 97-105. 1884). The assertions of Donner have been contested by a German painter, Ernst Berger, who desired to see in all Pompeian painting only encaustic painting and who claims that the ancients did not practice fresco (*Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Maltechnik. Erläuterungen zu den Versuchen zur Reconstruction der Maltechnik des Altertums bis zur Ausgang der Römischen Reiches, nach der Quellschriften und chemischen Untersuchungen*. 1893). Donner has not had difficulty in proving that his opponent has badly studied the monuments and badly understood the texts that he cites. (See his criticism in the Review entitled: - *Technische Mittheilungen für Malerei*, of Sept. 1, 1903).

Note 1. p. 134. O. Donner. *Die erhaltenen Wandmalerei*, etc. p. 95-112.

In these conditions, how could one sustain that the ancients did not know fresco painting, or at least if they used it, this was "only to lay flat tints on a wall or to trace there ornaments of slight importance?" ² We believe ourselves justified in recognizing frescos in the entire decoration of the Campanian cities, as well as in the most complex compositions and in the figures of noblest charm, as in arabesques, garlands and ornamental designs. If this be so, is there some reason to admit that a true revolution may have ^{been} produced in the techniques of painting, between the golden age of classical art and the first century A.D.? No text authorizes us to suppose this profound change. Nothing remains of the treatises written by Trajan

tradesmen in which might be sought information of this kind;¹ but there is found in Plutarch a clear allusion to the processes of fresco. He opposes images traced on fresh plaster as susceptible of being quickly effaced, to those in encaustic, where fire has made them imperishable by causing the melted wax to penetrate into the wood.²

Note 2.p.194. Letronne. *Letters d'un antiquaire*, etc. p.370.

Note 1.p.19.. Pliny mentions a book of Apelles on his art. (XXXV,30). Another celebrated painter, Euphranor, had written on composition and colors (XXXV, 40).

Note 2.p.195. Plutarch. *Erotikas*. XVI,15 (p. 759 C). One cannot imagine anything more difficult and more forced than the interpretation of this text given by Letronne (*Lettres*, etc.p. 364-376). He translates *ephygrois* as if it were *ephydati*, and he understands the images as in a way painted on water, that has no sense.

If there be little but this indirect mention, Latin literature is here of very different assistance. Vitruvius and Pliny explain the method to follow in the preparation of the plastering destined to receive the color.³ They state what permanence is ensured to this decoration, when it is placed on the wall while still wet, and what danger of crumbling is run when one has delayed too long and allowed the stucco to harden.⁴ They also state the colors suited to fresco, and those whose use is forbidden.⁵ They indicate now some of the latter giving beautiful tones, can be utilized after the completion of the main work, for the retouches placed on the already dry plaster. All that is not their invention. What should be seen in the whole of these precepts is the summary of the experience of numerous generations of workmen and artists, who for centuries were employed in Greece and Italy, some to prepare the surfaces intended for the brush, and others to execute the paintings under the best conditions of effect and of duration.

Note 3.p.195. Vitruvius. VII, 3-5,7; Pliny. H.N.XXXVI,176.

Note 4.p.195. Vitruvius. VII, 3-7,8.

Note 5.p.195. Pliny. H.N.XXXV, 49.

Note 6.p.195. Pliny. H.N.XXXV, 45.

By examining each layer on the walls of the houses of Pompeii, it has been proved, that the composition of the plastering there corresponds to the rules of Vitruvius and Pliny, at least

in structures built with most care. Made of several layers of sand and stucco, this superficial crust is much thicker than that, which in the edifices of modern Italy serves to support the celebrated frescos, and this difference in thickness explains a different appearance, that has contributed to cause the true nature of those paintings to be mistaken.¹ In the frescos of the Renaissance, it suffices them with some care, to perceive that the entire field of the painting is not exactly in the same plane, and that between the various parts of the painting are very visible joint lines. Each morning the stucco-worker placed on the wall the portion of the plastering that the painter had to cover in the day; however skilful he might be, this workman did not always succeed in concealing the joints. In the frescos of Pompeii are seen neither those irregularities of the surface nor those seams. That is because the plastering is much thicker and retains the water in its lime very much longer, perhaps for 5 or 6 days. Thus the painter could work more at leisure, could paint his entire picture at one time without having to count on those beginnings and those changes of the ground.

Note 1. p. 126. In its different layers, the facings for the frescos of Rome and Pompeii had an average thickness of 2.8 to 3.2 ins. For modern frescos, it never exceeds 1.2 ins. (O. Dörner. *Die erhaltene Antike Wandmalerei*, p. 31, 40-41). The stucco on the pillars of the gallery in the celebrated Loggias of the Vatican, decorated after the designs of Raphael, is only 0.12 in. thick; hence the greater part of the painting has fallen. At Delos, the stucco that received the painting had a thickness varying from 0.08 to 0.20 in., but it is applied on a double layer of mortar separating it from the wall and having a thickness of 0.8 to 1.2 ins. The layers of mortar supporting the stucco on which was applied the colors, are even 3, 4 or 5 in number for certain more careful decorations. (Bulard. *Les peintures murales*, etc. p. 120-131).

Precision and excellence of the methods recommended by the theorists, the results obtained late and when the decadence commenced, by artists of the second or third order working very rapidly, all concur in giving the same impression. The decorators of Roman and Campanian walls are direct heirs of the masters, that in the eyes of the Greeks represented the highest

ideal of nobleness and of purity that painting had ever attained. The processes applied to them dated back thousands of years. The first idea of them had been suggested to the distant ancestors by the rudeness of the primitive masonry and the necessity of a coating that required color; they were then developed and perfected with the progress of the art, and transmitted from father to son, from workshop to workshop, they passed from Greece to Italy. There were frescos always and everywhere in Greece; this causes that no Greek writer, except specialists whose works are lost, has thought to call attention to this kind of painting. Habit kills curiosity.

In that architecture of primitive Greece from which we have demanded the secret of many survivals, wood played a great part. With masonry of rubble forming the body of the edifice, and at the same time protecting it from rain and enlivening its appearance, men must very early decide to spread a color on the surfaces of beams or planks exposed to the air;¹ but to make that color adhere and remain, they did not have to count on the dampness of stucco, as in fresco, and which dries up the color, and on the transparent glaze of the covering carbonate of lime. It was then necessary to use a method practised for many centuries by the Egyptians, that is called distemper.² Thus is designated a process of painting with the crush where the colors are mixed with an adhesive, such as the egg, sap of the figtree, milk, glue, gum, etc., applied on a coating of the same nature, for example on chalk or plaster mixed with size. When the adhesive is not too great in quantity, the applied colors dry in contact with the air; the painting scales, breaks and falls; hence the need of applying the colors in thin coats, drying well before retouching."³

Note 1.p.197. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, p.731-732.

Note 2.p.197. The same. Vol. I, p.733-736.

Note 3.p.197. H. Gros and C. Henry. L'encastique, etc. p.89.

Texts of Vitruvius and of Pliny attest that the ancients knew the use of the various adhesives that we have just enumerated, also the same as those employed by the artists of the middle ages and of the Renaissance, until the practice of oil painting was well known;⁴ there are still those that use it in the entire Orient, as the workmen that make the icons of which orthodox Christians make a great consumption. One can paint

in distemper on stone and on wood, also on linen and on paste-board, as did the Egyptians on their mummy cases; but this was particularly on wood, for the qualities of strength and lightness, to which the Greek painter had recourse when he abandoned the custom of great compositions widely extended on the walls of public edifices, and he preferred to concentrate his effort on a small number of figures collected in a smaller space. For that purpose was especially sought the wood of the larch; it passed for never decaying and never cracking by heat.¹

There were advantages that must have been much appreciated. Paintings recommended by the reputation of their authors traveled much. From Athens or Rhodes, they went to Alexandria, Antioch and Pergamon; they were later transported to Rome.

Note 4.p.127. For the use of gum and glue, Vitruvius, VII, 10; Pliny, H.N. XXXV, 25; ; XXVII, 71; XIII, 20; for eggs, Pliny, H.N. XXXV, 25; for milk, Vitruvius, VII, 14; Pliny, XXXV, 56.

Note 1.p.128. Pliny, H.N. XVI, 78. The woods commonly employed do not offer the same guarantee. All the boards on which are painted portraits of Egyptian men and women of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are now grooved by cracks lengthwise the fibres of the wood, that much injure the effect of the painting.

We have so far assumed that all these portable paintings were executed in distemper. This must be the case for many of them; but others were executed by the different process of encaustic. Encaustic appears to have been particularly in vogue in the Alexandrine and Roman periods. According to a number of texts with sensible agreement, it seems that when the authors then speak of painting, they mean encaustic painting without needing to say so in express terms;² but this kind ceased to be practised in the middle ages, and in modern times there has been much discussion to arrive at forming an exact idea of what it could be, and to recover works, rightly placed to its account.³ Due to the recent researches conducted in a truly critical spirit, after the question remained for a long time very obscure, it has finally been illumined, and it can now be regarded as solved.⁴ Debate can now only be on a certain particular and secondary part of the method; but there remains no doubt concerning the principle itself of the method.

Note 2.p.128. Those texts have been collected by Gros and Henry, L.'Encaustique, p.4-10.

Note 3.p.198. Gros and Henry cite and analyze the most interesting of the works devoted to the study of this question, which since the Renaissance has occupied learned men (*L'encoustique*, b. 67, 88). Also see Winter, *Ueber enkaustische Malerei*. (*Arch. Anz.* 1897. p. 132-138).

Note 4.p.198. Besides the frequently cited work of Gros and Henry, see the chapter entitled, *Die drei Arten der enkaustischen Malerei der Alten und die Kausis*, in the Treatise of Otto Donner. A 10-30).

As indicated by the name designating it, what characterized this kind of painting is the effect produced on it by fire. This name is derived from the verb *kaio*, to burn; *Kausis* is called burning, the work of the painter. In the Latin writers is found the term *cauteria*, burning, derived from the Greek; it qualifies in a general way the instruments used by the same painter. The verb *inuerere*, to cause the colors to penetrate by burning, constantly reappears in the mentions made of paintings of this sort.¹ As for the mode of operating, it is defined by the use of colors mixed with wax. Heated on the coals of a chafing dish, these colored waxes were in the fluid state when applied with the brush; then they were brought to that state when they had been fixed on the ground of the painting by cooling. It was necessary to continue the effect of heat on them. The burners or hot irons must touch the color, enter the wax, melt and manage it; they served to prolong the too brief period of the work of the brush; they broke the tones, blended them into each other, finished the modeling and covered it, as is said. The term heater sufficiently indicates that the artist must possess them of all forms and dimensions; it is a generic term. we say likewise, the stamps of the cockle-shell."²

Note 1.p.199. *Pliny*. B.N.XXXV, 31.

Note 2.p.199. Gros and Henry. *L'encoustique*, etc. p.10.

One could already be able to form some idea of those instruments from the nature of the work presumed by the handling of the wax, but there are more certain indications for their restoration. The principal one of them, which the artist most frequently had in hand was called *kestros* in Greek and *vericulus* in Latin.³ Now *kestros* was the name of the betony, a plant of the labiate family, that was famed for its medicinal properties.⁴ The leaf of the betony is long, indented and pointed at

the end (Fig. 87). If the tool in question received the name of kestros, this certainly was because it had the same form as the leaf of the betony; then ^{by} that analogy we can represent the cestros mentioned by Pliny (Fig. 88).⁵ As for the word vericulum, Pliny defines it in another place, where it results from the context, that it was a spatula serving to skim silver in fusion.

Note 3.p.199. Pliny. H.N.XXXV, 41.

Note 4.p.199. Pliny. H.N. XXV, 48.

Note 5.p.199. There is a question in several ancient authors of a weapon bearing the name of cestros or cestrophendone, and according to many allusions made to it, which must on a larger scale have nearly the same form as the tool of the painters. See the texts cited on this subject by Gros and Henry, p.13, Note 2.

Note 1.p.200. Pliny. H.N.XXXIII, 35.

Texts and monuments agree in showing us what composed the tools of an encaustic painter. Here is now a lawyer briefly alludes to them. "The apparatus of a painter having been bequeathed, the waxes, colors and other similar things enter into the legacy, as well as the brushes, heaters and shells?"² Now in Vendee was uncovered an interment, that appears to be that of a woman devoted to painting. There were taken from it terra cotta dishes and glass vases still retaining remnants of wax and of resin, little cups, a mortar with two little pestles, that served to powder the coloring materials, two brush handles and a wood palette, a bronze box of colors, a box containing two spatulas of the same metal (Fig. 91). In the report made of this excavation, there is no mention of the furnace; but from the shape, we ask if in the tool represented at the right and below in Fig. 92, it is not proper to recognize a holder in reach of the hand of the painter in the course of the work and filled with burning coals. He would have held by its long handle and have warmed his tools at it. This vase has nearly the form of the warming pan that we use to warm the clothing on sick beds.

Note 2.p.200. Martian.

Note 3.p.200. B. Fillon. Description de la villa et du tombeau d'une femme artiste Gallo-Romaine decouverte a Saint-Jedon des Pres. 1849, p. 38.

Bits of resin form a part of the equipment of the Venetian tomb. As attested by other documents, the resin took part with the wax in this painting, either as a vehicle of color, or dissolved in drying oils as a varnish. The ancients knew the use of varnish, called atramentum by the Latins, doubtless because it made the tones darker and somer. In encaustic and distemper, the varnish protected the painting, just as the translucent scale of carbonate of lime in fresco. It is said that Apelles spread on his paintings a varnish envied by other painters, of which he kept the secret.¹ By examination of certain ancient paintings, it is believed that a thin coat of wax sometimes had the function of varnish.

Note 1.p.201. Pliny. H.N.XXXV,97.

Note 2.p.201. Gros and Henry. L'encaustique, p. 32.

Occupied in aiding the memory, compilers of the kind of Pliny never mention an industry or an art without attaching thereto an inventor's name. Thus Pliny found in an author consulted by him, that the invention of encaustic painting was attributed to Aristides, a contemporary of Apelles;² but as he observed the fact himself, paintings of that kind were known to have been executed by artists that lived long before Aristides; for example, some by Polygnotus. We cannot verify this assertion; but we know by official tests, that about the end of the 5th century this process was applied at Athens by the workmen, that labored to decorate the cornice of the Erechtheum.³ It is very probable that the use of this technique dated much earlier in Greece. Like many other practices, that of colored wax must have been imported from Egypt to Greece in the 7th and 6th centuries. The Egyptian museum at the Louvre possesses sarcophagi of granite and of wood, on which the sunken figures still retain quite notable quantities of green wax. It even seems that the Greeks knew how to mix the color with wax long before the time when the Ionians went to the school of Egypt. With wax mixed with pitch were painted the hulls of vessels;⁴ this custom was already diffused in the time of Homer. The poet gives to the great barks that transported his warriors the epithets "miltoparnos and poinnikoparnos" (with red cheeks). There could be no question either of fresco or of distemper for colors that must be lashed and washed by the salt waves. The only process to ensure the necessary resistance was that of painting

not, which caused the color to penetrate into the pores of the wood.

Note 3.p.201. Pliny. H.N. XXXV. 122. In that entire passage are names that do not seem in place. There are suspected either confusions made by Pliny or the faults of copyists. One is surprised to see Praxiteles mentioned as having perfected the process of painting in encaustic. Yet perhaps there may be seen an allusion to the aid that he gave to the painter Nicias for the coloring of his statues; but what is still more surprising is the mention of a signature of Lysippus with the formula "enkaen" on paintings, that he executed at Egina. It has been proposed to substitute the name of Elasippos for that of Lysippus.

Note 4.p.201. C. I, Att. Vol. I, No. 324.

Note 1.p.202. Pliny. H.N.XVI, 23; XXXV, 31, 41. Ovid. Fastes IV, verses 275-276. (Latin verses).

If Pliny informs the reader of no great matter concerning the origins of this painting, he puts no more precision and clarity in the little that he says of the different applications of its methods. Here is the text:— "There were anciently two methods of painting in encaustic; on the wax (we understand by that, on a wax ground) and on ivory with the cestros, i.e., vericulum, until one has begun to paint the waves. Then was added the third mode in which the brush is used after having melted the wax by fire, a sort of painting that on vessels changed neither by sun, salt water or winds."² Pliny begins by joining together the two modes of painting having in common, that the cestros played the chief part; but it should be concluded that the brush also had there to fulfil its task. That must have spread the colors on the ground. Traces seem to be found on some monuments, that are regarded as specimens of that encaustic painting. If it be not a question of it in regard to the first group, this is because its work there was only a sketch and a preparation. The picture being sketched by the brush with the melted wax, only assumed form by the intervention of the cestros, a mediator between the tones and a creator of color. It was otherwise in the painting of vessels. There were no more refined transitions nor delicacy to be sought. All that was desired was to give to the coat of color a thickness and solidity that would defy the storms. The sole instruments needed by the painter were great brushes with which the color was spread;

Pliny so defines the process by the exclusive use made of those brushes.

Note 2.p.202. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 41. We adopt for this text the punctuation and translation of Crois and Henry (p.11); it is only thus that it presents a reasonable sense.

It is unnecessary to insist further on this painting of vessels; it belongs in the list of what we term structural painting. As for art painting, it results from various indications scattered in the ancient classical authors, that it comprises many varieties; this is what has been termed the deviations from encaustics.¹ It even seems that in the course of those experiments the ancients may have been very near reaching the practice of oil painting. However that may be, it may be interesting for men of the trade to study thoroughly all this technique with its secondary processes, its recipes and tricks, but what is important here is to seize the spirit and principles of the method employed by masters like Praxias, who owed their reputation to the success that then obtained in painting with wax.¹ Now on more than one point, the excavations have yielded instruments in which have been recognized those indicated by the authors as devoted to that sort of painting, and from the character of these instruments, one has been able to form a very clear idea of the kind of work, that they were suited to perform. This idea agreed with that suggested by the terms employed by the Greek and Roman authors, when they had occasion to mention encaustics. By this twofold way were obtained results that can inspire all confidence; but what increases their value even more is, that experiments very well conducted have verified the hypotheses to which had led the researches of the archaeologists. Those experiments had already been attempted in the 18th century by Comte de Caylus; but they have been recently resumed under much better conditions by M. Henry Crois. He is a sculptor and painter and was associated for those researches with M. Charles Henry, a very well informed learned man. He had over his ingenious predecessor the advantage of being able to appeal to monuments unknown to the former, and by the concurrence of his collaborator, he knew how to subject the texts to a more rigorous criticism. From these texts he started to recover the processes of the ancient painter; he made the equipment at the command of that painter, and he used

it for painting on wood and other materials encaustic paintings. Now the paintings that he executed thus are found to present exactly the same appearance as the antique paintings, in which either by chemical analysis or by the nature of the work, men are agreed in recognizing as paintings with wax. It is the same paste in which the work of the tool has left the same traces. The agreement cannot be more complete.

Note 1.p.203. Gros and Henry. *L'encaustique*, p. 35-41.

Note 1.p.204. Pliny. *H.N.* XXXV, 123.

Note 2.p.204. Gros and Henry. *L'encaustique*. Chap. VI:- *Notre pratique personnelle de l'encaustique*, p. 73-87.

Of all the monuments which permit this instructive comparison, those whose evidence is most decisive are those portraits, painted on thin cedar boards, which under the Ptolemies and the first Roman emperors in Egypt were nailed on the lids of mummy cases. The most beautiful of those portraits are found in the Gräff collection, that could be seen some years since exhibited in Paris; but the principal museums in Europe now possess specimens. To one of them belonging to the Louvre is applicable a description, which nearly avails for all the others. (Pl. X, from a heliogravure of the Gräff collection). "The execution is quite special. By the transparent quality of the tones is recognized the wax. By grooves hollowed in the painting, and which seem to have had a tendency to be filled by the cooling of the melted material, is recognized the cestros. There are lines like these made by a flat brush, but too long to be due to that cause. This would rather be the effect of the passage of a flat instrument like a tooth chisel, a rougher of the same type, or again indeed by a sort of spatula on the flat side of which were made varied lines by means of a point, like the rasps used for giving marble the last finish; all these precautions are for the purpose of being able to guide the wax without barring the panel. Remember further that the betony leaf is toothed, and that the painter's tool thus better conforms to the etymology of the name that it bears." ¹

Note 1.p.205. Gros and Henry. *L'encaustique*, p.24-26.

Among these portraits on wood, there are some that are painted in distemper;¹ but much greater is the number of those in which the wax colors assert their presence by the thickness of the coating and the irregularities of the surface. Those have

not been beaten and flattened; in spite of the merit of certain portraits, and of what they possess of vigor and effect, this is work done in haste by artists of the second order, supplying the cemeteries. The same technics are found applied with more science and patient skill on a celebrated piece, the bust of a woman painted on slate and possessed by the museum of Cortona in Tuscany (Pl. XI, from Gazette archæologique. Vol. III, Pl. VII). The execution is much more delicate and justified than in the Egyptian portraits. Is this the muse Polymnia, as the Italians desire? Is it one of those players on the lyre, who come to charm by their harmonies the guests of feasts, as thought by the learned Frenchman, that called attention to it? We cannot say. "She troubles by her lowered great black eyes, whose divergent glances that seem to penetrate the envelope, with their long and light lashes, her fine eyebrows, this straight nose, those rosy lips animated by a voluptuous mouth, this neck exquisitely moulded, this uncovered breast that provokes and the other transparent under the caressing drapery, the chestnut hair that flows in silky waves separated by the shoulder, and that coquettish crown. The coloring is soft, the drawing is delicious in purity. The process is evidently encaustic, carried to its last perfection. Reliefs are evident in the leaves of the crown, at the right over the eye and at the left near the ear, the attachment of the neck forms a quite sensible hollow, but which has perhaps been exaggerated by the careless tracings made of the muse. The modeling is very divinely treated; the drapery, breasts, arms, neck, brow and ear, are marked by lines like those of a pencil; the neck and throat seem passed over again; no trace of a brush, but everywhere are those of an instrument long or flat according to the cast. Does not this sufficiently designate the cestros?" 3

Note 1. p. 206. Cros and Henry. L'encaustique. p. 24-31.

Note 2. p. 206. Fr. Lenormant. Peinture conservée à Cortona. Gaz. archæol. Vol. III, p. 41-50. Pl. VII.

Note 3. p. 206. Cros and Henry. L'encaustique, p. 19-20. In the Article of M. Lenormant will be found the entire history of the monument and of the works to which it has given rise. Lenormant and Cros, while knowing it only by mediocre reproductions, were disposed to believe it modern, a work of the Renaissance; but their opinion was modified when they had opport-

opportunity to examine the original in place and at leisure. neither doubts that it is an antique. Further, to judge otherwise would be to get into great embarrassment; it is difficult to indicate a school in which that technique was in use in modern times.

As types of ancient encaustic paintings, we have cited an entire series of portraits on wood and also one figure on slate; this indicates that this technique of wax and not iron adapted itself to very different materials. One can paint in encaustic on all sorts of grounds. "Woods of different species (Caylus recommends fir), linen covered by a coat of size, stone, plaster, slate, pasteboard, and even paper, perfectly receives this painting. Yet it is necessary to ensure that these surfaces are not damp. Hence one can paint with no other preparation than to apply a coat of white wax with the brush, that enters the pores and entirely disappears by warming with a burner used by painters of buildings to remove old oil painting from wood. There is even no need of this preparation. One can paint directly on the bare wood, except for retouching and covering well the parts poorly treated with the brush, where too much would be absorbed into the ground under the later effect of hot iron."

Note 1. p. 207. Gros and Henry. *L'encaustique*. p. 85-86.

This method offers precious advantages; it is even better in certain respects than that, which is almost alone in use since the end of the 14th century A.D. "All colors cannot be used with oil. For example, difficult to use are verdigris, carmine and cochineal, lakes in general and blacks. On the contrary, wax combines with all colors. The palette of the encaustic artist is then much richer than that of the painter in oil."

"Encaustic painting does not scale; it cannot alter in the sun or by the heat of rooms. The wax protects from worms and dampness the materials covered by it. It attracts very little dust, and finally time has scarcely any effect on it. Hear the testimony of Frisse d'Avennes on the subject of monuments painted with wax and natron." Some cartons made under the 18th Dynasty in Egypt are painted in charming tones not approached by any mural painting. I have seen a woman's coffin moulded in linen covered with plaster, in the form of a case, whose delicate front in a rose color that after 3000 years retained a charming freshness, all whose colors, even those of fittine,

presented such harmonious tints, that they were a real pleasure to the eyes." ¹ The colors dried almost instantly; what an aid to the inspiration always so ready to fly away! The work can be indefinitely retouched without being obliged to entirely scrape off the painting, which the oil painter is forced to do, but without obtaining the desired result. Sometimes at the end of some years the former desires to repair the detail that he believed effaced under the superficial coat. The wax gives a silky lustre to the tones. Finally, this painting has a relief causing it to partake of the beauties of sculpture. Subjects painted in wax may acquire a marvellous intensity of life.²

Note 1.p.208. Prisse d'Avennes. Histoire de l'Art égyptien. 1879. p.291.

Note 2.p.208. Gros and Henry. L'encaustique, p.86-87.

We have described and attempted to define the various processes used by the Greek painter, and among which he could choose according to circumstances. It remains for us to seek which of those processes were applied in the rare monuments of antique painting that have reached us.

If in Greece itself remains no fragment of a fresco belonging to the classical age, what can replace for that period the loss of so many vanished works are the paintings of Etruscan tombs. By the study of their style approximate dates can be assigned to those paintings. The most ancient would be of the 6th century, and the most recent to the 3rd.³ Now those paintings are indeed frescos.⁴ They were executed with the only colors permitting the use of that process on a coating of sand and lime. The coat of plastering is there much thinner than that bearing the paintings of Pompeii. The average thickness is scarcely 0.40 inch; but this difference is explained by the nature of the support on which was applied that plastering. There it was not laid in the open air on a very dry wall of rubble and bricks, as in the cities of Campania; it was laid in the coolness of a cavern on a rock fully saturated by what is called quarry water; consequently although thinner, it must therefore retain for a very long time the moisture without which the color can neither set nor form the crystalline glaze that covers it.

Note 3.p.208. J. Martha. L'art étrusque. 1889.p.421-450.

Note 4.p.208. O. Donner. Bull dell'Inst. di Corr. Arch. 1889, p. 200-200. Nowhere is found white lead, that the lime would have attacked.

Etruscan painting has its originality by the number of subjects treated and by many types peculiar to it as by a certain taste for realism; but from many themes familiar to it, many figures placed in its paintings and the movements given to them one discovers that it was not satisfied with taking models from the decoration of Corinthian and Attic vases; it must also have suffered the influence of Greek painters, who seeking fortune outside, left the Hellenic cities of southern Italy to establish themselves in those rich Etrurian cities, where they were certain to find well paid employment of their talents. From those foreigners serving them as masters, the Tuscan artists must have also borrowed their technics, they learned the trade at their school. For distemper as for fresco, one is then right to appeal to the Etruscan cemeteries, and there is by chance one of them, that of Tarquinii (Corneto) has rendered to us a monument, that is now one of the most precious pieces in the archaeological museum of Florence. I mean the *clipeus* or *scutum*, whose four sides are decorated by paintings that represent Greek warriors in combat with the amazons.¹ Two long Etruscan inscriptions are engraved on it, and the very awkward work of an Etruscan workman is recognized in the sculptures of the lid, the reliefs of the two pediments and the four female heads in the round, that ornament the four angles; but the paintings of the coffer have nothing more of the Etruscan. Of all monuments found until this time in that country, none has such a marked Greek character as the sarcophagus of Corneto, said the learned man that gave the description of it.² If this sarcophagus had not been discovered in Etruria, if it were not made of a material certainly taken from the soil of Italy, no one would hesitate to proclaim it a Grecian work."³ If the author of these paintings were not a Greek by birth, he could only be a Tuscan, whose hand and eye were trained in the school of a Greek master.¹

Note 1.p.209. W. Amelung. Führer durch die antiken in Florenz. 1897. No. 211. The paintings will be found drawn in line in *Bull dell'Inst.* Vol. IX, Pl. LX. Several parts of them have been reproduced in the original colors in *Jour. Hell. Studies.*

1883. Pls. 35-37. The most developed and most interesting of all those studies devoted to this monument is that of Sydney Colvin in the Jour. of 1883, p. 354-369. Also see the Article of Klügmann in Annali. 1873. p. 239-251.

Note 2.p.209. W. Helbig. Scavi di Corneto. (Bull. dell' Inst. 1889. p. 192-201).

Note 3.p.209. The lid is of Carrara marble, coffer is cut in a sort of alabaster, whose quarry is found in the same territory of Corneto.

Note 1.p.210. This is also the opinion of Klügmann. Sydney Colvin inclines to the same solution. Dennis is disposed to see there the work of a Greek painter. (Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria. 2 nd edit. 1881. p.98 et seq).

Thus if there be very strong reasons to place to the credit of Greek art this decoration of the Etruscan sarcophagus, it is important to know the technics that it bears. Then one can no longer think of fresco. Here is found a color that fresco does not tolerate, white lead, which would be attacked and blackened by lime. There is further no fresco without a plastering laid on the ground; there is not the least vestige of this plaster on the sarcophagus.² The tints have been placed directly on the surface of the alabaster. The question then only lies between the two processes, distemper and encaustic. There cannot be seen a product of encaustic. The painting is not plastered on; nowhere is perceived the trace of the cestros and of its effect to mix and melt the colors.³ All the work was executed with the brush alone. This is a rare and precious monument of distemper painting, which was preserved to us by the tomb of Corneto.

Note 3.p.210. Gros and Henry. L'encaustique. p. 91-92, Pls. 21, 22.

At first one asks how those colors could remain almost intact in places for long centuries, without the intervention of fire to cause melted wax to penetrate into the pores of the alabaster; but on examining the stone more closely, one takes into account the method which the painter took to ensure the duration of his work. He did not give the field a polish that would have made it slippery; the surface everywhere was left irregular, with little scattered hollows in which was deposited the color. Due to this precaution, it has adhered well, even

after the organic substance serving as adhesive was decomposed on contact with the air. It has become friable; is detached by the finger; but while not touched, it remains firm and lively. It has suffered only at the base of the coffer, where after having been hit by fragments of rock falling from the roof, the sarcophagus was crowded between the rubbish among which oozed the dampness of the ground.

This battle of the Amazons must date from the 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd. This is then the most ancient example that we possess of an antique painting executed in distemper. To find others, it is necessary to come down to the 1st century of our era, to the portraits on wooden boards furnished to us by Egypt. Most of those were painted with not wax; but there are some in that series of images with their light and transparent colors, that present an entirely different appearance than those where one divines from the thickness of the coating, the use and work of the cestros. The brush alone traced the contours and modeled the face. (Fig. 93).

Note A.p. 210. Helbig freely goes back for this monument to the vicinity of the year 400. Klagmann and Colbin would be disposed to come down to about the year 300.

Likewise as to be able to cite antique frescos, we have been compelled to transfer ourselves into Campania, it has been necessary to present authentic types of distemper and of encaustic, for us to turn to Etruria and to Egypt. However both of the two last processes are represented by paintings much more ancient than all the monuments to which we have had recourse, and that ^{are} distinguished from them in that they come from Greece itself, and at least in part from Attica; I mean those funerary steles on which in place of relief that ordinarily fills the field, the decorator has only placed a colored image, that does not project from the ground. The question is to know how that color was applied, if it was cold with the use of some adhesive material, or indeed not and mixed with melted wax. On the one hand, we have the proof by the sarcophagus of Corneto, painted in distemper on marble; but on the other, we know by an official document, that men also employed fire and wax to color fine architectural ornaments. We have the accounts of the expenses incurred for the completion of the Erechtheion in the course of the year 406. They mention twice in two different prytanes

The encaustes and particularly the workman, "who painted in encaustic the cymatium on the architrave of the interior."¹ We likewise know from Vitruvius that wax was applied on woodwork of carpentry.² Also encaustes were employed for the coloring of statues.¹ It is probable that for painting on marble as for painting on wood, according to circumstances men sometimes used distemper and sometimes encaustic; but in the state in which nearly all these steles have come to us, it is very difficult now to say in what list one should place them. Perhaps it would be possible to solve the problem for a small number of them, where small bits of color are still attached to the stone; these being studied by a chemist would yield the secret of the mixture; but I do not believe that such analysis has ever been attempted. Besides, on most of those monuments the image is distinguished from the ground only by a difference of tone. The skin of the marble has remained more intact where during a long time, it was protected against storms by a coating of paint. What is detached in the field by the appearance of an outline of dark tint is not the color itself; it is its delayed reflection; the persistent trace left on the field. In these conditions it is impossible to affirm anything concerning the nature and composition of that color. Yet, there are paintings on marble which would seem to have been executed rather by distemper than by encaustic. This is notably the case of the celebrated monochromes of Herculaneum and of Pompeii. Nothing indicates the work of the cestros or of a similar instrument. The modeling is obtained by very fine lines that assume the use of a very fine brush.²

Note 1.p.211. C.I.Att. Vol. I, no.324. Analyses made by Landerer of the remains of coatings taken from various antique monuments of Athens have confirmed the evidence of the inscriptions. Those have revealed everywhere the presence of oil and of wax. (Rangabe, *Antiquitates hellenicae*. p. 63). See Hittor *Restitution du Temple d'Empedocles*, p. 47.

Note 2.p.211. Vitruvius. IV, 2. (Latin).

Note 1.p.212. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p.221. Note 4. Plato also speaks of "those who painted statues." (*Republique*. IV, p. 420 C); but he does not state what technics they used.

Note 2.p.212. Carl Robert. *Die Knöchelspielerinnen des Alexander*. p.8-10.

Still we should incline to think, that most frequently for this kind of painting, the encaustic process must be preferred to that of distemper. Perhaps by this means one might force the color better into the pores of the marble; but in every case an advantage is found in it; thicker and less liable to decompose than the color with eggs, the coat of color with wax had all the chance of longer resisting dampness.

It is not always easy to know what methods were employed by Greek artists to execute the mural paintings and easel pictures mentioned by the ancient authors, men are nearly decided on the nature of the colors used by the painter, those that he spread on his palette. Numerous finds made at different points of the antique world have caused the finding of many specimens of those colors, either in the state of cakes and sticks, or in the cups and shells from which they were taken by the brush. We cannot enter here into the detail of the analyses of them which have been given. The results of those researches will be found in special works, in which have been collected the indications on this subject furnished by such writers as Vitruvius and Pliny.¹

Note 1. p. 213. Gros and Henry. *L'encaustique*, p. 113-130; O. Donner. *Ueber die antike Wandmalereien*. Chap. VIII, p. 95-111; *Die chemischen Analysen antike Wandmalereien und aufgefunden Farbstoffe und Ingredienten*.

3. Archaic Painting according to the Texts.

Primitive Greece had practised the art of painting. Its artists had exhibited qualities of invention truly remarkable in the choice of their themes and in the composition of their paintings. In spite of certain naive inaccuracies, their drawing frequently had a singular freedom and exactness. They had put into their colors a simple and gay vivacity, which very well suited the part that those images should play in the decoration of princely edifices. But especially in European Greece, the entire effort of work of that civilization had left only weak and confused memories in the minds of the Greeks of the historical period. Deep layers of rubbish concealed from their view the frescos, such curious fragments of which have been found in these last years as by miracle. For all that concerns the history of letters and of arts, tradition does not go back to that forgotten world; it scarcely passes beyond the 7th of

8 th centuries, and to that epoch already distant relate the few vague statements, that the Roman compilers borrowed from Greek sources.

We are poorly informed on the origins of Greek painting, on what developed and flourished at the same time as sculpture in classical Greece. The little that we know of it comes from a page of Pliny, and it is believed that one can suspect that certain errors have slipped into the summary, that he presents of the assertions of the author who served him as a guide.¹ In him, whoever he may be, is divined a Greek. The national vanity is displayed by the disdain with which he treats as boasting the statements of the Egyptians, who affirm that then cultivated painting thousands of years before that art was known by Greece. Yet we now know, that nothing is accurate.

Note 1. p. 214. Pliny. H.N. XXXIV, 15-16. Carl Robert has very severely criticised this summary of the art of painting and would be disposed to take scarcely any account of it. (*Die Anfänge der Malerei*, in *Historische Märchen*, p. 121-151). Studniczka expresses a more favorable judgment on this text, and inclines to attribute more importance to that source. (*Antenor und die archaische Malerei*, in *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 135-168. The second part of the Memoir has for title: - *Die Älteste Malergeschichte bei Plinius*.

After having thus thrown the Egyptians out of court, Pliny reports that the Greeks were divided on the question of knowing whether at Corinth or at Sicyon painting was invented, to borrow from them a very improper term, that he loved to use. He does not decide between the rival claims of the two cities; but he adds that the agreement was complete on the idea, that the historian should begin with that art and the character of its first attempts. Men had commenced by enclosing with a line on a plane surface the shadow cast on it; then later filled the interior of this first sketch with a single color. Thus was created the painting called monochrome. In spite of all improvement of the technics, Pliny remarks that this method had not fallen into entire disuse; monochromes were still executed in his time; without this evidence, that could be divined from the excavations of Herculaneum and of Pompeii.

It is not from observation of the facts that proceeds all of that explanation, there is felt to be a theory built on presump-

presumptive data. However far one ascends with the monuments in the plastic arts, nowhere and no more in Greece than elsewhere does one reach that hypothetical period of the simple line drawing, no more than it will be found in the graphic attempts of children. When these have drawn a man or a house well or badly, they hasten to daub the body or the roof; they use colors for that purpose, or at least a pencil; in the last case, they cross hatch it, great hatchings in proud and exact parallelism. To speak here only of Greece, it is the same for the Mycenaean vases as for those of the Dipylon. The painter has placed everywhere in his images, sometimes flat tints and sometimes a sort of stippling, closer from one monument to another; but he never left void the space enclosed by the contour lines. What follows has the same character, both systematic and floating. This painting which gave merely the mass of the body projected in outline on a ground. Pliny attributes its invention to a certain Philocles, otherwise unknown, that he calls an Egyptian, and to Cleantes of Corinth. Was this Cleantes the same as the artist under whose name were shown in a temple near Olympia in Elis two paintings, one of which represented the taking of Troy and the other the birth of Athena? ¹ Neither Strabo nor Athenaeus say anything of the time when this Cleantes lived or of the style of his works, and it is difficult to reply to this question. Philocles and Cleantes had as successors Aridikes of Corinth and Telephanes of Sicyon. They would have employed but one color; but the progress whose honor was referred to them, would be that of having first within that outline traced lines, that by detaching the members from the trunk and accenting the movement of those members, would have given some idea of the modeling of the body. Pliny does not state how they executed this work, if it was with a brush dipped in a light color, or as did the decorators of Corinthian vases, by the aid of a point, which removed the surface color and allowed that of the coating to appear.

note 1. p. 216. Strabo. VIII, 343; Athenaeus, VIII, p. 343, B, C.

The color employed for these monochromes could only be black, that black easily derived from powdered charcoal or the soot of a furnace. Again to an artist of Corinth, Euphantos, was due a second innovation; he had conceived the placing on the black touches of a red tone furnished by brickdust. This is

the same principle as that of those violet coatings so largely employed by the Corinthian potter. Painting had truly commenced with these touches, that varied and enhanced the appearance of the painting.

Even when the painter used two tones, he had not yet his drawing in sufficient precision and freedom to succeed in defining and distinguishing by a diversity significant of the poses and by the particular expression of the lines of the face, the various persons that he borrowed from the rich repository of poetry. Before figures very similar to each other and juxtaposed in a small number of very similar attitudes, the spectator would have had great difficulty to divine the myth viewed, whatever the scene represented. Writing came very appropriate to relieve from embarrassment the painter and his public. From the 8th century it was in current use: the habit was then adopted, of writing a name beside each person.² Did painters of frescos first take this method? We do not know; but always the painters of vases and sculptors did the same. Painting further remained much longer attached to this practice than did sculpture. If about the end of the 6th century inscriptions of this kind are still read on the reliefs of the treasury of Cnidios,¹ there has been found no trace of them in the 5th century on the friezes and pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, nor on the decorations of the edifices of the Acropolis of Athens. On the contrary, the name was inscribed beside nearly every person in the frescos of Polygnotus at Delphi. Pausanias noted where it was wanting.² On vases, the custom of these legends scattered on the field of the painting was retained for very much longer.³

Note 2.p.216. Pliny. (Latin).

Note 1.p.217. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII,p.370-375.

Note 2.p.217. Pausanias. X.25-3. Pausanias also observes that certain things seem to be the invention of Polygnotus.

Note 3.p.217. The same desire to aid the spectator in the knowledge of the subject suggested the use of the same explanatory inscriptions for the artisans that move the tapestries of the 15th and 16th centuries of our era.

Of this birth and first progress of painting, the author followed by Pliny divided the honor between Sicyon and Corinth. While then Athens did not count, the industry of Corinth had

no rival other than Chalcis in European Greece; but what made the superiority of Corinth was, that as it appears, its workmen had directly received from Phoenician colonists formerly established on this site the secrets of more than one of the trades bordering on art. If Corinth must never have the glory of giving birth to an artist of genius, there was no city where the hand of the artisan should always remain more adroit, and more ready to follow taste in all its caprices.

As for Sicyon, it was situated too far from the sea to have attracted many strangers, and its industry had no past comparable to that of Corinth; but it was too near that powerful and industrious city, not to go there to seek models as well as the assistance of skilful and assured fingers. These advantages of proximity it profited by largely, especially when it was governed by tyrants of the family of the Orthagorides, that rivaled in opulence and display the tyrants of Corinth. Even after those princes had disappeared, Sicyon continued to love and cultivate arts and even had aims higher than Corinth; they succeeded better with Konachos and later with Lysippos in elevating it to great art.

In the vague memories retained of the first attempts of Greek painting, tradition gave to Sicyon a part as beautiful as that of Corinth. It is related that Craton of Sicyon, to give effect to his black outlines, imagined applying them on a ground of white chalk.¹ In the temple of Elis, believed to possess two paintings of Cleanthes, one was shown that was attributed to another Corinthian, Aregon; it represented Artemis seated on a griffin.² Pliny again mentions as authors of monochrome paintings, Hygiaenontes, Dinias and Charmadas;³ but he knows neither where nor when they lived. It is probably that these names are those of artists that belonged to the same group of painters of Sicyon and of Corinth.

Note 1.p.218. Athenagoras. *Legatio pro Christi*. 14(p.59, ed. Bechler).

Note 2.p.218. Strabo. VIII, 343.

Note 3.p.218. Pliny. H-N- XXXV, 56.

The idea that accords in suggesting these evidences is, that for painting as for sculpture, the Peloponessus early had its school or rather its schools. We believe it possible to admit that Dorian sculpture in its infancy borrowed certain types

from the art of Egypt by the intermediary of Cretan sculptors; it may then seem natural to ask if the growing painting did not suffer the same influence. What tends to make it believed is, that this name of Philocles placed by Pliny at the head of the series of painters enumerated by him. The name is that of a Greek; but the accompanying epithet indicates a Greek, that after residing in Egypt, had returned to initiate his compatriots in the fashions of the profession learned at Sais or Memphis.

Note 4.p.218. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p. 428-432.

Whether by the aid of Egypt or by the sole effort of several generations of artists, a sister and rival art to statuary was born and grew at Corinth and Sicyon in the course of the 7th century. This was a black painting enhanced by red and crossed by lines traced with the point or left clear, that served to sketch the internal modeling of the figure, the attachments and the movements of the members.

We are better informed concerning this Peloponessian painting for the entire period of the beginning; but is it probable that for this entire time, the Eastern Greece had not attempted the same art? Until now, on all the routes that we have followed, we have seen the Ionians far distance the European Greeks. How can we suppose that they have not done so in their painting, that marched at the same pace as architecture and sculpture? The history is lost of this Ionian painting; but its existence and importance are proved by some indications scattered in the writers. In Pliny is a mention of a painting of Boularchos representing a combat of the Magnetes against an unknown enemy.¹ This painting was acquired about the end of the 8th century by Candaules, king of Lydia. Herodotus relates that Mandrocles, the architect that constructed the bridge of boats thrown across the Bosphorus for Darius at the time of the expedition into Scythia in 506, had caused to be erected in memory of that event a painting, where was seen the great king seated on his throne on the shore, presiding over the march of his army across the strait.² The same historian relates that the Phoenicians, when they decided to abandon their city besieged by Harpagos (545), carried with them all the offerings in their temples, "save those of bronze, marble or paintings."³ Saurias of Samos passed as one of the inventors of linear painting;⁴ there was current about him a little story like

that of the young girl of Corinth, who traced a line on the wall, the shadow cast in profile by her lover, thus furnishing the outline of the first relief.⁵ Pausanias mentions a Callippon of Samos, that he stated had represented in the temple of Artemis at Epnesus the battle for the vessels, an episode of the Iliad. He had personified Dispute with features much resembling those given to that figure by the sculptor of the coffer of Cypselos; it was the same repulsive appearance.⁶ From the relation thus established, it is right to infer that Callippon, who is named elsewhere, was an artist of the archaic age like Saurias. Samos then had workshops of sculpture from which came works distributed even to Attica;¹ it also had at that epoch its school of painting.

Note 1.p.219. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 55.

Note 2.p.219. Herodotus. IV. 78. The historian twice employs in this connection the mean participle *graphamēnos* and not the active participle *graphas*, which seems to indicate that in his mind, Mandrocles had ordered the painting and had painted it himself.

Note 3.p.219. Herodotus. I, 184.

Note 4.p.219. Athenagoras. *Legatio pro Christo*, 14) p.59, 6 edit. Delcair. There has recently been found in Egypt on a Greek papyrus lists of illustrious personages and of geographical names, which seems to have served to equip the memory of children. At the head of the list of celebrated painters appears a Semon Athenaios, otherwise unknown, to whom the text, much altered at that place, seems to attribute an initiative analogous to that of Saurias, the merit of having been first to outline on a white ground the shadow cast by a horse. (H. Diels, *Laterculi alexandrini*, p.8 in *Aph. of Acad. of Berlin*. 1904).

Note 5.p.219. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 151.

Note 6.p.219. Pausanias. V. 19-1.

Note 1.p.220. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VIII, p.287-298.

The few facts that we have thus recalled present no connection between them; they no less permit certain inferences that possess their interest. From evidences of Pliny and of Herodotus relating to Boularchos and to Mandrocles it results, that Ionia early knew of movable paintings. Pliny states that Candaulus paid for the painting by Boularchos "its weight in gold, which could scarcely be understood except for a wooden panel.

the same impression is given by the text in which as a mention of Mandrocles; the latter having represented the passage of the army, "consecrated," says Herodotus, "this painting in the Heraion of Samos," with an inscription in four verses.² On the contrary, the works attributed to very ancient artists of Corinth, Cleantes and Aregon, appear rather to have been frescos from the manner in which the writers speak of them. Further, the Ionian cities also had their mural paintings. Herodotus alludes to them, where he enumerates the works of art that the Phoenicians at their exodus were compelled to leave in the city that they abandoned. Images painted on little boards could easily have found place aboard the vessels.

note 2.p.220. (Greek).

Only by this diversity of methods employed does Ionian painting appear to be distinguished in the archaic age from that of the Peloponessus; also by the nature of the subjects treated. Those indicated to us for some paintings of the oldest Dorian masters are all borrowed from mythology. It is probable that in the country in which was born the epic poetry, that it supplied the theme of more than one decorative fresco; but by the painting of Eoularchos and by that of Mandrocles, we learn that in active and brilliant Ionia for three centuries preceding the final subjection by the Persians, painters had also commenced to inspire themselves by scenes of contemporaneous life, and that they had undertaken to retrace in their compositions the most marked episodes. Thenceforth Ionia had its historical painting. If we know nothing of this Ionian painting, so to speak, except that it seemed to be strongly interested in preserving the memory of the events of the national life, we are a little better informed on what then was passing at Athens. According to Pliny, decided progress was accomplished by the initiative of a painter called Eumaros the Athenian.¹ An inscription recently discovered, that engraved on the base of the statue which Nearchos had ordered from Antenor to dedicate it to Athena, gives Eumaros as the father of that sculptor.² It is known that in many families the practice of the arts was hereditary, and the care taken by Antenor to mention there the name of his father seems to indicate, that the latter enjoyed a certain notoriety. It is then agreed to think that Eumaros of the dedication and the Eumaros of Pliny was the same person.

According to its orthography and the form of the letters, the inscription seems to be of about 530 or 520, which would make Eumaros a contemporary of the last years of Pisistratus or of the first years of Hippias.

Note 1.p.221. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 56.

Note 2.p.221. C.I.Att.IV. 2, 373⁹¹. The statue of Antenor is represented in *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Pl. II.

Here are two improvements in technics, whose honor belongs to Eumaros, according to Pliny:— "He was the first to distinguish men from women in his paintings, and also first not to fear to present his figures in all possible poses."³ These brief and obscure expressions call for some explanations.

Note 3.p.221. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 56. (Latin).

It could not enter into the mind of Pliny to affirm that in paintings preceding those of Eumares, the eye of the spectator was condemned not to know whether the persons represented were men or women. In the most formless images of the most ancient vases, for example on those of the Dipylon, women are recognized by the peculiarity of their costume, and by the projection of the breasts where the torso appears nude.⁴ What Pliny meant is, that Eumares was first to distinguish the sexes by the tone of the flesh. Attic vases with black figures, works of potters that must be his contemporaries, show us the means employed to mark that distinction; they give us some idea of the appearance which those works must present. On the vases whose evidence we invoke, the nudes of male figures are of the same black as the clothing and accessories, while for the women the face and the neck, arms, hands and feet are white as snow.

Note 4.p.221. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VII, Plqs. 5, 6, 59.

Was Eumares the inventor of this convention, that had such rapid success? Did he himself perceive by observation, that the woman passing a much greater part of her life in the shade of the apartments than the man was less sunburnt and less tanned by the wind than him, so that she was generally of lighter color? Or indeed is there a memory of Egyptian art? Many centuries before Eumares lived had they thought to paint in reddish brown the flesh of men, while they tinted pale yellow that of women.¹ This question of the spontaneous origin of the procedure or of its foreign source cannot be solved except by an affirmation based on proofs; but if one inclines to believe

that Egypt was for something in the system of coloring then brought into fashion by Eumares, he can scarcely avoid suspecting that this influence made itself felt on Attic painters by the intermediary of Ionian artists. Athens of the commencing 6th century had no commercial relations with Egypt, while the Ionians were permanently established there, and the history of architecture and especially that of sculpture had already shown the importance of the borrowings made from the ancient civilization of the valley of the Nile.² Would painters alone have not profited by this voyage and those visits? Seeing the sexes thus differentiated in the long series of many-colored images that covered the walls of tombs and temples in Egypt, they would have adopted the principle of this distinction, but perhaps contenting themselves also by reducing the strength of the tone, as then passed from one sex to the other. Eumares made a further step in that path. His merit would be to have taken a bolder part, having substituted for that difference of color the contrast of black and white.

Note 1. p. 222. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I. Pls. II, III.

Note 2. p. 222. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 341-372, 654-656, 661; Vol. VIII, 704-719.

Another advance is carried to the account of Eumares: he gave to the attitudes of his persons a variety that they did not have with his predecessors. Doubt is not possible as to the sense properly attached to the word "figura" in Pliny's phrase. One can define it with precision by means of a text of Cicero and the explanation of it given by the scholiast.¹

Note 1. p. 223. Cicero against Verres. II, 1, 21, 57. (Latin).

No work of Eumares is mentioned to us; but the artist could not have been embarrassed to find employment for his talent in the Athens of Pisistratus, where on the Acropolis as in the lower city were built new edifices, while the old ones were enlarged as their decoration was renewed. Everywhere was space for ample historical and religious compositions. Eumares formed a school, for as his successor is given to us this Cimon of Cleones, who appears to have been the precursor of the great painters of the 5th century.² Here again is it necessary to criticize and interpret the assertions of Pliny. One can ask if he has not sometimes badly understood the technical terms, that he found in his Greek sources.

Note 2. p. 223. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 56. (Latin). Likewise Ellen (H. Historiæ varices, VIII, 8:— he says; "Until then only grew, being practised without art or taste, and like an infant at the breast, enveloped in swaddling clothes. Cimon led it to full growth." There must be some exaggeration; but the agreement of this evidence does not permit doubting the importance of the role that Cimon played in the development of this art. On Cimon, see Hartwig, Die Meisterschulen, the Chapter entitled:— Kimon von Kleonai und der Euphratische Kreis, p. 154-186.

This question occurs concerning the first of the eulogies that Pliny accords to Cimon. He says that the latter invented the catagrapha, and as he feared that the meaning of this word would escape the reader, he adds that this is an oblique image. For Pliny, this is a figure seen in profile. The same expression is employed by him in a passage in which the sense cannot be doubtful, where he relates that Apelles, having to make the portrait of Antigone, who was one-eyed, showed only half his face with the good eye.³ Pliny seems then to suggest that Cimon was the first to present his figures in profile; but in translating thus the Greek term, he gives the measure of his ignorance of the monuments. Among all peoples, the arts of design have always commenced by the profile view, where the line is much simpler and easier to seize than the front view. Pliny would not have been mistaken in this, had he ever taken the time to observe a relief or an archaic vase.

Note 3. p. 223. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 90.

What the author who inspired Pliny meant by catagrapha must be what we call foreshortening.¹ The words "catagraphæ" and "catagraphon" were in current use to designate those projections of terrestrial relief on a plane, that according to various systems gave rise to geographical maps.² In those maps the irregularities of the ground are seen in perspective. It is the same for the human body, when instead of representing it in elevation, as architects say, in the simplicity of the vertical position, the artist undertakes to show it as he sees it, leaning forward, back or to one side, in the complexity of a movement in which the torso bends in different ways and the bent members conceal a part to the eyes. A gloss of Hesychius attests that this term also was employed by the painters in the sense that we attribute to it here.³

Note 1.p.224. This was conjectured with some hesitation by Studniczka (Jahrb.1887.p.159) and confirmed by Holwerda (Jahrb. 1890, p.258).

Note 2.p.224. Thesaurus. 5. v.

Note 3.p.224. Under the word "catagraphe" etc. Given as a synonym of catagraphe, catatome leaves no doubt of the meaning of the first term. Catatome is the section of a figure, such as it presents itself when certain portions of the members or bust not being visible to the observer, seem to be cut off from it and as if suppressed.

Because Cimon knew how to show his figures thus in perspective, he could "put more variety into the drawing of the face," as Pliny says. In the image shown in profile, one could if necessary indicate the direction of the view by raising or inclining the head; but now without awkwardness could be indicated the movement of that head turning on the neck to look backward. That is an attitude not capable of being rendered with some ease, except in a three-quarter view, i.e., seen in perspective.

A notable advance was this liberty of pose and the diversity that it comprised. This progress made itself felt in the entire rendering of the image. According to Pliny, Cimon always indicated with more clearness than his predecessors the attachments of the members and the projection of the veins beneath the skin. He applied himself with no less success in softness of the fabric, the lines of shadow, and the sinuous curves that were drawn on the surfaces of the drapery.

On the faith of an inscription, we have believed it possible to place Eumaris about the middle of the 6th century; but no literary or lapidary text informs us concerning the date properly assigned to Cimon. All that we know is, that he was later than Eumares. On the other hand, he is not mentioned as having collaborated in the great works of monumental painting undertaken in all Greece after the Median wars. All then invites us to see in him a contemporary of Canachos, Ageladas, Antenor, Critios and of Nesiotes. Just as they pushed the art of sculpture to the point that it must reach to lead it to perfection, by the illustrious statuary of the 5th century, Cimon was the precursor of the masters of Attic painting, of Polygnotos and of Micon.

In Pliny, Cimon terminates the series of artists, that he

presents as the creators of Greek painting, a series to which he has admitted only one name foreign to the Peloponessus, that of the Athenian Eumaios. We must await the 4th century to see a school of painting reappear at Sicyon with Eupompos and Panphilos. To represent this art and carry it to the same height as sculpture, in the interval will be only the Attic school, that of Polygnotus, his collaborators and successors.

4. Monuments of Painting preserved.

Nothing remains of all the works by the artists, whose names have been cited. All that can be proposed is to seek a reflection of those works in monuments of more modest charm, some of which have owed to their very limited dimensions and to the material of which they were made, the advantage of not having perished entirely; we wish to speak of many images that artisans more or less skilful have painted on marble or clay, either to decorate a tomb or to preserve the memory of homage rendered to the deity.¹ None of these monuments has not suffered much from the injuries of time. The historian has no less the duty of collecting these ruins. With the painted vases, which will be studied in the chapter devoted to ceramics, this is all that remains of the ardor and success that sculpture has given in a translation to relief of the ideas and feelings of the Greek people.

Note 1. p. 225. The first monument of this kind was brought to the attention of archaeologists by Ludwig Ross, that excellent observer that has seen so well and has divined so much. (Arch. Aufs. Vol. I, p. 40, Pl. I). It refers to the stele of Democritus. (Conze. Die Attischen Grabreliefs, No. 52).

It is difficult to say if it was for reasons of economy or to diversify the appearance of a group of funerary monuments, that sometimes in Attica in the 6th and the following centuries, there was substituted for the painted relief on the principal face of the stele, an image traced entirely by the brush without the intervention of the chisel. The most ancient stele of this type known is that, which preserved the memory of a citizen of Athens named Lynas: - (Greek). (Fig. 94).¹ This stele came from the cemetery of Velanidezza, from which also came the celebrated stele of Aristion.² It was deposited long since in the museum of Athens without anyone having distinguished anything but the inscription on the base and some vague vesti-

vestiges of tints effaced, when the patient cleaning undertaken in 1878 by F. Thiersch caused to reappear, not the primitive colors vanished forever, but at least the yet very clear drawing of the image. Of color properly so called, all that one can discern was a spot of reddish brown on the chest. Everywhere else the yellow tone of the ground, the more reddish and darker tone of the field comprised within the limits of the figure are not the remains of the ancient color; they only mark its place. This color must have been applied in a thinner layer on the ground than on the figure. What indicates this is, that the ground is a little behind the image. Where the marble was protected by a thicker coating, it has resisted wear better. It is the same for the lines now found to enclose the figure and to mark its interior details; they project several times 0.04 inch. Account is taken of their persistence by what is divined in studying these marbles, of the procedure that the painter employed. He commenced by placing on the stele with a very fine point or chalk a very light sketch. He then colored the figure by giving the nudes and the various pieces of clothing and armor different tints; then pressing on the brush, he traced with the brush well filled with black, lines outlining the tones, that limited all contours with and outside. Like the other tones, the black finally faded; but being laid last, it remained longer; all passed into white, and it now projects in relief and light from the confused stains on the surface of the marble.

Note 1. p. 226. Löschke. *Altattische Grabstelen*. (Athen. Mitt. 1879. p. 36-41, Pl. I, II). *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, No. 52).

Note 2. p. 226. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 73-82; 861, 864-866.

The entire field is filled by the effigy of Lyseas. The top of the head is wanting; but there remains the lower part of the face and the pointed beard. Lyseas is standing and turned to the right. Both feet are shod with sandals and are placed on the ground. Over the long tunic that leaves the arms free, he wears the himation. The right hand falls and holds the cup with two ears, a cantharos, and the left is raised before the shoulder and carries a branch of boughs. A narrow fillet encloses the figure. Separated by this band from the principal image between it and the plinth wider than the stele, a horseman gallops

to the right; he holds in hand a second horse, whose outline is indicated by a light line visible on the marble, but it is scarcely distinguished on the copies of it, that have been given. It seems that this figure, where the bodies of the rider and horse have remained in reddish brown sufficiently clear, were formerly raised either on a blue ground or on the whiteness of the marble, only modified and removed by the ganosis, that preparation which we have described elsewhere.¹ On the contrary, for the image of Lyseas, one is inclined to think that it must have been detached in light on a ground of dark red.² The tunic must be red, a warmer and lighter red than that of the ground. It is probable that the branches were painted green and the cup black, and also in black or brownish black the beard and hair. The thongs of the sandals and the border of the mantle were certainly colored. Where there is doubt^{is} for the nudes and the mantle. Perhaps the flesh had no tint other than that of the marble, passed over with wax. As for the mantle, it is asked if it was white or not. White clothing was then for days of festivals, and they would have been especially suitable for Lyseas, if he fulfilled a sacerdotal function, as supposed from the attributes of the figure, the cup that served for the libation, and the branch of foliage.

Note 1. p. 238. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 221-222.

Note 2. p. 238. *Löschke. Athen. Mitt.* 1879. p. 38-39.

If the idea be correct, that is thus formed of the appearance of the stele, such as it was when it left the hands of the workman, there would have been some analogy between this mode of presentation of that which about the same time tended to be introduced into the workshops of the decorators of vases: we mean the painting of red figures on black grounds, with black lines to indicate internal outlines and the play of the fabric; but what is more striking is, that one feels accented here in the rendering of the drapery, the advance where historians of give the honor to Cimon of Cleones. The drapery no longer has on the stele the dryness and stiffness that characterizes it on vases with black figures. In what is perceived of the tunic behind the back, one notes the same effort as on the female statues of the Acropolis to imitate the little folds of the linen cloth by the inflexions of light lines; but there is particular reason to note the amplitude and elegance in which the

olds of the mantle fall even to the bottom of the leg. The panels of the nimation do not terminate here in narrow and thin tongues; but they stop at their lower ends in curves by which one divines the consistence and thickness of a woollen fabric. This is the character of the style that must especially enter into the account to determine the approximate date properly assigned to this monument. It has been proposed to seek this about the middle of the 6th century. I fully believe that it is necessary to descend a little lower to the last years of the principate of Pisistratus.

Lyseas must be an Eupatrid. The image of the cavalier galloping at the base of the stele is perhaps intended to recall the memory of some victory obtained in a horserace at a celebration of those Panathenian festivals to which Pisistratus endeavored to give such importance and fame.

To a stele similar to that of Lyseas must have belonged a fragment found at Sunium (Fig. 95).¹ On a reddish ground a narrow white line outlines the face of a man from the top of the hair to the beginning of the neck. The tint is lighter in the nude parts of the face than in the masses of the hair; but there as elsewhere, the different tones of red and white are not the same colors that the painter has used; there are traces that those colors have left on the stone, whose natural whiteness they have changed more or less. It is proposed to attribute this image to the last years of the 6th century.

Note 1.p.229. Bull.Hell.Corr. 1884.p.459-461, Pl. XIV.

On another stele possessed by the museum of Athens, the work of decoration was divided between the chisel and the brush. The image of the deceased, only traces of which remain, was sculptured in relief; but below as painted the outline of a rider passing to the right.² It rises in white on a red ground (Fig. 96). Within the outline enclosing thus this dark tone, some other light lines draw the legs of the cavalier to indicate in very summary fashion the forms of the rump of the horse, the muscles and bones of its members; but the interior of the image does not seem to have been colored.³ What was there was a fine half tint that gave to the Pentelican or Parian the light touch, that on every careful work reduced a little the slightly raw brilliancy. This technics is that of the vases with red figures. Its principle is the same; it is that of figures res-

reserved in light on a dark ground.

Note 2.p.229. Attische Grabreliefs. I. Pl. IX, 2.

Note 3.p.229. Athen. Mitt. 1880. p.185, note 1.

The stele of Antiphones furnishes a curious example of a type a little different.¹ The chisel only intervened to engrave the inscription, which alone recalls death. All decoration was executed with the brush, that of the elegant palmation surmounting the cippus as that of the images which occupy the field. At the time of the discovery, one believed that there could be perceived a dog and a serpent below the inscription; but those indistinct appearances immediately vanished. What remains very visible on the upper part of the slab on a yellowish ground is a cock with a star represented behind his head. The two fillets that limit and divide the field are red. Around the volutes and on the leaves of the palmation are white and blue. On the body and wings of the cock are very apparent traces of red and blue. The tail feathers appear to have been colored white; tail seems to be rounded and bent forward toward the neck of the bird. The star was also white.

Note 1.p.230. Attische Grabreliefs. Pl. XIII; Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, Fig. 389.

The museum of Athens also possesses the crown of another stele of the same type, on which the leaves of the palmation were colored red.¹ Steles of this kind must have been numerous. Some strokes of the brush and the funerary slab had received its ornamentation. Sometimes this did not comprise figures. On one of those Attic steles is nothing but the decoration. The painter has placed there the image of the tomb itself, at the foot of the slab being a water vase and two of alabaster. Around the neck of the hydria have been fastened little bands that hang to the ground.¹

Note 1.p.231. Attische Grabreliefs. Pl. XIV, 2.

Note 1.p.232. P. Molters. Bemalte Grabstele aus Athen. (Jahrb. Vol. XXIV, p. 2). The custom of thus giving the funerary slab a decoration executed with the brush was further not limited to Attica. On the upper part of a cippus found near Syracuse are two swans in full flight, detached in light on a dark ground, which must have been red or blue before the color faded. A sarcophagus of limestone found in the province of Caltonisetta is entirely covered by a very elegant painted decoration,

composed of dentils, eggs, frets, palmattums and scrolls; there are still distinguished white, blue and red. (Orsi in Notizie degli scavi, 5th series, Vol. II, p.388, Fig. 6; p. 451, Fig. 20.)

To the same series are again connected two paintings executed by the same procedures, but for another purpose. One of them was on a marble disk 10.63 ins. wide, found in Attica.² The two holes cut in the back of this disk must have been to receive pins, by means of which it was fixed against a surface, perhaps the wall of a temple. The face bearing the image had suffered much; it required careful attention to discern on the marble what is less a figure than a shade of a figure. On a seat with a very high back is seated a bearded personage with the head slightly inclined forward. Nothing of the under garment appears; but the mantle is cast on the right shoulder and falls behind the back and covers the lower part of the body; the chest and arm alone have remained free. The right hand is placed on the top of the thigh; one divines that the left arm was extended. On the field and near the border is this inscription:-(Greek).

Note 2. p.232. Dragendorff. Zwei altattische Malereien auf Marmor. (Jahrb. 1897. p. 1-8, Pl. I).

The long pointed beard, the seat of the line that represents the ground must have been painted black; no vestige of color is distinguished except on the knee, where it seems that the vestment was yellow ochre. By analogy with what has been observed elsewhere, a red ground is supposed.

The disk of Aeneas appears to be sensibly later than the stèle of Lyreas. The folds of the patric have more freedom there. The feet are no longer placed flat on the ground and the toes are better drawn. The face with its receding brow and aquiline nose perhaps had the character of a portrait in a certain measure. The form of the monument excluded all idea of a funerary destination. One can see there only a votive offering, either presented by the physician himself or by a grateful patient. There is proposed a date of 525 to 500.

Nor was it from a tomb that came a shield in marble of Paros, which the brush also concurred in decorating (Fig. 97).¹ It is recognized at once that the egis of Athena was chiseled in relief on the convex external surface; then on the internal surface were perceived some vestiges of color, and on the largest

of the two pieces, 0.06 ins. wide, after cleaning was distinguished a figure, or rather a portion of a figure, the torso of a Nike that runs toward the left. Neither of the two arms is entirely preserved; but enough of them remains for one to seize the movement. The goddess seems to have as clothing only a mantle fastened on the right shoulder, leaving the left side of the chest uncovered. As frequently done on lecythes and on other vases with white glaze, the brush had doubtless clothed this torso with a tunic tinted gray or brown; but here remains of the color only some very faint traces of a brownish yellow on the wings and hair. Around them is distinguished a white stripe inserted for economy between the mass of the hair and the equally dark tone of the ground, as on the vase with red figures. All the coloring of the image and of the ground is effaced. The figure is no longer defined except by the black lines that give the external contours, the bands maintaining the hair, the curl falling behind the ear, the rounding of the breast and the folds of the mantle.

The shield had a diameter of about 23.6 ins. The figure of Nike did not fill its field. Before the goddess must have been an altar on which was poured the ritual libation. Had this shield belonged to a statue of Athena, or was it merely a votive offering? We do not know; but we are less embarrassed to assign it an approximate date. It is later than the paintings so far described; there is in the entire movement of the figure and in the arrangement of the drapery that seems raised by the wind, an ease not found elsewhere; but the eye and the bust are still shown in face view, while the head is frankly presented in profile. In the works contemporaneous with the Median wars, or which closely followed them, are also seen certain entirely inaccurate details that coexist with an interpretation of form, that already show in parts a singular knowledge and skill.

Of the paintings on marble that we have mentioned, there scarcely remain more than the drawing on which was placed the colored image. It would then seem natural for us to add to this series a simple line drawing discovered by M. Paul Girard. In the too brief campaign of excavations that he conducted in 1879 on the site of the Heraion of Samos, he found among the rubbish in the interior of the temple the sketch reproduced opposite. (Fig. 98).¹ The stone decorated by it is of a grayish color.

The back surface was not cut, while the front surface was carefully polished and has no roughness except at the bottom, where the drawing stops. By the aid of a point was traced the profile occupying the middle of the stone. The line is light and indecisive at the ear and hair, on the contrary is deep where it indicates the nose, mouth, chin and neck. It seems indeed that the unknown author of this sketch desired to represent a woman; the line of the chest abruptly stops a little below the neck, but extends enough to show a part of the bosom. The coiffure merits noting. Beneath the scattered hairs that conceal the brow, two nearly parallel lines lead one to believe that the artist first conceived his subject as coiffed by bands, and then changing his mind, he conceived the temples ornamented by floating curls. A curved line continued behind the ear seems to mark the outline of a chignon that fell on the nape. No appearance of clothing nor of ornamentation." 1

Note 1.p.234. p. Girard. Note sur un dessin au trait de style archaïque trouve dans l'isole de Samos. (Mons. Grecs. Vol. I, p. 11-12)

Note 1.p.236. P. Girard, etc., p. 18. 1880.

M. Girard at first asked if there were under his eyes were not the remains of painting; but this hypothesis did not resist the examination of the stone. No trace of color on smooth parts or hollows. If there had been a painting it would be perceived today by the difference of the appearance of the field and the figure. "There is more. This sketch was never finished. The upper part of the head was not even indicated; the body did not continue below the bosom. The tufa further presents a roughness there which would scarcely allow it to go lower. Are not these the characteristics of a rapidly outlined sketch without purpose by some idle painter, who worked on the decoration of the temple? Whatever it may be, this graceful sketch is the work of a true artist. If some inexperience appears in certain traits, for example if the ear is a little too large for the total height of the figure, all the front part of the face is treated with a sure hand and great freedom, denoting a profound knowledge of the rules of drawing as well as a remarkable ease. No trace of effort. A spiritual grace extends over the entire face; the upturned nose, the opened mouth and the raised eyebrow, give a smiling aspect to the features, while the well developed and very firm curve of the chin retains for it an air

of naive gravity." ² Archaism is no longer expressed here by the drawing of the eye, where in the profile the iris still retains all its roundness. To the first quarter of the 5th century shall we refer this charming work.

Note 2.p.236. P. Girard, etc. p. 17, 1.

As men painted on marble, so they also painted on clay to multiply at small cost the votive offerings and to ornament tombs. We possess a very great number of colored plaques, some of which were placed in temples and their dependancies as evidence of the piety of the givers, while others ornamented the walls of the tomb; there is also those sarcophagi of terra cotta, originally from Rhodes and especially from Clazomene, whose lids and sides were ornamented by the crush. Due to the fire charged with fixing the colors on the clay, these have everywhere resisted better than those on stone; thus monuments of this kind aid more efficiently than dim and discolored marbles in giving us an idea of the appearance presented by the works of those primitive Greeks, whose tendencies we have attempted to divine and to summarize their efforts.

The most ancient of those plates of clay that have come to us are those found in 1879 by a peasant of the hamlet of Pendes-Skouphnia, situated 1.25 miles southwest of Acrocorinth. No information could be obtained of the conditions of the discovery. Secret were the excavations, the sale to a dealer of Nea-Corinthos and the transportation to Athens. There were even thrown on the market of antiquities more than a thousand fragments, in which were recognized the remains of terra cotta plaques with holes for hanging and decorated by paintings.¹ Many of those plaques bore inscriptions. Some were painted on both sides; others were so on only one side. Most of those fragments were very small, but some were of dimensions sufficiently large that the subject figured could be recognized and the inscriptions were intelligible; there were even found some ^{entire} plaques among these fragments. Into the museum of Berlin entered much of the greater part of this booty, men have not ceased to work in culling these bits and fitting them together. By months of patience, they have succeeded in restoring a great number of tables.

Note 1.p.237. Roget was then in Greece and was first to mention these fragments and point out their interest. (= plaques votives en terre cuite trouvées à Corinthe. Gaz.Arch. 1880.p.101-102)

A little later, Collignon described those plaques that had been acquired by the museum of the Louvre. (*Monuments grecs publies par l'Association*, etc. 1884. p.23-52,).

Note 2.p.237.As these restorations were made, there were published the most curious of the pieces so restored. See *Antike Denkmäler*. Vol. I, Pls. 7-8; Vol. II, pls. 23, 24, 29, 30, 39, 40, with a brief description for Vol. I by G. Hirschfeld, and for vol.II, by Pernice. Also see Furtwängler. *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Antiquarium*. 1885, Setc.IX, Nos. 347-955, p. 49-103. It is necessary to correct and complete the description of Furtwängler by the Article of Pernice published at the end of the general survey of the fragments, undertaken after Furtwängler had left Berlin. (*Der Korinthischen Pinakas in Antiquarium der K. Museen*. Jahrb. 1897. p. 9-48). In the Figs. That we mostly borrow from the plates of the *Denkmäler*, the gray tone of the image represents the red touches, that were laid on the black in many Figs.

"The earth employed for the fabrication of these plaques is the white unctuous clay of Corinthia. This clay was kneaded without being entirely freed from the small pebbles that it contained, and was made into flat cakes from which were cut with a knife pieces of rudely rectangular shape and of very variable dimensions. Some must have been at least 7.9 by 11.6 ins., while others were only 1.6 by 2.4 ins. The painted subject that decorates them is detached on a light yellow ground and has a blackish red tone, sometimes accented by overlays of violet red and of milky white; certain details have been indicated in incised lines. The inscriptions in Corinthian letters are painted in reddish black. Frequently a line of the same color follows the border of the plaque and serves as a frame of the composition." ¹

Note 1.p.238. Rayet, etc. p.102.

"The purpose of these little monuments is not doubtful. They are ex-votos, analogous to those that are seen figured on paintings of vases, sometimes suspended near a Heros (Fig. 32), sometimes carried by persons preparing to consecrate them.² Dedications traced with the brush permit the belief, that these anethemata were placed in a temenos of Poseidon and of Amphitrite; they were later cast aside to give place to new ex-votos. The author of the find had thus found a sort of deposit of dis-

discarded objects."3 He has not mentioned in that quarter any remains of edifices; hence it is concluded that there was perhaps only a chapel and a sacred wood; to the trunks and branches of the trees had been attached these tablets.

Note 2.p.238. D. Benndorf. Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder. p.9-14. Fig 99 is borrowed from there.

Note 3.p.238. Collignon. p.24.

Particularly unimportant persons, trade workmen, farmers and sailors, appear to have offered these very small tablets, whose price was certainly very low. Some of them represent the god and goddess, residents in the sanctuary; but most of those not adhering to this traditional theme place in the scene the given represented in their familiar occupations. The brief legends that often accompany the image allude to the events of these humble existences.

The two grouped deities were sometimes shown beside each other and standing on a chariot (Fig. 100); behind was Hermes of whom is seen only the caduceus. Amphitrite has her head wrapped in a veil that falls on her shoulders. On another fragment, the head of the goddess is nude (Fig. 101). Elsewhere, Amphitrite sits on a throne and Poseidon stands before her. The drawing is almost always singularly awkward. However, here is a fragment on which the head of the same goddess presents a profile of better design (Fig. 102). A single tablet shows opposite Poseidon a male and bearded personage, who holds a sceptre in his hand and can be no other than Zeus.

Note 1.p.239. Jowett. 1897. p.17, Fig. 6.

Poseidon appears alone on many plaques, clad in a tunic and draped in an ample mantle. He is bearded; a thick covering of hair hangs on his neck and back. He holds a crown in one hand and the trident in the other (Fig. 103).¹ Elsewhere he brandishes this trident as if he wished to strike an enemy (Fig. 104). Finally, a curious representation is that of the god, who is mounted on a horse and holds in his hand another, whose outline is indicated by a great black line; he walks and is always armed with the trident (Fig. 105)² Is this Poseidon and not rather one of the secondary deities that accompany him, in which it is proper to recognize in the nude person of youthful appearance, that rides a marine monster (Fig. 106)? In his left hand is an object of elongated form, perhaps an alga, in the

right he snakes the trident. Before him is a fish.³

Note 1.p.240. Denkmäler. Vol.II. Pl. XXX, 18.

Note 2.p.240. The same. Pl. XXIX, 3.

Note 3.p.240. Elsewhere a triton dances behind Poseidon, who gives place to Amphitrite. Pl. VII, 2.

The mariners of Corinth must hold the first rank among the devotees that frequent the sanctuary, and several inscriptions state the vows that they addressed to Poseidon and Amphitrite. Twice this prayer reappears there:- "Give us a happy departure. At other times, the legend attests that the vows thus made have been granted." We arrive from Piraeus," is read on one of those plaques.⁵ They loved to paint on the tablet the image of the boat that owed to that protection an early voyage (Fig. 107).¹ The vases were seen placed in a row on the upper part of the field, doubtless allude to the loading of the ship, to the pottery then furnished in such great quantity by the workshops of Corinth.

Note 4. p.240. Furtwängler. Nos. 948, 950.

Note 5.p.240. The same. No. 838.

Note 1.p.241. Denkmäler. Vol. II, Pl. XXIX, 12.

Without the goodwill of the god that raises and quiets the waves, Corinth could not have created this commerce in painted vases, that contributed so much to enrich it. As much as its sailors, its potters needed the favor of Poseidon and came to bring their homage. Thus are explained those tablets, where the theme of the image is taken from the various labors in which were employed the workman fed by this industry. We shall find them elsewhere that we study Corinthian pottery.

Other art trades are represented here. Here is a sculptor clad in a sort of short tunic, who works in the execution of a statuette of a cavalier.(Fig. 108). He holds his chisel in the left hand, on which he prepares to strike with his right arm thrown back. On the field is a bird and a small person draped in an ampleimation. Those must be figurines already finished and ready for sale. The country people no more neglect to honor the god, who aids them to export their grains and the fruit of their trees. Here is a vintage scene (Fig. 109). It is divided into two scenes. In the lower one is a trellis with its vines, leaves and grapes. A vintager detaches from it a bunch of grapes, that he casts into a receiver in the form of

skin bottle. Behind is another skin bottle, that a second worker seems to fill. In the upper scene are two persons, that might at first be taken for pugilists preparing for combat; but the fists are not closed, thumbs are raised, and the meaning of the gesture is explained by a vase painting, on which a scene of the same kind, the gathering of olives, is more clearly represented by a skilful artist.¹ Those two peasants are the owners of the vineyard and rejoice at the rich harvest, that they point out to each other, or perhaps they count on their fingers the sacks that are carried away filled with grapes.

Note 1.p.242. Monum. dell' Inst. II, Pl. 448.

For the tablets reproduced or seen above, one understands or divines the feelings obeyed by the faithful, that have ordered or purchased them from the artisans that kept them in shops; but there are many plaques concerning which one cannot say why a certain subject is figured rather than another. Here is a hunter (Fig. 110); clothed in a short red tunic belted at the waist, he holds two swords or two javelins; there is perceived the sheath of the sword suspended to his belt and the end of the quiver decorated by chevrons. Before him walks a dog, that raises his head toward his master with a movement well seized. Perhaps he goes to attack the wild boar in the crush. This beast is represented as pursued or wounded on two tablets.¹ Elsewhere must be hunters again, these two cavaliers armed with spears, of whom one is at a walk (Fig. 111), while the other is at a full gallop. They pursue the hare as game, that is seen running beneath one horse. There are also warriors on foot; two hoplites are armed with spears and enter into furious combat; behind one of them as a spectator is a little personage draped in a himation. (Vignette at end of Chapter).² On one plaque where the colors are much effaced, several bearded men seem to engage in a wild dance.³ Certain subjects are borrowed from mythology. There is Hercules in combat with the lion of Nemea and with the centaurs;⁴ Hercules amusing himself with the Cecrops (Fig. 112). The hero here does not carry the two captives suspended by a bar placed on his shoulders, as on the metope of Selinonte.⁵ He holds one of them in each hand by the foot; the dwarf has the head downward. There is also as on the painted vases a scene, that appears to be the plastic expression of an episode of the Iliad; the combat that occurred between

Aeneas and Pandaros on the one hand, Sthenelos and Diomedes on the other.¹ The painter had chosen the moment when Pandaros was struck in the face by the spear of the son of Tydeus and fell to the ground. Aeneas has descended from his chariot and stands before Diomedes to try to defend from him the corpse and arms of his companion. (Fig. 113). Unfortunately there are but two fragments of that piece, leaving a large gap between them; but what remains of the inscriptions permits the restorations of the entirety of the picture. To fill the field better, the painter had added another to the persons mentioned by the poet. That is here the archer Teucer, who shoots his arrow when sheltered under the shield of Ajax. He is recognized by his pose; his identity is also certified by the two letters Te, very clear before the fracture. The epic poem had thus supplied its part of the repertory of these image-makers. It has even been thought to find here a scene, that would be the most ancient possessed by us, an illustration of those old tales that came to us under cover of Esop, of the fox and the crow; but the legend was badly read, utilized by the author of that conjecture. The meaning properly attributed to what remains of the painting remains very doubtful, being a fox beneath the branches of a great tree.²

Note 1.p.243. Denkmäler. Vol. I, Pl. VIII, 16^a, 19^a

Note 2.p.243. The same. Pl. VIII, 9.

Note 3.p.243. The same. Pl. VIII, 14.

Note 4.p.243. The same. Pl. VIII, 7^a, 7^b

Note 5.p.243. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, Fig. 247.

Note 1.p.244. Iliad. Verses 274-310.

Note 2.p.244. Denkmäler. Vol. I, Pl. VIII, 2, Furtwängler. No. 784; Pernice (Jahrb.1897. p.33-35) opposes the proposed restoration by reasons that appear very worthy of attention; on it Furtwängler relies to justify his interpretation. The discovery of a new fragment compels one to see in the two letters r o the first letters of the name of the giver. There is indeed a fox in what is restored of the plaque; but the crow is not seen there. It is at least proper to suspend judgment on it.

The image could not then have by its theme any relation to the cult of the mistress deities of the sanctuary. In the mind

of the worshippers of Poseidon and Amphitrite, what gave its propitiatory value to the offering was the fact of the consecration itself. The donor merited well from the god from the instant when he had dedicated any work of art, provided that it was deemed to have been executed for this god for homage and gift.

According to the form of the letters and the execution of the figures, men have agreed to date all these tablets from the 6th century. Perhaps there is reason to be more precise. The series of which we have the remains under our eyes represents the gifts of several generations. If the writing is nearly the same everywhere, there are very sensible differences in the style of the figures. To be convinced of this, it suffices to compare the two images of Amphitrite, one of which is unskillful and almost monstrous in heaviness (Fig. 101), while the other already attains a certain elegance (Fig. 102). It would be easy to point out other contrasts of the same kind, that if it be erroneous to explain by the originality alone in the merit of the artists. They were no others than those who labored to ornament by paintings of vases, that Corinth fabricated in thousands. The name of Timonidas is read on one of those plaques, that on which is seen a hunter accompanied by his dog. (Fig. 110). Now this painter was already known. His signature had been read on a vase with long neck found at Cleones and preserved in the museum of Athens.¹ Cleones was very near Corinth. There it can scarcely be longer doubted that Timonidas had his workshop at Corinth. Plaques and vases left the same workshops, and all progress made annually in the decoration of pottery made itself felt at the same times in that of the votive tablets. We scarcely recognize there one tablet on which the execution appears to announce the rapid and brilliant flight taken by the arts of design from about 550. We shall then attribute to the first part of the century nearly all the pieces composing this collection.

Note 1. p. 245. Collignon and Joue. catalogue des vases etc. 1902. No. 820. Another plaque is signed by Xilonidas (Wiener Vorlesungsblätter. 1888. Pl. 1). This painter's name has so far not been found on any vase.

What concurs in confirming this date is, that in several of those images is divined the imitation of models furnished by

Asia. Such is an entirely conventional lioness with rosette on the breast, which must have been taken from some rug imported from Chaldaea or Lydia.¹ On a number of fragments is seen a bird that flies over the chariots, riders and footmen in the direction of their march (Fig. 111).² This bird takes no part in the action; it is there only to warn the spectator that the scene passes in the open air and beneath the sky. We have mentioned this motive on those bronze pateras and those silver cups, that Phoenician goldsmiths sold to Greeks and Italians.³

Note 1.p.246. *Denkmäler*. Vol. II, Pl. XXIV, 25.

Note 2.p.246. The same. Vol. I, Pl. VII, 3^b, 5; Vol. II, XXIII, 2^a, 18^b.

Note 3.p.246. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, p. 767, 793; Figs. 543, 544, 548, 549.

The means of expression used by the decorator are those at the disposal of painting, according to Pliny, before the appearance of the artist of genius, that according to him, had just closed the period of long and slow apprenticeship. Here are found those light lines intended to mark the internal details, whose invention is attributed to the first Corinthian-Sicyonian school; in many figures, most careful and doubtless the most recent, are found those red touches, an example of which was given by Euphantos, and also that distinction of the sexes, marked by the contrast of black and white, that would be the act of Eumaros; but there is nothing here of the improvements, the honor of which reverts to Cimon of Cleones, according to Pliny, neither foreshortening, complication of poses, science of modeling forms, nor flexibility of drapery. This was at the moment when plastics made a decisive step, both in Ionia and European Greece, that all these monuments of the piety of the Corinthians and of their art, like old things out of fashion, were detached from the walls or trunks, that served them as supports and were buried in the trench that has restored them to us.

If the Corinthian tablets are curious by the diversity of the scenes figured on them, and by what they allow to be divined of the processes and of the style of the most ancient painters of Corinth and of Sicyon, one feels himself in presence of works less archaic and more interesting, with a series of clay plaques with funerary representations, that have been collected in Attica and are now possessed by the museum of

Berlin.¹

Note 1.p.248. Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung. Nos. 1811-1826. M. Collignon. Plaques funéraires de terre cuite peinte, trouvées à Athènes. (Gaz. Arch. 1888, p. 225-231). Antike Denkmäler. Vol. I. Pls. IX, X, XI, the last in color. The notice accompanying those plates in Denkmäler has been resumed and developed by its author, G. Hirschfeld under the title:- Athenische Pinakes in Berliner museum, with a plate giving a hypothetical restoration of the whole and with a vignette. (Zeitschrift für Johannes Overbeck. 1893).

In 1872 were discovered at Athens not far from the Dipylon and its cemetery, fragments of terra cotta tablets, that were covered by paintings on one side. Those pieces were collected so as to restore at least some of the groups of figures. Those plaques appear to have been 12 in number. They present unusual dimensions, for they measure 14.6 ins. high and 16.9 ins wide, with a thickness varying from 0.98 to 1.18 ins. They have no hole for suspension. On certain fragments, the frets at the top of the field run to the right; on others to the left. From this contrast in the direction of the ornament it may be deduced that the plaques formed two distinct series. They were not suspended from a wall on nails. To take into account the position that they could occupy in the tomb, two conjectures have been proposed. It has been stated that these plaques might have made a part of one of those clay sarcophagi, that we have already mentioned in speaking of Ionian cemeteries.² Or indeed they may be supposed to be set in the walls of a tomb analogous to those found and studied in Attica in the Mesogea, at Velanidezza and at Vourva.³ This appears most probable to us.⁴ Indeed nothing gives reason to think that the Athenians ever interred their dead in terra cotta vats; all known examples of those vats come from Ionia, and further, none of those sarcophagi is thus composed of separate pieces, which it would be necessary to assume to be joined together by a sort of cement; they are all made of two pieces, the coffer and the lid. Here are many difficulties, while in the other hypothesis, all is explained in the most natural manner. For those cubes of rubble or crude bricks that in the Attic cemeteries of the 6th century rose above the graves excavated in the earth and sup-

supported a stele, a sphynx or a statue, they required a decoration that should conceal the poverty of the construction. To obtain this, it sufficed to cover by a plastering four sides of the mass, and to fasten on the upper part of the exterior these colored plaques; they would have played there the part assigned to the frieze in the entablatures of the temples. This kind of ornamentation seems to have been much in fashion about that time. There is no reason to believe, that for tombs built at even the gates of Athens, were then adopted types other than those in long current use in the cemeteries of the rural districts.¹ The procedures of the painter are here in general the same as on the most careful and most recent Corinthian tablets. He employed three colors, a very dark black, a yellowish white and a brownish red tending to violet. He commenced by painting all his figures in black; on this black ground he then placed his white and red overlays. White served him to represent the flesh of women and the covering of a horse, as well as to detach in light the palmatum decorating the foot of a bed. Red is employed in a very arbitrary manner. In figuring the clothing it alternates with black, cheering its monotony; it distinguishes the different parts and in places it seems to recall only that the fabric of the mantle comprises bands of several colors. The details of the body and those of the drapery are indicated by incised lines. Finally, the personages are defined by inscriptions, some of which are traced by the brush and others are engraved by the point; even the hair and the mullets are designated by their names. (Pl. XII)¹.

Note 2.p.248. Collignon.p.235-236. On those sarcophagi, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VIII, p.94, Fig. 80.

Note 3.p.248. On these tombs, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p.72-83, Figs. 44-48.

Note 4.p.248. Furtwängler is of this opinion. It is also the opinion of Hirschfeld, who likewise refers to the tombs of Mesogea. (*Festschrift*, p. 11-13).

Note 1.p.249. At a little distance from the place where were gathered our plaques were found tombs, that by their entire arrangement much recall those of Mesogea; like them, the are built of crude bricks and most have covered by plastering.^{been} (*Deltion*. 1891. p.20-23).

Note 1.p.250. The elements of Plate XII were borrowed from

Plate XI of Vol. II of *Antike Denkmäler*.

Each clay plate sufficed by itself; but there is a general theme, the same that we have already found on many vases of the Dipylon, the representation of Attic funeral rites.² It has been attempted to find the order in which succeeded the different scenes, and to group the fragments according to that principle;³ but on most clay tablets there remains too little for ~~an~~ ^{the} attempt to be risked. The only certain argument is, that derived from the direction of the fret. The plaques formed two series, on which the persons marched in opposed directions; each of them must be placed on one of the large or one of the small sides of the rectangular monument. Set side by side, the 12 plaques had an extent which approximately corresponded to the total extent of the zone given by the four faces of the tomb of Vourva, which was 13.1 ft. long, 8.2 ft. wide and 4.9 ft high. The dimensions of the figures and the retouches which the legends seem to have received after setting in place, appear to indicate that these paintings, made to be seen near, were in reach of the eye and the hand.

Note 2.p.250. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, Figs. 5,6,7,95.

Note 3.p.250. *Festschrift*. p.4-11, Pl. 1.

With some doubts caused by the order it is proposed to establish, it can be followed for the convenience of the description. A procession of women marching toward the dwelling already entered by the dead, would fill the first plaque. The second would transport us into the interior of that house. There are 8 women, 5 seated and 3 standing. (Fig. 114). All exhibit by their attitude the gestures the grief that they feel. One of them is distinguished from the others by the place occupied about the middle of the panel, by the arrangement of her coiffure, and by the ample mantle placed over her head and enveloping her entire form; it is divined that she is the oldest woman of the family, the grandmother. By the simplicity of their clothing and by the arrangement of their locked hair hanging on their shoulders, the others announce themselves as inferior in dignity; these are sisters, relatives or servants. There is one at the right that holds a child in her arms; she holds it and is going to hand it to another of her companions; she prepares to join the procession of women (Plaque III), that advances to the bed on which is exposed the corpse. To Plaque IV belongs

a fragment which we have represented (Pl. XII). The exposition forms the most important part of the whole; it was its moral centre. Unfortunately but two fragments of that plaque have been found; yet they suffice to give an idea of the painting and of its general character. As a frame is a room, the principal chamber of the house; that is indicated by two very slender Doric columns, similar to those already found in the paintings of vases on which are figured baths, gymnasiums, fountains and palaces.¹ The last honors are rendered to a woman, doubtless to the mother of the infant, that we have seen in the arms of those charged with it. This woman lies on a bed with

richly ornamented posts, itself placed on a sort of platform with three steps. Of the deceased, we have no more than the head resting on two pillows. Just as in the other representations of this kind, the feet are at the left and the head at the right. Around this head is a crown of leaves; on the neck are two necklaces. About the bed were grouped the nearest relatives, father, husband, brothers, sisters and sisters-in-law. All that remains of those figures are the tops of the bodies of the two persons, a man and a woman. The man has the hair and beard cut short in token of mourning; the mouth is open as if to utter a cry of grief. His profile with a very aquiline nose appears to vary sensibly from the rather uniform type repeated in the other faces of men. This person of all those taking part in the obsequies, has the left arm raised and laid on the top of the head, as if to tear the hair. The right arm is wanting. It was perhaps extended toward the dead, whom the living addressed, as done in the laments of the Iliad and of modern Greece. Entirely similar is the gesture of the woman behind him, while with the bent right arm she pulls the thin tresses that hang before the ear or pretends to scratch her cheeks with her hands.

Note 1. p. 252. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, Figs. 24, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 42.

On succeeding plaques are the preparations of the procession. Of the chariot that is to carry the corpse, there remains only the heads, breasts and legs of two mules that are harnessed to it (Fig. 115). Before these animals stands a woman and a man belonging to the team. To be freer in his movements, he has cast his mantle over his shoulders and appears nude. He holds

long and heavy staff fixed by one end between the breasts of the mules, and which serves to support either the pole or the rear of the chariot, when the march is interrupted, so as to relieve the animals and prevent the collar from loading their shoulders.

Before the hearse is already formed the funeral procession. Persons on foot and on horses are arranged in beautiful order, but of all this part of the work are now only very slight remains. Here is a fragment on which are seen four male figures in the attitude of waiting; only their heads and torsos are preserved. One of those persons is beardless. Three of them are seen in profile, but one showing his front. (Fig. 116).

On four plaques (IX-XII), the painter represented this file of cars that already has its place marked in the funeral rites on the vases of the Dipylon. One is able to count four different teams. To aid the eye in recognizing among the multiplicity of all these bodies and all these legs, the third horse in depth is painted white (Fig. 117). Behind each quadriga march men and women, who make the same gesture as the mourners grouped around the bed.

The composition then has its unity. All the scenes figured there correspond to the moment, when leaving the house in which it gathered around the orphan, the funeral procession is to move after the body of the young mother has been placed on the car to be taken to the family tomb, the birth of her son having cost her life.

Doubtless in the execution of the figures is still here convention and some awkwardness. Nothing is more arbitrary than the method taken by the painter to trace the eye, everywhere presented in front on faces in profile. For the men this eye is nearly as round as a circle; on women's heads it elongates in almond shape. Also entirely conventional is the contrast of the tones that distinguishes male from female flesh. The very small infant of the scene of the interior is only a doll with badly attached members (Fig. 118). Like our mediaeval art, Grecian art only came very late to reproduce successfully the delicacy of the still uncertain forms of infancy. There is also some unskilfulness in the confusion of the bodies and legs of the horses; a white leg of the third horse projects from the black leg of the second. (Fig. 118).

With these inaccuracies, the drawing is nearly true and firm, even with a certain elegance in the rendering of the hands and feet; but its principal merit is, that the movement is seized there with singular justice, that even in places gives it a very impressive character. For Example, see this head of a man in which is divined that of the member of the family most particularly affected by the stroke that death has just struck; (Pl. XII); also see this woman that appears to us was the mother of the dead (Fig. 119). In the long veils in which she is draped and especially in her entire pose, in that hand which she brings to her chin and the other that she lets fall on her knees with a gesture of abandonment, what an air of discouragement, of thoughtful and concentrated grief! The painter has proposed to express certain feelings and has succeeded in this. He has known how to put variety into the attitudes and grouping of his persons, while accepting the traditional data comprised in these representations. Finally, nowhere does he make proof of more skill than in his figures of animals. The horses have fine heads and full forms, and their legs are dry and nervous. It is the same for the mules, of whom we have scarcely more than the heads; but they have indeed the form and appearance that characterize that species (Fig. 120): they are distinguished at first sight from heads of horses.

The drawing is here more free and firm than in even the more recent Corinthian tablets. Yet it is possible that those were scarcely older than the Attic plaques. The rich Eupatrid who decorated this tomb of his wife could order the ornamentation from *Kumares* or some one of his pupils, while the tablets suspended within the enclosure of Poseidon and Amphitrite were nearly all purchased for a few three cent pieces from painters at a reduced price, ordinary dealers for a public of peasants and sailors.¹ Art was further more advanced in the 6th century in the Athens of Pisistratus than in that industrious Corinth, where no artist of the first order gave the example of fertile initiatives.

Note 1.p.255. Of those artisans, Isocrates diadainfully said, that one could not dream of their cultivating the same art as Zeuxis or Parrhasios, no more than he could assimilate a coroplast or maker of terra cotta figurines to the Phidias, who sculptured the image of Athena (On Antidosis, 2).

To the same series belongs another plaque now in the Louvre, that was found on the southern coast of Attica (Fig. 116). It must also have been the ornament of a tomb.² The processes of the execution are the same as on the tablets described above. The figures are black with incised lines, and with white overlays for the flesh of the women and for some accessories. In places are violet touches.

Note 2.p.2-5. Benndorf. Griechische und Sikelische Vasenbilder. p.3-17, Pl. I. A. Dumont. Les ceramiques de la Grece propre. Vol. II, p.10-15. For the inscriptions, see Benndorf.

What is represented is a scene of exposition. While rendering the movement with expressive justice, the drawing is more neglected here than on the plaques of Athens; it was traced by a hand less sure, which gives to the entirety a more archaic air. What is peculiar to that tablet is the multiplicity of the inscriptions; they define the character and a role of nearly every personage. The deceased was probably unmarried. The mother wails as the nearest relative holds in her hands the head of the cherished dead, and gives the signal for the lament, as did the spouse Andromache in the mourning around the funeral bed of Hector at the end of the Iliad.¹ Also drawn in the same manner are the sister, brother, father and the two grandmothers, a mourner, etc. Twice appears the interjection alas (oimoi)! There remain one or two legends that have been variously explained. The letters "lolytos" read beneath the couch itself seem to belong to a word derived from the verb "Ololyto, olytto," to groan. The general title of the painting would then be:—The Lamentation.²

Note 1.p.253. Iliad. XXIV, 723. (Greek).

Note 2.p.256. Besides the plaque found at cape Colias, the Louvre also possesses two other painted tablets representing the funerary exposition. One of them is almost complete; but the execution is not very careful. The flesh of the woman there is not painted white.

The museums of Athens and of Copenhagen contain many fragments of other plaques of the same kind.³ They indicate even by their number how much in the fashion was this sort of decoration in the 6th century in the funerary architecture. Other fragments found in Attica attest that the habit of consecrating painted tablets in the temples was no less extended at Athens

than among the Corinthians. Three of them are the fragments of a painting representing the apotheosis of Hercules.⁴ On one is the head and torso of the hero and of a young driver Iolaos. The names of these two personages are inscribed on the field. (Fig. 120). Without yet being freed from archaic conventions, the drawing here has breadth and freedom. This is striking especially on the bit on which are preserved the head and neck of the horses harnessed to the chariot (Fig. 121).

Note 3.p.256. Benndorf. Griechische und Sikelische Vasen. Pl. II.

Note 4.p.256. The same. Pl. III.

Like the preceding, another plaque came from the Acropolis, and doubtless was exposed there in the enclosure of the old temple of Athena. There was seen the goddess mounting on her chariot (Fig. 121), Hermes standing before her with the caduceus in hand. The painter that executed this picture was sufficiently satisfied by it to sign it. There is a singular resemblance between this painting and a certain votive relief of Athens, on which we have indicated a naive seeking for grace.¹ Some trace of the profile with a very long and very pointed nose, with a chin receding from the lip; some arrangement of thin and serrate lines that show the folds of the drapery. The use of these plaques did not cease with the 6th century; there are fragments of several tiles on which the figures are detached in light on a black ground.

Note 1.p.258. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, Plg. 314.

Note 2.p.258. Benndorf, Griechische und Sikelische Vasen. Pl. IV, 2; V, 3. The fragments of several of these plaques, reliefs painted in vivid colors, were published by Miss Hutton. They represent Athena under various aspects, Athena Ergame spinning from her distaff, or Athena Promachos springing on her chariot. (Jour. Hell. Studies. 187. p.30--318. Pls. VI, VII).

We shall not pass the limits that we have imposed on ourselves in studying a painting on clay found on the Acropolis in 1885, that represents a young warrior armed with the spear in the act of combat (Pl. XIII).¹ It appears to date from the first years of the 5th century. The form of the helmet and the figure of the satyr that ornaments the shield recall the manner of the painters Nicosthenes, Pamphaios and Kachylion, with whom about this time commenced the vases with red figures.

The appearance here is quite different from that on the red-

monuments described above. This is no longer a thin plaque, made to be inserted in a wall like a frieze, or to be suspended against its surface. Here is a real brick, of which further remains little more than half. This brick is 2.4 ins. thick, 20.7 ins wide and 15.4 ins. high in its present state. When it was intact, the total height must have been about 27.6 ins. The upper edge of this panel is ornamented by an interlating painted red and black; it was therefore visible. The inscriptions were not deciphered without difficulty, but do not aid us in divining where this brick was placed. There is here one of those praises that are so frequently found on painted vases. The word "calos" is read at the right of the head of the soldier; but at the left is a confusion of letters in which the eye loses itself at the first moment. It has finally been recognized; a certain Megacles at first benefited by the epithet calos; then his name was effaced to give place to that of Glaukythes. We are ignorant, both of who these persons were and why this substitution was made.

Note 1.p.259. O. Benndorf. (Ephemeris. 1887. p.115-130, Pl. VI). Our plate XIII reproduces the plate of the Ephemeris.

The face of the brick exposed to view had received a coating of white laid lightly on the yellow, with two bands on the field, one black and the other red, enclosing the figure. For that the painter employed besides the white forming the ground only two other colors, black and red ochre. With this red are painted the nudes on the body of the young man, while the drapery around the loins and falling behind his thighs is frankly black. The dancing satyr that decorates the shield is also nude; but his body is colored black; his long tail is red, darker than the skin of the soldier. A black line outlines all the contours. In the interior of the figures are indicated the details of the muscles or the folds of the drapery on the red by fine black lines, on the black by light incised lines that allow the white of the ground to appear. Also in white have been reserved the eyeball, the interior of the orb of the shield, the bell and crest of the helmet.

If it be necessary for us to renounce the knowledge of what entirely this painting made a part, there are other paintings, perhaps a little earlier, where the technique is sensibly similar, and whose purpose is indicated by even the circumstances

of the discovery. These are clay plaques on each being painted one, two or three figures; they were collected in the rubbish of the very curious old temple recently uncovered and studied at Thermos in Etolia.¹ Wood and terra cotta still played there a very great part in the construction and decoration; it is one of the most recent monuments in which we can study the methods of rising Doric architecture. At latest, it dates from the first half of the 6th century, and what has been found there in sculpture announces the influence of the style of the Peleponessian school.¹ It is not doubtful that the plaques of Thermos had a function of metopes in the external frieze; they must have been inserted in triglyphs of wood. Most of them were broken into very small pieces. Yet 5 have been restored, if not completely, at least so as to show the general arrangement.

Note 1. p. 200. Sotiriades. *Ephemeris*. 1901. p. 72-96, Pls. II-VI. In *Revue arch.* (1900, p. 312-315) was given a summary of the description of the excavations of Sotiriades.

Each image was enclosed by a double border, a red band concealed in full or in part by a wooden frame, and a band of darker red on which are detached a row of white disks or rosettes. This white is that of the ground and is of a creamy tone, a darker white serving to represent the flesh of the women. That of the men is a rose color. On the clothing and accessories, the purple of the internal embroidery is near the black. In one painting, the foot of a seat is painted yellow.

Here the subjects noted on the 5 plaques that could be restored:— 1. the mask of the Gorgon. The tongue hangs between two rows of enormous teeth. From the chin springs a beard falling in great locks, alternately red and black.

2. A hunter carrying a boar and a deer, hung on a bar laid over his shoulders. His left hand aids in supporting the bar. His right hand holds the bow. He is clothed in a short tunic held to his waist by a girdle, leaving his arms and legs nude, from the middle of the thigh. The neck, sleeves and bottom of the tunic are ornamented by chevrons, interlacings and rosettes, representing embroideries of the fabric.

3. Perseus with wings on his heels flees from the Gorgons. Covered by a pointed cap, he is clothed in the same short tunic as the hunter, and that is decorated in the same fashion. In a basket placed beneath his right arm, he carries the head of

Medusa.

4. Two women are standing, bodies clad in long tunics leaving the arms bare, lean toward each other and appear to talk. There must be a smaller person between them; but a large part of the plaque is lacking there. The hair is held up in front by a band with heavy tresses on the back and chest. Behind the two women were inscribed their names. Only that on the right is now read, Helidon, the swallow. Was this the story of Philomele and of Procne taken as a scene, and can there be assumed the corpse of the infant Itys between the two women? Had the left inscription remained legible, doubtless the meaning would be known. It is difficult to determine in the actual condition of the monument.

5. A last plaque is still more mutilated. It represents three persons seated side by side on a wide throne with massive feet. Two of the three heads have disappeared, but these can only be deities. We are so informed by even the pose of the figures, the breadth of the seat occupied, and especially by the richness of the clothing that they wear. These are covered by complicated designs, chevrons and palmations, rosettes and frets. There are bands on which are seen griffins facing each other at right and left of a cratera. These squares on which alternate the image of the griffin on a red ground, with the symbol of the thunderbolt on a black ground. It is known that the Temple was consecrated to Apollo. It is then natural to recognize in the three deities so associated, Apollo, Artemis and Leto. The only head remaining is that of a woman.

The conventions at Thermos do not differ from those noted in the Attic paintings on clay; but the contour is here marked by a black line, but has not the same decision. The brush of the Eolian artist has omitted to indicate by lighter lines in the interior of the figures the projections of the great muscles and the play of the joints. The movement is seized with a certain accuracy; but the drawing lacks accent. I do not know whether these metopes are more ancient than the friezes decorating the tombs of the Athenian Eupatrids; but then belong to an art less in the path of progress. What particularly forms the interest is that the technique is distinguished from that of painted vases, better than in other contemporaneous paintings.

Here are no lines incised in the black, and the brush has less used violet touches, than on Corinthian pattern frequently seen to have only been scattered over the field to amuse the eye of the spectator. Everywhere are uniform tones, each of which is employed for the part of the image where its presence seems best justified. The general appearance more nearly approaches that which must have been presented by the contemporaneous fresco.

We are again aided in divining what, in the course of the archaic age might be historical painting, by examining the decoration of the sarcophaguses of Clazomene. There have been found elsewhere, for example at Samos, terra cotta coffers that served for the interment of the dead; but on none of these coffin is the least trace of painting. The method of that ornamentation in color appears to have been peculiar to the city of Clazomene.¹ It is true that the British Museum possesses a sarcophagus so embellished, that it acquired as coming from Camiros; but there are serious reasons for doubting the correctness of that information.² This sarcophagus being further similar in all points to those collected at Clazomene, there is no means of separating or distinguishing them. All European museums now possess examples of those curious monuments more or less well preserved; recently have been counted and described as many as 26.³ We do not propose here to study their technics; the question will be proposed later in regard to those vases of Rhodes and of other workshops of Asiatic Greece, to which the said sarcophaguses are closely related, in all the ornament and the mode of fabrication. For the moment, we shall limit ourselves to seeking if it be not possible to recognize in many scenes represented on the lids, on the flat sides and in the interior of the clay coffers, many themes that ceramic painters borrowed from those masters of Ionian painting, such as Saurias of Samos and Eoularchos, only known to us by brief mentions scattered in the writers of antiquity.

Note 1.p.263. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VII,p.92-94. Fig. 60.

Note 2.p.263. The discovery of the sarcophagus is not mentioned in the notes of the dealer, Filotti, in the possession of the museum, nor in those of Salzmann, who excavated with him. No excavator that has explored the cemeteries of the island of Rhodes has ever found anything similar. As supposed by Joubin, Filotti to augment the price of the collection of antiquities

that he sold to the museum, added thereto this object purchased from some dealer in Smyrna or Rhodes, who had acquired it at Yourla on the gulf of Smyrna near the site of the former Clazomene.

Note 3.p.2-3. The entire question of these sarcophaguses has been treated with a very accurate knowledge of the monuments and with much method in the Latin thesis of Andre Joubin. *De Clazomanis sarcophagis*. 1901. We refer to that Memoir for the list and classification of the monuments, and for the indication of the different collections in which they have been published and studied. Some additions are to be made today to the list drawn up by Joubin. Thus a new sarcophagus has been acquired by the museum of Berlin, figured in *Antike Denkmäler*. Vol. II, Pl. 58, and described by M. Zahn (*Jahrb.* Vol. XXIII. 1908. p. 189-180).

The so-called sarcophagus of Camiros will serve to give an idea of the process of execution.⁴ This is not one of the most ancient known, but if we place it in the first line, this is because of the relative sobriety of its decoration, whose character is seized at first sight better than where it is more complex; this is also because of the better preservation of the monument.

Note 4.p.263.A.S.Murray. *Terra cotta sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan in the British Museum*. 1898.

These sarcophaguses are enormous coffers with lengths varying from 6.6 to 7.5 ft.¹ They were moulded and made in two pieces, the coffer and the lid. The latter being nearer the surface of the ground than the coffer that it covered, more exposed to the shock of the plow in a land whose culture was never interrupted, has nearly always disappeared. A single lid has come to us intact, that of the beautiful sarcophagus preserved in London. The clay of which the coffers is made is quite coarse; but in places where it must be decorated, it received a coating of finer red clay dissolved in water; then the surfaces so prepared were carefully polished, and finally covered by a white coating on which the the ornamental designs and figures were set off. Two methods of execution were employed for this, the method of the entirely opaque image as on most vases with black figures, and that of the transparent outline, reserved whites, where the external contour and internal details are indicated

by lines traced with the fine point of the brush. The two methods are sometimes applied together in the same figures. We have several examples of this in these sarcophagi (Fig. 122). The bodies of animals occupying the bottom of the ground are painted as opaque figures and the heads are in transparent figures. Elsewhere in two busts that face each other on the border of a depression, the face and neck on that border are only line drawings, while the hair is represented by touches of color, Pl. XV. In the parts thus colored flat, sometimes the white ground is spared, which gives certain effects; thus on the body of the bull this represents spots on his skin. Elsewhere the modeling of the form is recalled by white lines that the brush has laid on the color; thus is marked the joint of the shoulder of the two lions. Nowhere are found incised lines. Before placing the color, the painter traced on the moist clay the sketch of his composition. He took that precaution for all the figures of any importance.

To fill the outlines thus inscribed on the clay, the painter seems to have used everywhere the same coloring material; but this has given quite different tones from one sarcophagus to another, and often from the top to the base of the same sarcophagus, and from one border of the coffin to the other. Here is found a reddish brown that is almost black in places (Pl. XV). Elsewhere the red is very frank. By the action of the fire are explained these variations of color. As the color in the furnace was attacked by the fire more or less strong, it has changed from black to red. The burning of such enormous masses could not be everywhere uniform, in spite of the skill of the workmen. Some parts were calcined. On the ground tone, the painter placed with discretion some touches of violet red; he did this for the snoes of the horses, the arms of the warriors and some other accessories. As for the white, he used it for his grounds and for touches with the brush, that rendered the service required of lines engraved with the point on vases with black figures.

A theme that constantly reappears on those coffins is one of those that Greek art took from oriental art, and that it has most faithfully transcribed, the group formed by two lions facing or back to back, or by two of these animals occupied in menacing or devouring a beast, stag, goat or bull (Fig. 122).

Mural painting must have frequently employed this motive, that can be extended or compressed at pleasure to fill the secondary panels of the walls, spaces remaining free between those filled by scenes with numerous persons. Of this theme, the so-called sarcophagus of Camiros offers two of the most common variants. At the bottom are two lions back to back according to the formula preferred in Egyptian art, and above between two lions facing each other after the Assyrian custom is a bull, that lowers his head and is going to strike with his horn. In the last group, the drawing of the lions is very conventional, while that of the bull is accurate and free. The painter represented from nature that one of these animals which he had under his eyes in daily life; as for the outline of the passing lion, he borrowed it from the fabrics of Chaldean rugs. As examples of the feeling for life possessed by the artist may also be cited the wild boar and sow that root up the earth with their snouts on another sarcophagus (Fig. 122). It is the same for the wild boar with lowered head that faces the lion. (Pl. XV). Besides actual animals, one finds also on the borders of coffers all those composite beings, to which the fancy of the Egyptians and Chaldeans gave birth, the sphynx, griffin, siren, harpy, Pegasus, and the satyr with a horse's tail. On a sarcophagus of the British Museum, the two panels between which is divided the ornamentation of the lid are separated by a band of small width, filled by a long series of fictitious animals, represented as marching, others in repose, crouching or standing.

Note 1.p.287. Murray. Terra Cotta Sarcophagi, etc. Pl. I.

To the same category belonged winged personages, that often appeared in this decoration in which they played various parts. On the head of a sarcophagus in Berlin, the centre of the band is occupied by a female genius that archaeologists call the Persian Artemis; in each hand the goddess holds the tail of a lion, that seems to make an effort to escape from that group. (Fig. 122). Elsewhere, above chariots racing fly with spread wings, winged personages of indeterminate sex in which it has been desired to see either Nikes or personifications of Agor, of contest for the prize (Fig. 124). A curious image and unique of its kind is that of a monster, that at first view is taken for a satyr; but as soon as the elements entering into its composition are analyzed, it ceases to appear to have a right

right to that title. It has the face of a man with a great nose of strong projection, a beard, arms and hands; from the horse is derived the long mane that surmounts its head and floats on its shoulders, the rounded rump to which is attached the tail, the thin legs and the shoes terminating them. In truth, it is a centaur, but the two natures combined in this type are mixed in different proportions and according to a different principle, than in the classical centaur. The ceramic painters of Clazomenes have not always kept to those merely decorative images; they have endeavored to represent the human figure in all the fire of action, in the variety of attitudes imposed on it by gymnastic exercises and the incidents of battles. On the cover of the sarcophagus in London are two great compositions, each comprising a score of actors without including the horses. At the top is a chariot race (Fig. 123). Perhaps the artist had a twofold reason to select this theme, which we see reappear elsewhere in other panels of the decoration of this coffin, and also on other sarcophaguses. On the one hand, to the Greeks of Ionia, who were familiarized from infancy with the scenes of the epic period, it recalled an episode of the *Iliad*, the games that Alkibiades celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus. What seems to indicate here a memorial of the poem is, that in the middle of the scene itself is believed to be recognized the adventure of Dolon, seized by Ulysses and Diomed after his work as a spy in the camp of the Greeks, and who wish to put him to death. On another part and with those ancient families of Codrides and Meleides, that claimed to carry their origin to the heroes of Homer, that who had long furnished chiefs to the Ionian cities, the rite of princely obsequies perhaps still comprised in the 6th century games of this kind in memory of the past. Below the field on which they are represented is a file of lions and of imaginary monsters. Then comes a second scene, where the personages are even more numerous and the movements are more violent. This is a battle, or rather a cavalry charge (Fig. 123). The riders are covered, not by helmets but by tall caps that may have been made of the skin of a beast instead of felt; a very large quiver or perhaps a great case is fastened to the side of the horse. Hastening in a furious gallop, some of these riders brandish spears and the others long swords with which they attack infantry covered by helmets

and the heavy armor characterizing the Greek hoplite at about that time. Attacked by this formidable arm, several hoplites were wounded and have fallen to the earth. Their comrades form around them. They protect them with their large shields to prevent the horses from crushing them under foot and the enemy from finishing them. (Fig. 123). We can reproduce here only a fragment of this very vivid scene. there are further many gaps at the right of the field. Although at a very small scale, the added sketch will give an idea of the entire decoration of the lid, the only one that has come to us entire.¹

Note 1.p.289. Two similar compositions ornament the opposite face of the lid; but these are more effaced and have not been reproduced.

What does this painting represent? This is not one of those combats celebrated in Homer, which sculptors and painters have pleased themselves by figuring on the pediments of temples and on the sides of vases. Here among the riders are several traits that announce barbarians;² the enormous quiver carried in the hand, the cap that covers them and the arms that they use, very different from the short Greek sword. There is reason to seek here a memorial of those invasions of Cimmeric hordes, that desolated Asia Minor about the middle of the 7th century. The impetuous spirit of this charge corresponds well to the expression "ravaged by incursions," that Herodotus employs to define the character of the raids that Scythian invaders then made through the rich countries of Ionia and of Lydia.³ In the valleys of the Hermos and meander, men must have long continued to speak of the murderous invasions of those savage bands, relating to children the terrors that their fathers felt and the disasters that they experienced. The episodes of those bloody combats would become a commonplace of Ionian painting, as later after the Median wars, Grecian artists at Athens and elsewhere loved to show fighting in their reliefs, frescos and the decoration of their vases, the Persian cavaliers and the Greek hoplites.

Note 2.p.289. Murray gave to Monuments Plot (1897. p.27-52, Pls.IV-VII) the first news of the beautiful sarcophagus just acquired by the British Museum, and first stated this conjecture, which has been generally accepted. He reproduced it in *Terra Cotta Sarcophagi*.

Note 3.p.259. Herodotus. I, 6.

There are noted dogs running beneath the bellies of the horses, as if they accompanied them to throw themselves on the enemy charged by the cavaliers; but this role could not be attributed to them, seeing in them auxiliaries whose intervention characterized the tactics of a tribe of barbarians. The same dogs are found with the same behavior in the chariot race (Fig. 124). From various texts cited in reference to this, it results that the use of fighting dogs at that epoch was very general in Asia Minor, as well as among the Greeks of the coast and the peoples inhabiting the interior of the peninsula, Cappadocians and Lydians.¹ The artists saw there in the rapid motion of the foolish circuits of the dogs thus launched in the midst of scenes of war and of gymnastic games, a picturesque motive that they took into possession to fill their paintings.

Note 1.p.270. All these texts are approved by Murray (Monuments Piot. Vol. IV. p. 29-30.

Besides this great battle scene, on this sarcophagus and on several others are the representations of numerous combats between Greek warriors, infantry fighting in pairs or sustaining the attack of persons mounted on chariots or horsemen, who have alighted to come into closer fights. As in the conflicts of the Iliad, sometimes spears and swords are crossed over the body of a wounded soldier or a corpse by adversaries facing each other. (Fig. 125). At the two ends of the field are chariots in which stand the drivers; they await the heroes who will mount them after the quarrel is once decided. It is difficult not to see there a memory of the Homeric battles, as in that episode of the Dolonic repeated on many of those sarcophaguses.

In several of these images the armor of the hoplite comprises one piece not usually indicated on the vases, on which are represented scenes of the same kind. This is a sort of apron fastened on the orb of the shield, falls before the legs of the soldier to his ankles; it must be made of leather to protect efficiently the thighs and knees against stones thrown and against downward thrusts of the spear. (Fig. 126). The hoplites have the cuirass over the short tunic; their calves are enclosed in greaves that rise to the knee. The helmet is that termed the Corinthian helmet with cheek and nose pieces and a high crest, a long plume floating behind and below the shoulders.

Frequently this helmet has at right and left two horns rising to the height of the crest. Such is the helmet of Ulysses in the Iliad; it has for ornaments two white tusks of a wild boar.¹
 Note 1.p.271. Iliad. X. 263-265.

Chariot races doubtless caused the role that they played in the funeral games, and are one of the themes that recur here most frequently. On sarcophagi whose decoration is simplest, they appear only on the lid, on the wide band forming there the border of the coffer, and there are then but two chariots separated by a single personage, sometimes Artemis conquering monsters (Fig. 123), sometimes a winged goddess, the Nike (Fig. 125). There is an abridgement of the same sufficing to recall the image; but on other sarcophagi where the decoration is more complicated, this same scene is figured on the lid, on the long borders of the coffer and on its internal surfaces, and develops there in a series of chariots. The painter is usually required to place a central motive at the middle of his composition, at the two sides of which the chariots follow each other in opposed directions; but this motive has there a purely decorative value. It intervenes only to regulate the symmetry of the whole. Thus it often has no connection with the subject on which it is inserted. So on the lid of the sarcophagus in London, the murder of Dolon by Ulysses and Diomedes occupies this place. Now that episode of the Iliad has nothing to do here. We cannot admit that it belongs in this painting of the games celebrated in honor of Dolon, games nowhere in question in the epic period nor in the cyclic poems.¹ Elsewhere the central motive is attached better to the painting that it cuts in two. On this same sarcophagus it is not alone the course itself and its fine dash that the painter has represented;² In the interior of the coffer has he represented the preparations. The chariots are there all ready to start. Some drivers already stand on the chariot and others yet have one foot on the ground. Before each team is a hoplite that brandishes a whip and seems to hand it to the driver; between each two chariots is a servant who leaps while playing the castanets to excite the horses (Fig. 126). Then in this painting as the central motive are 4 hoplites that appear to execute a warlike dance. The two farthest from the centre turn their backs; the two nearest it face each other and hold between them a nude

young man who plays the flute to regulate their movements (Fig. 126, lower part). This sort of Pyrrhic dance must have its definite place in the funerary festival.

Note 1.p.272. The conjecture is that of Murray.

Note 2.p.272. Murray. *Terra Cotta Sarcophagi*. Pls.I, VI.

The painting of the fast border at first sight seems to be a simple repetition of that of the lid; yet there are sensible differences.² There at the centre is no motive other than a person standing, which forms the separation between the two opposed lines of chariots in the race. Those leave the angles as if to meet at the middle part of the band. Perhaps the person thus placed as a scout personifies the aim to which all those teams tend. Another curious peculiarity; at both ends of the band is a column placed on a stepped base (Fig. 124). In the object on its top is believed to be recognized one of those great bronze vases, that in the story of the games given in memory of Patroclus are mentioned among the prizes intended for the winners. A shield is placed against the column, and on the other side of this support in a constrained attitude, as if tied to the shaft, is a person leaning on a staff (Fig. 124). This would be the prizes of the race, a kettle, a shield and a slave.¹ We finally call attention to the caps of the drivers of the chariots (Figs. 124, 126). These have a sort of cap on the head close to the skull like the Turkish fez, behind it being a tuft of several plumes floating in the wind. The cap had an aigrette like that now ornamenting the fez, but larger and longer. Elsewhere is found no trace of this local fashion.

Note 3.p.272. Murray. *Terra Cotta Sarcophagi*. Pl. VI.

Note 1.p.273. The slave (a woman in the Iliad), the kettle and the shield are in the number of prizes offered by Achilles for celebrating the funeral rites of Patroclus. Canto XXIII.

If with the combats of cavaliers and footmen, real or feigned according to the manner of the game, chariot races are the favorite theme of the Clazomenian painters, there is another theme that might be expected to be found in these pages, that of the chase, a princely pleasure, that like oriental sovereigns, men of noble race must enjoy in Greek cities. In fact a single sarcophagus has preserved for us a scene of the chase; but the mastery of its treatment proves that painters were familiar with this sort of images. Two hunters pursue the game. One is

mounted; the other stands on a chariot drawn by two horses, under which a dog runs. Before them run spotted deer (Fig. 127).

The human figure scarcely appears except in these three series of games, combats, gymnastic games and the hunting of large game, then also in those busts sometimes enclosed by ornamental motives along the long sides of the borders (Pl. XVI).¹ But near it in the spaces that he had to fill, the artist distributed images of demons of eastern origin and those of real or factitious animals, here passing in long files and in groups by twos or threes. All that composed an ornamentation which offers quite a different variety than that of the terra cotta friezes that come from Attic tombs. Even without causing to intervene here the diversities of genius and taste, this difference is explained. The choice of the form adopted for the sarcophagus must have ^{been} suggested to the Ionians by the sight of the mummy cases presented to their eyes, when they traveled or trafficked in Egypt.² Now the interior and on the exterior of these coffers, everywhere on their sides, borders and lids, they saw a very profuse decoration of very numerous and very different scenes. They must have sought to inspire themselves by it, if not to copy its types that were purely Egyptian, at least to give to their work something of the rich and varied appearance that it presented. For that purpose, they found abundant resources in the ornamental motives transmitted to them by Mycenaean art, and in those furnished by rugs, ivories and other objects of oriental make; they found others that gave them the means of daring more, in the paintings in which contemporaneous masters placed in view on the walls of edifices or on wooden panels, sometimes so many episodes of those epic tales, which had assumed a literary form in Asian Greece, and sometimes some of the events whose importance and singularity had most vividly struck the popular imagination.

Note 1.p.274. Entirely similar busts are found on another sarcophagus in Berlin. (Antike Denkmäler. Vol. II, Pl. 25).

Note 2.p.274. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p.94. Böhlau. A. Altionische und Italischen Necropoliten. 1898. p.14-15. Joulin. De Sarcophagis, p. 76.

It is easy to understand now the decorator used these models, foreign and national. He derived patterns from them, which then served him for tracing on the clay after a first and slight

turning, the sketch of the entire ornamentation. From each pattern he obtained a double image by reversing it. If it concerned one of those isolated or a group of two figures that decorate the long sides of the borders, those figures are repeated from one side to another, all alike but turned in the opposite direction (Pl. XVI). In compositions extending the entire length of the lid or coffer was taken a similar method. The central motive is often foreign to the theme in which it is inserted. It plays there merely the part of a mark of punctuation, at right and left of which are seen repeated and turned in opposite directions the same figures, hoplites on the march, norsemen or drivers of chariots. If the surface so decorated could be folded in two like a sheet of paper, of both halves of the band, the images would correspond with sufficient accuracy to cover each other. This can be proved, notably in the representation of the preparations for the *raec* (Fig. 1264). The charge of the Cimmerians is the only one of these paintings forming an exception to that rule. The horses all gallop there in the same direction from one end to the other of the band, and although a certain figure at the right seems to be merely a tracing of a figure on the left, there are sensible variations from one part of the field to the other. The artist has desired to make of all those persons grouped in this compartment of the decoration an entirety that has its unity. One is struck by the very peculiar character, which this painting presents and that distinguishes it from the other scenes figured on these coffers; he demands if by chance we do not have here a reduction of the famous painting of Boularinos, and that on which was represented the encounter that Pliny sometimes calls the combat, and sometimes the disaster of the Magnetes.¹ In all that remains of that painting, the Greek hoplites seem to have the worst, being sabred and crushed by the barbarian norsemen. It is perhaps to advance much by pronouncing the name of Boularchos in this connection; Pliny does not state that the battle represented by him was fought and lost to the Cimmerians, and other texts allude to a war that the Magnetes of the Meander sustained against the Ephesians, and where they had to suffer much.² It appears then wiser to renounce that part of the hypothesis; but what can be retained is, that according to all probability we have there a reduction in the image of this

violent combat, a copy more or less free of some work then celebrated, of one of the masters of Ionian painting.

Note 1.p.276. S. Reinach. *Revue des études grecques*. 1895., p. 175-179.

Note 2.p.276. Those texts will be found collected and discussed in the Memoir of Reinach.

In the study that we have undertaken of the ornaments and images found on these coffers, we have been able to regard these monuments as contemporary. What justifies this is that we have found nearly everywhere in the decoration that the brush has placed on them are extracts from the same repertory. By the distribution and the choice of the motives composing it, the style of all these ceramic painters has a singular uniformity. However striking these resemblances may be, yet one cannot deny that there are also differences; these are even sufficiently sensible that it has been proposed to arrange the sarcophaguses in order of date.¹ In the series thus established is seen from one monument to another, the decoration is more full, the design more flexible, the scenes become complicated and also the color, due to the retouches; to give the painted parts of the coffer a richer and gayer appearance. This fabrication certainly lasted a very long time; but it is as difficult to state when it commenced as when it ended. However it seems that to the second half of the 7th century can be attributed the oldest of these sarcophaguses and to admit that the latest were not after the year 550. The campaign of Harpagos in 540 struck a blow fatal to the prosperity of Ionia. In any case, if this industry resisted the first shocks of the Persian conquest, it could not survive the disasters that followed about the end of the 6th century the great revolt of Ionia. Clezomenes was besieged and taken by Otanes and Artaphernes;² this was doubtless at this time, that its inhabitants left it to settle in a neighboring island, where they felt themselves less in the hands of the new masters of Asia.³ In the anxiety of that emigration, orders must cease, and the ceramic potters and painters must disperse. There is not a single sarcophagus in whose decoration is manifested the style and taste of the 5th century.

Note 1.p.277. Jouvin. *De Sarcophagis*. Chap. II.

Note 2.p.277. Herodotus. V. 123.

Note 3.p.277. Pausanias. VII, 3-8; Strabo. XIV. 1-36.

The sarcophagus in London is one of the latest of those monuments and perhaps the masterpiece of this industry. Now ⁱⁿ the reproductions of chariot races found there several times repeated is noted a convention, which can suggest a probable conjecture of the approximate date of those paintings (Figs. 125, 127). The painter desires to make it understood that each chariot was drawn by two horses; but the side view in which it was placed, the nearest horse covered and concealed his companion. To render visible the existence of the latter, the artist thought of giving the two horses two different movements. The horse entirely visible carries his head high. That one with the hidden body lowers his head. This head is profiled beside and below the head of the first horse. This naive artifice betrays the embarrassment of the painter, and at the same time proves his ingenuity. Another Ionic artist, the sculptor of the treasury of Cnidus at Delphi attacks and easily solves the same problem.¹ It appears to us that the latter must have set to work between 520 and 510; between this sculptor and the painter that decorated the sarcophagus in question, it seems that there must be at least the interval of one generation. Thus we find ourselves led by this comparison to nearly the same result as by the statements of history; about the middle of the 6th century the workshops of Clazomenes produced their best works, to close soon afterward and never reopen.

Note 1.p.278. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII. Figs. 163, 165, 167-169

5. Conclusions from the Investigation.

In the course of this examination, we believe that we have cited those of the monuments other than the painted vases, that may be required to cast some light on what was Greek painting before the Median wars. It remains to separate the data appearing to result from those researches.

A first conclusion imposed is, that the palette of the painters during the entire duration of the archaic age was very poor. On the monuments that we have surveyed, paintings on stone or marble, on clay and fixed by fire, we have found no trace of blue, nor consequently of green. The sole colors found are white, employed for grounds and for retouches inside the figures; black, that accidents in firing and weather have frequently altered more or less; red, comprising several shades from a

brick tint to purple or even violet. This is confirmed the assertion of Cicero and of Pliny, that the painters from the time of Zeuxis, said to be first, until that of Apelles, assumed to be second, employed but four colors.¹ These four colors according to Pliny were white and black, red and yellow, which confirms the evidence of the monuments that we have studied. If it be true, that to execute those vast frescos which caused the admiration of all Greece, Polygnotus still used only those four fundamental tones, and for a stronger reason his predecessors must have been satisfied with them.

Note 1.p.279. Cicero. Brutus. XVIII, 70; Pliny, H.N., XXV, 50.

Not without surprise is noted the absence of blue in all the paintings that we have surveyed, or the blue that mixed with yellow produces green. Without going back to the Mycenaean decorators, which used blue largely,² we know that from a very early time in classical Greece, blue concurred with red to give edifices their polychrome ornamentation, notably on the friezes and cornices of Doric entablatures;³ it also in the hollows of the mouldings is as well preserved as the other tones. By the polychromy of the sculptures on tufa and marble found on the Acropolis of Athens, sculptors dating from the 7th to the 6th centuries, it is proved that then blue also played its part in the coloring of statues, of high, middle and low reliefs.⁴ If the ceramic painters did not use it, this is not because the coloring materials producing it could not stand the test of fire. To convince one's self that they were as capable as others to incorporate themselves with the clay by the effect of the flame of the kiln, it suffices to recall the enameled figurines of Egypt, where the blues and greens have such lustre. Further, in Greece itself we find touches of green and of blue on works of the same kind, for example on the ornaments of terra cotta forming the cornice of one of the temples of Metaponte.⁵

Note 2.p.279. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, Pl. XIII.

Note 3.p.279. The same. Vol. VII. Book XIII, Chap. III, sect. 15.

Note 4.p.279. The same. Vol. VIII. Pls. III, IV, V.

Note .p.279. The same. Vol. VII. Pl. IX.

If blue be found nowhere on steles, these tablets of sarcophagi, this is not because the workmen with the brush did not have this color in their boxes; it is the result of method and

simplicity explained by the habits contracted from the first attempts of the growing art. When about the end of the long period after the Dorian invasion, when plastic genius had slumbered in Greece, men undertook to draw flat on a ground figures of men and animals, beginning by what Pliny terms monochromes, i.e., by images rising from a light ground, just as the sun forms on a wall the cast shadow of one passing by. On the white was placed the black of smoke, powdered charcoal. When it was desired to replace black by a tone less gloomy, or to place on it some accents to indicate the modeling of the form or the ornaments of the drapery, they had the ochres, clayey earths colored by iron peroxide or sesquioxide, that were found in abundance everywhere. In the natural state or calcined, these gave at will yellows, browns and reds of various shades. If they felt the need of accenting more certain peculiarities of costume and equipment, then had purple at command, which long since in the school of the Phoenicians, men had learned to extract from the shell of the murex.

With these blacks and whites, yellows, browns and reds, the red of the ochre and that of purple, the painter composed paintings that had their harmony. This harmony was a little sombre. The whites alone, either those of the grounds or those soon employed for the flesh of women, placed some more vivid notes there. However limited those forms of expression, the artists and their public were satisfied with them until the full 5th century. It is not doubtful that it was so in European Greece; but in spite of the evidence of the sarcophagi of Clazomenes, one is tempted to believe that painting in Ionia could not restrict itself always to such a poor sobriety. The Asian Greeks found themselves in a better position than the European Greeks to gather the legacy of Mycenaean civilization.¹ They could appropriate a larger part of the processes of its industry and of its arts, motives and types created by it. Now the palette of the decorators of Mycenae and Tiryns, of Cnossus and Phaistos, were much richer than that of the artists of Corinth and of Sicyon, in whom by the singular optical error, the learned men of the Alexandrine age desired to see the inventors of painting. The strong tones of white and yellow, of red and blue, illumined by their gayety the frescos of the ordinary paintings of Minos and of Agamemnon. Among other traditions of the past of

which it was the heir, Ionia must retain the taste and practice of polychrome painting. I believe with difficulty that the picture of Boalarchos and that of Mandrocles were merely sad monochromes. Those scenes of battle and of military pomp, I cannot conceive without differences of contrasts and of tints, that accented the richness of the costumes and the gleam of armor. That there may be no doubt in the mind of the spectator, of the meaning of the view representing the crossing of the Bosphorus, was it not proper for a broad blue band to represent there the blue of the sea? Ionian vases, for example those found at Rhodes, exhibit a very marked taste for lively and gay coloring.¹ On pieces that men agree were made in Etruria under the influence and in imitation of Ionian models, for example on the hydria of Polledrara, it is attributed in the decoration largely to the deep blue. The use of this tone is not doubtful, in spite of the alteration that the colors have suffered from the dampness of the cavity of the tomb.²

Note 1. p. 280.

On the circumstances which allowed Ionian painting to follow the traditions of Mycenaean painting and to imitate polychromy, see the observations of Hohlwerda (Jahrb. 1890. p. 259).

Note 1. p. 281. Pottier. Catalogue. Vol. II, p. 378-380.

Note 2. p. 281. C. Smith. Polledrara ware. (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1894. p. 203-223. Pls. VI-VIII).

It may then be asked if the Clazomenan sarcophaguses, while being inspired by contemporary painting, really entirely represented it. Perhaps in the borrowings that it made from that painting, the master ceramist left aside certain colors found on his models, because those colors were more delicate than the others and would have injured the success of his firing; he would have been less certain to see them come from the fire than those in current use in his workshop.

The decoration of the sarcophaguses will then give only a very incomplete idea of the coloring by the Ionian masters of that time, and of the diversity of the tones that their brushes could lay on the coating or on wood, when they executed one of those historical paintings, which made a sensation in their times, but on the other hand, on what must be the composition and drawing in the works of those painters based, that find their information worthy of confidence and full of interest.

As for the composition, we can judge of it but very imperfectly by the sarcophagi. Those restrict the decorator by certain sacrifices, by the effect of the rigor of the forms in which they are prisoned, and by the obligation to which they are subject to establishing an exact correspondence between the similar parts of each band of the coffer. We have indicated the part played, where the development of a theme occupied an entire band, by a central motive, which without having a well defined relation to the theme in which it was inserted, served to determine the direction that the painter gave to the march of the figurer. This convention is explained by the requirements of symmetry; but it no less breaks the unity of the scene. One does not imagine that there could be nothing similar in the paintings of the masters. In spite of this concession to the requirements of the decoration, those representations of battles and of gymnastic games allowed to be divined now to the Ionian painter then understood the filling of the fields allotted to him, the grouping of numerous persons in a common action, varying the attitudes given to them, making their meaning seen at first sight.

What these paintings of sarcophagi permit us best to see and divine of the merit of the models, that inspired the authors of Clazomenes, are the qualities of execution and character of the style which ornaments the lid of the sarcophagus of London. In the scenes displayed in the interior and on the sides of the coffer, the movement is seized with singular accuracy. Slender Nikes fly lightly in the space; with reins drawn, the drivers lean forward on the chariots that they hurry to the goal. Well seated on the backs of their mounts, the riders brandish with ease the swords with which they menace the infantry, which attempt to arrest their dash. Those are firmly fixed on the ground, and have the firm bearing of the Greek hoplites, who trust in their armor and brave the leaps and attacks of the barbarian cavalry. One of them, hit by a back stroke of the sabre, lies on the ground beneath the shield of the comrade, that attempts to save him from a new wound. Nothing more natural than his stretched pose, leaning on the elbow; we shall find it on the pediments of Egina. In the chariot race as in the charge of the Scythians, the horses gallop with marvellous spirit. Some have their heads lowered; others are under the

pressure of the bridle, that retains them till the moment of the effort, raise the neck and hold their nostrils to the wind; one would believe that could be seen the foam dropping from their lips. The same skill is in the painting of the preparations for the race. Its appearance is agreeably diversified by those castanet players placed by the painter in the intervals of the chariots, and especially by the group of warriors, which at the sound of the flute move in cadence their members and their arms. If there be at each end of the field a driver with reins in hand, that is ready to start at the first signal, the two drivers nearest the centre still have one foot on the ground. The line outlining their bodies well expresses the force of the spring taken to jump at a bound into the body of the chariot.

To appreciate the style of this painting, if we have especially taken our examples from the sarcophagus of London, this is because on any other one of the monuments, the spaces given to the decoration do not contain as many figures engaged in the same action; but on many other sarcophaguses is found the same execution, either in images of single combats or of gymnastic games that ornament the borders of the coffers (Figs. 124, 126), or in those heads of men that form pendants on the faces (Pl. XV). There has been noted in what remains to us of Ionian art, of its sculpture and painting, two different tendencies; on a certain monument is revealed a sensible predilection for vigorous and thickset forms, where the muscles are much accented; elsewhere is felt the search for an elegance, that is aimed to obtain by slenderness of waist and thinness of the members.¹ The painters of Clazomenes are rather attached to this second school in the rendering of the human figures; but in that of animals like the lion, wild boar and bull, they know how to express by a broad and firm outline the idea of strength, that these types suggest to the mind (Pl. XV). On the other hand, they give to the bodies of the deer fleeing before the hunter all the length and lightness desirable. (Fig. 127). They are animal painters of rare skill.

Note 1. p. 283. Pottier. Catalogue. II, p. 509-510. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 418.

This sense of reality is no less frankly marked by the care with which the painter, in his scenes of battles or of races,

has endeavored to render as accurately as possible even the least details of costume and armor, this may be judged by the figure of a hoplite (Fig. 128). The artist has attached more importance to that fidelity to the copy, that nearly all persons placed in view are clothed. I see scarcely any nude figures except the castanet player and flute player of one painting of the sarcophagus of London.

Here is a last characteristic trait of this painting; in all the decoration of the coffers, where it is not a simple ornamental motive, you will not perceive one person not marching with rapid steps, that does not run or dance, who does not raise the arms in combat or increase the speed of the galloping horses. This taste for movement in what is most living and boldest, we have already noted in the little remaining to us from Ionian sculpture, in a certain relief from Miletus as in the frieze of the treasury of Cnidus.¹ The same remark has been made concerning Ionian vases.² Nowhere, no more in the votive tablets of Corinth than on the metopes of Thermos, no more on the painted steles of Athens than on those plaques of terra cotta at the gates of the same city, inserted in the external walls of tombs, does one not feel in the image that sort of haste, that intense and passionate life which animates it not only in paintings such as chariot races or the charge of Scythian horsemen, but again in all groups of combatants that are seen repeated from one sarcophagus to another. From this drama of aristocratic funerals which occurred at Athens after the decease of each chief of a noble family, the Attic painter has retained only one scene, the exhibition of the deceased that only comprises serious and meditative attitudes. Also charged with assisting to decorate the tomb and commemorate the obsequies, the Ionian artist took an entirely different method. Of all ceremonies celebrated on this occasion, the only one seeking to interest him was that of the funeral games or of horse races devouring space, of young men making trials of strength and agility.

Note 1. p. 284. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 415.

Note 2. p. 284. *Pottier. Catalogue etc.* II. p. 510.

For Ionian painting, its ambitions, methods and the degree of mastery attained, the study of the monuments supplements in a certain measure the insufficiency of the data furnished by

has endeavored to render as accurately as possible even the least details of costume and armor, this may be judged by the figure of a hoplite (Fig. 125). The artist has attached more importance to that fidelity to the copy, that nearly all persons placed in view are clothed. I see scarcely any nude figures except the castanet player and flute player of one painting of the sarcophagus of London.

Here is a last characteristic trait of this painting; in the decoration of the coffers, where it is not a simple ornamental motive, you will not perceive one person not marching with rapid steps, that does not run or dance, who does not raise the arms in combat or increase the speed of the galloping horses. This taste for movement in what is most living and modest, we have already noted in the little remaining to us from Ionian sculpture, in a certain relief from Miletus as in the frieze of the treasury of Cnidus.¹ The same remark has been made concerning Ionian vases.² Nowhere, so more in the votive tablets of Corinth than on the metopes of Ierres, so more in the painted steles of Athens than on those plaques of terra cotta at the gates of the same city, inserted in the external walls of tombs, does one not feel in the image that sort of haste, that intense and passionate life which animates it not only in paintings such as chariot races or the charge of Scythian horsemen, but again in all groups of combatants that are seen repeated from one sarcophagus to another. From this time of aristocratic funerals which occurred at Athens after the decease of each chief of a noble family, the Attic painter retained only one scene, the exhibition of the deceased that only comprises serious and meditative stillness. Also charged with animating to decorate the tomb and commemorate the ceremony, the Ionian artist took an entirely different method. In all ceremonies celebrated on this occasion, the only one seeming to interest him was that of the funeral games or of some racing devouring space, of various and varied trials of strength and agility.

NOTE 1. p. 104. Miletus de Miletus. Vol. VIII. p. 104.

NOTE 2. p. 104. Miletus de Miletus. Vol. VIII. p. 104.

But Ionian painting, its salient features are the absence of mystery attained, the study of the necessary conditions of a certain measure the appropriateness of the scene, the

the texts. After the intaglios, the ornamented sarcophaguses authorize a primary assertion, that will justify better yet the examination of the decoration of the painted vases; in Asia Minor and in the adjacent islands there was not between the creators of the Mycenaean civilization and the historical Greeks that break of tradition produced in European Greece. In the Peloponessus as in Crete, the princes of that age in the decoration of their palaces had abandoned painters, that deprived themselves of the use of no color,^{and} whose boldness did not seem frightened by any subject, whatever moving attitudes it comprised. Fugitives, the last survivors of the artists of Mycenae and of Cnossos, at the time of the Dorian conquest had been able to establish themselves on the Asian coast at Lesbos and Samos, placed themselves at the command of the chiefs of the emigration, and thus left in more than one edifice specimens of that impulsive and freely polychrome painting. From the 8th century, when was produced the flight of Ionian genius, the painters must find their models that developed among them the sense of color and the entirety of the composition. These suggestions of the example caused them to gain time; these initiated them at first in certain secrets of the trade, that others less favored, discovered elsewhere only at the cost of long experiments.

This is only a presumption; but it is fully confirmed by the monuments whose authors were art workmen rather than inventive and original artists, but who did not fail to inspire themselves by the creations of contemporary painting in the choice of their subjects and in the manner of treating them. Doubtless, the ceramic painters have not employed all the colors used by the painters of frescos. For convenience of a manufacture that required great rapidity in execution, they were held to a more simple scale of tones than that at the command of the masters, whose brushes passed at leisure over the plastering of the wall or the wooden panel; but if by the effect of the conditions of their special technics, they could not borrow from those painters the richness of their palette, they had entire liberty to employ their repertory. From this one has already been able to form an idea by the sarcophaguses; he can judge thus of the complication and variety of the themes comprised, of the pleasure taken by the Ionian artists in reproducing scenes of cont-

contemporary life, that had chanced to strike the imagination of the spectator; he has understood what a very marked taste they had for exotism and picturesque details taken from nature.

The painted vase will give the same impression, perhaps more clearly; but we cannot take them into account before having given them a civil status that allows no doubt. In the cemeteries of Etruria were collected nearly all the vases to which archaeologists now attribute an Ionian origin. We shall have to show by the aid of what indications, by a series of what reasonings they arrived at conclusions, which one can no longer dream of contesting; but until the time when we have proved that their assertions merit entire confidence, we shall not feel it right to invoke here the evidence of vases believed to have been produced at Samos or Miletus. It is entirely otherwise with those terra cotta sarcophagi from which with full assurance we have demanded information. They have all been taken from the soil of Ionia, and they have been in too great number for it to be possible to see in them other than the product of a local industry.

Then it seems to us what may be deduced from the observations suggested to us by the sarcophagi of Clazomenes. About the middle of the 6th century, before the prosperity of Ionia had suffered a first attack by the Persian conquest, Ionian painting was in advance of painting in Peloponessus. If in Pliny's historical survey the latter figures in the first rank as the forerunner of the Greek painting of the 5th century, it is due to the chance of loose readings of Pliny that it owes that place of honor. The guide which Pliny followed in the first Chapters of Book XXXV seems to have been Xenocrates of Sicyon, in whom was visible the intent to enhance the value and even to exaggerate the claims of the artists of his native city.¹

Note 1. p. 286. J. Blake and E. Sellers. The elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art. Introduction, p. 16-26.

The archaic art of Ionia has not had, like that of Peloponessus, its historian, whose statements might have passed into those compilations of the Alexandrine and Roman ages, that are in many matters the sole sources to which we now have recourse for the study of antiquity. It appears to us no less certain, that about the time after many imitations, when Greek art brilliantly preludes those masterpieces, that the succeeding century

must see blossom in the multitude, Ionian painting was superior to that which flourished in the workshops of Corinth and of Sicyon. On the subject of the resources of its palette and the habits of its brush, we have only been able to express a conjecture, that presents a high degree of probability; but for the variety of the themes attempted and the spirit carried into the execution of its works, we are better informed, thanks to some rare evidence of the ancient authors, and especially to the sarcophagi of Clazomenes. The decoration of these monuments show us an art interested in all the manifestations of life, which to represent them by lines and colors, observes nature with a curious eye, and with an intelligent sincerity endeavors to seize the traits that can best characterize a site, a species or an individual.

If there be no illusion in the idea that we have thus formed of Ionian painting, of its style and its merits, we have reason to believe that its examples could be for something and perhaps for much in this progress of Attic painting, which are connected by Pliny with the name and initiative of Eumares. What might even pass with him as an innovator, we can perhaps conjecture from what we know of the history of the other art of statuary. Attic sculpture was long delayed in cutting with a bold rudeness the coarse tufa of the hills of the plain; it only began to make its style more flexible under Pisistratus, when the island sculptors had brought it the marble of their Cyclades, and had taught it to chisel that. Must not an analogous phenomenon have resulted for painting? Connected as it was with Polykrates of Samos and Lygdamis of Naxos, when Pisistratus desired to transform and beautify Athens, must he not have appealed to the Ionian painters, for the same reason as to the sculptors? we have found on the Acropolis statues, whose Samian origin is not contested. Why did not Samos also send to Athens some one of its painters, pupils or rivals of Saurias?

The coming of Ionian painters into Attica remains a hypothesis; but if one admits that clear indications authorize this conjecture, the part played by Eumares, will seem even more important. By the intermediary of Eumares, Ionian painting, whose procedures and taste it would appropriate in a certain measure, would have made its influence felt even in Peloponnesus, even in the workshops where were preserved the practice

of an art, which was till then but slowly developed, of the art from which came the votive plaques and painted vases or Corinth as well as the metopes of Thermos. Pliny indeed established a connection between Eumares and Cimon of Cleones, the last of those painters preceding the Median wars, whose name alone we know, but nothing of his works. He presents Cimon as the continuer of Eumares, whose methods he resumed and perfected.

This action of Ionian art after brief delay must act on the art of European Greece in another way in the domain of painting, but with even more force and more marked ascendancy. This Polygnotus of Thasos was an Ionian, whose work was for Greek painting at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. what the work of Giotto will be for Italian painting at the commencement of the Renaissance, a revelation of an entire world of ideas and of forms suited to express them, the signal for the march forward, the starting point of all future progress. Thasos had been peopled by the Parians and not alone this historical fact, but also analogies of style had led us to place to the account of the insular school the reliefs, that have been collected in that island. A painter himself, Agaophon, father and master of Polygnotus, could be only a pupil of the painters of Miletus and of Samos. Then from them Polygnotus proceeds by the first that he received. His genius is doubtless his own; but in the use that he made of it, is not there distinguished the very apparent imprint of the style, that tradition had transmitted to it by Aglaophon? Did not the examples by which it profited concur in giving it this expressive realism and this entirety of great compositions, which quite at first gave to its works a success without precedent? did it not there acquire this taste for picturesque effect divined in certain arrangements indicated by Pausanias, in the course of the long description that he has left us of the frescos of the treasury of the Cnicians at Delphi?

At the close of this study, where with a diligence that risked wearying the attention, we have endeavored to collect and combine all the indications that could throw light on these obscure origins, here is the conclusion to which our researches lead; during this 6th century in which is prepared and sketched that splendid flowering of Grecian painters, that must make illustrious the so-called age of Pericles, painting appears to

have been behind architecture and sculpture. So far as one can judge of an art, whose chief monuments have been lost, it had not then produced works announcing the approach and dawn of an increasing perfection, as frankly as in certain statues of the Acropolis and in certain Attic and Ionian reliefs. Already the technics of the roughing tool and the chisel had acquired an abundance of resources, due to the complaisant docility of the clay and the virtues of the marble, a flexibility and certainty that the brush was far from having attempted. It is that in spite of appearances, this is more complicated and compels a greater effort than the technics of sculpture. To render the modeling of the living form by means of lines and colors applied on a plane surface is more difficult than to reproduce what is seen and touched, as in statuary in the round, or even than to transcribe it as done in relief by reducing it to a superposition of planes. The painter scarcely knew how to juxtapose in his pictures figures almost always seen in profile, a mode of presentation, that could not fail to give the appearance of the image a certain uniformity, that did not relieve and diversify warm and varied colors.¹

Note 1. p. 289. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 348-353; Figs. 153-156.

Yet the architect and painter had used color with much decision, the first for decorating the entablatures of his edifices and to distinguish the different tones by the difference of tones, the second to illuminate his statues and reliefs. For this purpose, both had recourse to very frank and sometimes almost violent tones. In those conditions, it appeared strange that the painter should be condemned to ignore certain colors, that others employed in his vicinity and under his eyes. We have believed it possible to admit, that he was a little less timid and exclusive in Ionia than in Peloponessus; but in Ionia itself, what dominated in the most careful works of historical and mythological painting, as we have been warned by the sacrifices of Clazomene, there were also the four fundamental colors enumerated by Pliny and to which Cicero alludes. This system does not permit surprise; but this may perhaps explain it. When Greek geniuses undertook to suggest by various means of expression at the disposal of plastics, as it had previously done by poetry, the impressions that it received from the sight of the

external world, what it at first attempted was to seize and render the beauty of the living form in repose and in movement. To succeed in this, it applied itself with ever increasing patience and passion to measure the dimensions of bodies and determine their proportions, to define the relations that must occur between the different parts of the entirety, to follow and transcribe in its soft or firm inflexions the outline limiting the body, to note and reproduce the reliefs of the muscular masses, the projections or depressions of the flesh, that inside of this contour indicate the separation of the organs, the attachment of the members and the mechanism of their articulations.

Being entirely in that effort, Greek artists devoted less attention than those of many other peoples, and particularly than our modern artists, to the play of color and to its tones, to the magic of the hues that it scattered over forms, to the diversity of the values given to it by the light, as it is less free and more or less mixed with shadow. In Greece, even when the brush had there acquired its full mastery, the composition of the painter appears to have always been affected up to a certain point by this abstract conception of form, that had been that of the first creators of this art. Nothing authorizes us to believe that anyone of the celebrated painters in Greece was a colorist in the sense in which we understand the word. Greece seems to have had more than one Raphael; it had neither a Titian, Veronese, Rubens nor Rembrandt. Perhaps if we had under our eyes all the monuments of Greek painting, we should not hesitate to apply even to the wisest and freest works of this art the judgment that Denys of Halicarnassus gave to the archaic frescoes, whose style he compares to that of Lysias (*Sur Isee*, p. 591):—He says; "There are certain ancient paintings executed with very simple colors, where there is found no diversity of tones, but in which the drawing owes much charm to its perfect accuracy."

Chapter XIX. Ceramics.

Forms of Painted Vases and the Technics of painting on Clay.

1. Method to be pursued in the study of painted vases and the grand divisions of that study.

The industry of the painted vase had a singular activity in Greece, and a prodigious fertility. By thousands are counted those of its products, which in spite of their native fragility have escaped all chances of destruction to which they appeared to be exposed.¹ When attention was fixed on them about the end of the 18th century, the products of this industry aroused in archaeologists a strong movement of curiosity, which became more and more intense as more numerous vases left the earth, when it was better understood under what very different aspects those monuments could be considered. The learned men who labored in classifying and describing them did not have in these researches the same preoccupations. Some were particularly interested in the themes of the paintings that decorated the clay, and applied themselves to discover their meaning. They discovered there either myths of which no remembrance has been preserved by the literature, or variants of well known myths never before suspected. Sometimes they sought information concerning the games and dances of their gymnastic exercises, on the arrangement of their festivals and the customs of the gynaeceum, on the entire course of the public and private life of the ancients. Others placed themselves at a very different point of view. What they studied in the paintings was the drawing of the image; the interpretation of the living form given there by the brush of the ceramic painter, an interpretation which they could take pleasure in seeing become more sincere and more free from age to age and school to school.

Note 1.p.291. Here are some figures borrowed from M. Pottier to give an idea of the number of vases, which have found shelter in the public collections of Europe. British Museum, 5000 vases; museum of Berlin, more than 4000; museum of Munich, 1400; Museum of Vatican, 1400; museum of Naples, 4000; museum of Athens, 2500; museum of the Louvre, 6000, Industrial museum of Vienna, 600; museum of hermitage, 2000; National Library, 2000; (Museum of Louvre, Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite. Vol. I, p. 11, 12). There is a total of nearly 30,000 vases thus numbered; but since it would be proper to increase this,

if an approximation not too much above the reality were desired. There are American galleries already very rich in the products of Greek ceramics. In Europe itself, in France, England, Germany and Italy, many secondary museums are quite rich in monuments of this kind. There are also cabinets of private museums and the stores of dealers in antiquities. The number of antique vases preserved in public and private collections must be scarcely less than 50,000.

We do not propose to call here on painted vases for evidence on the subject of religious beliefs of Greece; we do not require them to aid us by casting some light on the still obscure portions of its mythology. Doubtless, when we meet with a vase painting with a subject furnished by a myth, we cannot fail to indicate as briefly as possible the god or hero shown by the painter, and in what kind of an adventure his personages are engaged; but we shall avoid seeking the origin of the myth and the conception to which it corresponds. What we have undertaken is to write the history of the arts of Greece. Then we shall regard vases as works of art. This also concerns works, that were distributed in very great number on the market by incessant labor in the workshops of Ionia, Corinth and of Athens, belonging to what we call industry. So far as it concerns them, the question of the art and that of the trade are closely connected. Therefore before beginning the study of the composition and of the style of the figures, we must take into account the mode of fabrication.

In the commencement of this study it is proper to indicate the great divisions. As for what concerns the history of ceramics in the preceding books, we had to begin with a brief mention of this primitive pottery with incised designs frequently filled by a white powder, whose most ancient types were furnished to us by the oldest villages of Hissarlik in the Troad. The ornamentation applied with a brush to the clay appears to us on the vases of Thera, from a very remote time, then it is developed with rare qualities of invention and richness in the so-called Aegean or Mycenaean pottery. If when we described that pottery, Crete had already rendered even more justice to the originality of the style, and proved better that it knew how to attain real beauty in many of its works. We have then seen during what is called the middle ages of Greece, the art of

the ceramist entered a new path, leaving merely geometrical decoration to laboriously learn again to draw from the living form of the plant, animal or man, finally attaining this on the Attic vases of the Dipylon, but not without singular awkwardness. It remains to show how that art emancipated itself, due to the examples given to it by the major arts of painting and sculpture, how it recovered that freedom of line unknown to it since the Mycenaean age, and now at the same time it was emboldened to seek the ordinary theme of its ornamentation in the representation of the human figure. There was born, properly speaking, the industry of the painted vase, whose evolution and progress we propose to follow from the beginning of the 7th to the middle of the 5th centuries.

In the course of this period in the products of this industry are seen to succeed two systems of decoration, frankly opposed to each other by the principle from which they proceed. In the first, the brush draws on the light field of clay outlines detached in brown, black, dark red and violet. Since among these very dark tones, the black dominates by far, to designate these vases is employed a term, vases with black figures. The parts are reversed in the second system of decoration (Pl. XVI). The black forms the ground on which the light figures rise. The tone is also the red that the clay takes in the fire, a color that they knew how to brighten by a light glaze. This is what is termed vases with red figures. (Pl. XVII).

We shall further have to mention some other methods taken at a certain time in certain workshops. There are vases on which the design of the whole or of only a part of the figure is only a line sketch laid on the natural tone of the clay. Other vases have received a polychrome ornamentation on a white coating, and some of these count among the most perfect works of the ceramics of Athens; but if those attempts had their hour of vogue, they never succeeded in profoundly modifying the character of Greek ceramics. The history of this ceramics is summarized almost entirely in that of the workshops, from which came vases with black figures and vases with red figures.

2. The Shapes.

In the course of his long effort from the Mycenaean to the Hellenistic ages, the Greek has successively created many types of vases. Among the forms which he thus proposed to his pa-

patrons, some of them passed out of fashion for some reason, after a certain time, the workshop ceased to make them. From the advent of the geometric style, there were seen to disappear some types that had been dear to the Mycenaean potter, such as the horn with two handles, in which has been recognized the "depas amphicypellon" of Homer,¹ and that amphora with closed neck which has been called the turrup vase because of the curve described by its ears.² In his turn the potter of the Dipylon liked many types that fell into disuse, when commenced the reign of the black figure on a red ground. This is the case with the great crateras that were of the black figure on a red ground and were erected on Attic tombs. Their ovoid body is decorated by funerary representations and is supported by a tall and very slender foot.³ One also seeks in vain in the later ceramics for something analogous to a wide cup with its body resting on a great foot made of a hollow cylinder.⁴

Note 1.p.294. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VI, p. 901, Fig. 452.

Note 2.p.294. The same. Vol. VI, p. 915, Fig. 467.

Note 3.p.294. The same. Vol. VII, Fig. 42.

Note 4.p.294. The same. Vol. VII, Fig. 94.

On the other hand, there are types, that because of the constancy of the needs to which they corresponded, could not fail to persist. Such are the crater of medium dimensions, which had its place marked in every dining room, the amphora, whose widely opened neck allowed the pouring of waves of oil and of wine, the hydria, a curden accustomed to be borne on the shoulder of a young girl from her youth, finally the cup, without which was no repast, and the oenochoe that served to fill it. These vases and also some others were necessary and in daily use, and the potter during several centuries made them on his wheel without respite; but being careful to follow the advance in taste, he did not cease to apply himself in perfecting the form and in rendering the appearance more agreeable to the eye and the use more convenient. A careful revision of the curves had the effect of giving the contour more elegance and an increasingly correct proportion to the different parts of the whole. We shall have many occasions to indicate in what fashion here and there, the ceramist undertook the task of modifying by degrees certain types in his repertory, now at certain times, this type received from the fingers that modeled the form nearest

to perfection, now then in the course of attempts made to vary it, he will change it and end by losing something of its nobility or of its grace; but before one could have reason to sketch this evolution of types, it is necessary for these types themselves to be distinguished from each other and precisely defined. These definitions will allow us to determine once for all the signification of the terms of our nomenclature.

This nomenclature is more difficult to establish than one would be tempted to believe at first sight. There are found in the Greek authors the names of vases in most current use. Those names are found in Pollox and in other author compilers of the same sort. Finally, almost an entire book of the Banquet of the Sophists is devoted to the enumeration of the different kinds of cups;¹ but the writers know that the types mentioned are known, and give scarcely any indication of the shapes. Lexicographers almost always confine themselves to grammatical explanations; they indicate synonyms. Many of their glosses might be represented by formulas of this sort:— "Saltcellar, a vase for containing salt. Kettle, another name for boiler." The citations multiplied by Athenæus very rarely contain some trait by which it may be possible to derive any benefit. The least figure or sketch would do our business better. Many terms found in the authors never had a precise sense in the ancient language of the Greek writers, or were not employed by the poets, in which they are sought, in the special sense that they could have in the workshops. Do not we use thus the words cups, bottles, jugs and other terms of the same kind without having in view a clearly defined form when we speak them?

note 1.p.295. Athenæus. Book XI, Sections 22-100.

Writers on ceramics have attempted to supplement this vagueness of the texts; but in haste to give a terminology to the science that they wish to establish, they have not carried into that work a sufficiently severe criticism.¹ On indications often very slight and sometimes erroneous, they have applied to many types presented to them by the diversity of vases certain terms found in the ancient writers.² With these names hardly justified by the hypotheses and too adventurous learned men, the editors of the catalogues of museums have mixed others, and that to save detailed descriptions, they have borrowed from the jargon of Italian dealers in antiquities. Thus has been

created a wavering and confused nomenclature. Certain terms used there correspond to all the requirements of criticism. On the contrary, others only rest on very contestable or even certainly false indications. Finally, some without pretending to reproduce the ancient names, only aim to recall some peculiarity of form of the vases designated.

Note 1.p.296. The first attempt was made by an archaeologist, Panofka, who in the first half of the 19 th century enjoyed a reputation much above his merit. (*Recherches sur les veritables noms des vases grecs et sur leur differents usages, d'apres les auteurs et les monuments anciens.* 18.9.

Note 2.p.296. Letronne has decisively demonstrated this in discussing the nomenclature that Panofka attempted to bring into vogue. (*Observations philologique et philosophique sur les noms des vases grecs.* In Letronne, *Oeuvres choisies.* 3 rd series. Vol. I, p. 334-442). In another and much shorter Article, he criticizes likewise the names proposed by Gerhard. (*Supplement aux observations sur les noms des vases grecs.* The same. p.432-436). His conclusion is that it is "very difficult for moderns to know the true names of antique vases." There is also much to accept in a dissertation of Ussing. *De nominibus vasorum Graecorum disputatio.* 1844.

In regard to this, we cannot here engage in minute discussions, that often lead only to the expression of a justified doubt. It will suffice us to define the types, examples of which have been most multiplied by the industry of the potters. These types present traits sufficiently marked that one can nearly always, with a probability approaching certainty, apply to them today the same names assigned to them by the ancients in the current language. It is sometimes the painted vase itself that has charged to reveal it to us. In the decoration of the great cratera now usually called the Francois vase, the brush of the Attic ceramic painter has traced the word "hydria" on the body of the great jar with three handles, that Polyxena came to fill at the fountain (Fig. 130). We have there an image which fixes the true sense of the word hydria. It is the same for the lecythe and the kylix. These names are found inscribed in similar conditions on vases, which by a just interpretation of the texts had already been so named, before were found the pieces that solved the question.¹ In nearly every case, by an indirect way

one succeeds in resolving the problem proposed in regard to each class of vases, the solution sought is reached without too much difficulty for the forms, that are both most common and most clearly characterized; but those forms comprise variants that vary more or less from the normal type, and that sometimes seem to serve as a transition between two neighboring types. For those forms of less frank originality, the difficulty becomes very great. Did all these in Greece have a name specially applied to them, the name of a species in the genus? It is permissible to doubt it. Thus when we meet on our way these secondary forms, and it becomes necessary for us to select terms to designate each of them in this study, we must frequently resign ourselves to employ names that only have a value entirely conventional.

Note 1. p. 297. British Museum. A. 1054. B. 450. (Beckh. G. I. Gr. Vol. I, 545).

Principals or accessories, the types that present themselves to the consideration of the archaeologist in a rich collection of painted vases are too varied and too numerous, for one not to feel the need of putting some order in that confusion.² When he undertakes to enumerate and to define all those types, he feels himself led to write under the same title those connected together by certain affinities. It has been proposed, and it is also the simplest method, to class those vases according to their purpose. Here are five groups that are so determined.³

Note 2. p. 297. De Witte (*Études sur les vases peints*. 1865), counts a hundred different forms. Heydemann even enumerates 185 in the plates belonging to his *Catalogue des vases du musée de Naples*).

Note 3. p. 297. This is the classification adopted by Walters. *History of ancient Pottery*. Vol. I, p. 150.

1. Vases in which are preserved liquids or foods.
 2. Vases in which liquids are mixed or cooled, or in which food is cooked.
 3. Vases by means of which liquids are poured or foods are distributed.
 4. Vases for drinking from.
 5. Various vases for use of the table or of the toilette.
- For each of these classes, here are the dominant forms.
- So far as one ascends in the history of civilization of the

tribes settled on the coasts of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, they are found in possession of a vessel of very great dimensions, the pithos, in which they stored in considerable quantity all sorts of liquids, water, oil and wine, as well as alimentary substances, such as dried fruits and wheat. In the domestic life of those peoples, the clay pithos played the same part as our casks of wooden staves. They had nearly the same form, that of a cylinder enlarged at its middle. The potter had learned early to erect it by bands of clay superposed on each other; he built rather than modeled it. Thus to it was given sufficient width and height for a man to enter it and conceal himself in it, as seen in certain paintings. Made to be hidden in the cellars, the pithos is not usually ornamented by the brush. For all decoration, when it has any, it receives ornaments made by hand with the point of the compasses, or indeed stamped by a roller. This is the case for those enormous jars that are still seen arranged in a row in the cellars of those palaces of Cnossos, in which were kept provisions of all kinds (Fig. 131). Exceptionally are found in our galleries some painted vases with the form of a pithos, but one of very small size. The foreman of the workshop has thus promoted to the dignity of a work of art, a type that belonged to the class of ordinary pottery by the uses to which it was devoted.

The amphora (amphoreus or amphiporeus,¹ is the vase carried in both hands). What characterizes it are the two handles placed at the sides of the neck, attached to a body more or less wide at top, that diminishes downward. If the services required from it differ little from those rendered by the pithos, it is more susceptible than that of aiming to attain elegance of contour. The pithos has only small massive handles. In the two great handles are much detached from the body of the vase, and with which the amphora is furnished, and in the curves that it causes these handles to describe, in which the potter knows how to find an element of beauty. This is already divined in the common amphora, of which there have been found thousands of examples, on the sites of ancient cities in the West as in the East. Made of red or gray clay, that has received no ornament, it terminates in its lower part in a point, which is sunk into the sand of the cellars (Fig. 132). These same jars have attracted the attention of learned men by the stamps which

many of them bear, in which is read the name of the city from which came the liquids contained in the vase, and also frequently the names of the local magistrates; but the economical history of Greece and not that of its art which makes these data of interest. Art has nothing to see in the amphora until the time, when by the application of a colored decoarion on its sides, it has been placed in condition to appear in the dining hall, to show itself there filled with wine, that mingled with water in the cratera, will then pass into the cups of the guests. Thenceforth, this form becomes one of those which the potter retouches and improves with more persistence, while the brush of the ceramic painter is devoted to ornament it by beautiful images and rich ornamental motives.

Note 1.p.299. Atheneus. I. p.501.

Mycensean ceramics did not know the amphora, at least as a painted vase. The amphora only commenced to play this part about the end of the period of the geometrical style. During the entire time that the reign of the black figure lasted, this is the type most in favor in the workshops, particularly in those of Attica; but it does not fall into disuse with the triumph of the red figure, and it remains very much in vogue even in the workshops of southern Italy, whose works represent the last efforts of painting on clay. We cannot follow it here in all the changes that it suffered in the course of centuries. It will suffice to indicate in what spirit the potters of the archaic age occupied themselves without relaxation in modifying this form. Their starting point was the common amphora. They had added to this at the very first a circular plate, that served as a base for this vessel and permitted it to be placed flat on the ground. They enlarged the body of the vase, so that its sides presented larger spaces to the brush, and gave it very short handles, placed very high and near the opening. These heavy attachments had been borrowed from commercial ampocras. The vases still retained some awkwardness (Fig. 136).

This defect did not escape the eyes of the potter. He knew how to correct it. He modeled his amphora as the sculptor modeled his statue. To each inflexion of the form, he gave its proper character, that best corresponding to the function fulfilled. So conceived and executed in that principle, the vase arouses in the mind of the observer the idea of a living body,

an articulated body. Comparison establishes this likewise in our thought. Having to describe, enumerate and distinguish the different parts, as by instinct we assimilate them to the natural divisions of the body of a man.¹ The mouth, neck, shoulder, belly, foot, are the terms suggested by a glance at the amphora arrived at its full development, from the vertical cylinder terminating in lips of firm design, to the tapering curve of a torso on which the handles rest as arms softly rounded, on the narrow disk that serves to support the vase. Below those lips at the beginning of the neck and around the foot, bands of black color accent the changes. These accents aid in seizing the idea governing the construction of the whole, which has divided into members all solidary, each of which has its part and its distinct effect. At the same time, the body of the amphora receives from the hands that shape it, a curve more pleasing to the eye than in the past. Less swelled and less squat than formerly, it is reduced toward the foot, which gives it a more slender charm. Thus it takes the form in which during the second half of the 6th century, it is decorated by the paintings of an Anasis or a Nicosthenes (Fig. 234). These proportions leave nothing to be desired, but they did not know how to adhere to them. In the 4th century in order to give more grace to the amphora, it was elongated beyond measure; they ended by making it lean.

Note 1.p.300. On these analogies and on the terms that they suggest to the archaeologist, see Fröhner. *Anthropologie des vases grecs*. A number of phrases of the current idiom show us the Greeks as inclined to establish a constant assimilation between the forms imposed on living beings by nature and those created by human industry. It compared the column to the body of man and even gave it a certain sex, according as it belonged to a certain order. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p.433). It borrowed from the terms designating the different parts of that body those which it employed to distinguish the different portions of this support. Men even speak of tripods with ears (Hesiod. Works. 837), and of eyes, i.e., of hawse-holes of ships. Many Homeric epithets witness the same method. Such are the adjectives "miltoparnes and phoinkoparnes," with red cheeks, applied to ships. It seems that the Greeks desired to refer all to man and truly to make of man "the measure of all things,"

as Gorgias says.

The name of stannos is given to a vase very near an amphora, from which it is distinguished by the breadth of the mouth, the very small height of the neck, the smallness of the lateral handles, and the nearly spherical shape of the body (Fig. 136).¹ They term pelike a vase that varies farther still from the normal type of amphora. It recalls only by the position of the design of its two handles; but it has no neck. Near the handles it resembles the clay pots in which our cooks today make their stews (Fig. 137). As for the forms designated by the terms "bikos, orke, pekane, lekane, lagynos or lagynis," they can only be found by very hazardous conjectures in some of the vases contained in our galleries. The kados seems to have been a sort of pail, the cadus or situla of the Romans.

Note 1.p.301. According to the texts given and discussed by Letronne, the word stannos had no right to designate a special shape.

On the contrary, we know what was the hydria with full certainty. As even the formation of the word indicates, it was a vase intended for carrying water (hydror). Even without the legend that we have mentioned (Fig. 130), it would have been recognized on the urns, that a number of painters have shown us as inclined to the spouts of the public fountains. The shape of the hydria nearly approaches that of the amphora. The difference is that the hydria has three handles, a large one attached to the lip and shoulder of the vase, which serves to handle it and to raise it when empty, then two much smaller handles fixed at the top of the body; these aid the hands to support it when full, the vase placed on the shoulder or the heads of women. (Fig. 138). The taller the hydria, the more difficult to maintain it in equilibrium. The hydria is then of less elongated form than the amphora. It has a wider body; this is the means of rendering less frequent the journeys that must be made to the fountain to supply the household. It has been agreed to call (kalpis) a variety of the hydria, that scarcely appeared till in the 5th century. The neck is less distinctly separated from the body. The latter is more swelled. Finally, the principal handle is of less size than on the hydria of the 6th century. (Fig. 139).

II. Krater is the generic name of the vases in which at the time of the repast is mixed water and wine. The meaning of the word is given by its etymology; krater is derived from the verb "kerannyrai," to mingle. Greek wines were too alcoholic and too luscious for it to be agreeable to drink them pure; but the share of the two liquids in the mixture varied according to the mood of the guests. The cratera was necessarily a vase of quite large dimensions. The cupbearer prepared this beverage at one time for all that were to drink it. From antiquity was employed the word krater to designate the orifice or vent of a volcano and the cavity preceding that. By that only this indication, it would suffice for us to recognize the cratera in the bell-shaped vase, that we frequently see figured by the painters in pictures representing scenes of feasts.

A vase rendered immovable by its purpose, the cratera was much more widely opened at the top than the amphora or the hydria. It is necessary that one can conveniently dip out the liquid to pour it in the cups. In certain varieties of the type, the body was much rounded; others were less square and the arrangement gave the vase a great hollow and thus ensured it a great capacity. Two handles served to grasp and manage it, two handles by which the potter often sought to correct by the boldness of the curves and by the elegance of the attachment, what might be the rather heavy form itself of this very spreading vessel.

The cratera is frequently mentioned in the Iliad and the Odyssey. But it is there a vase of metal, bronze, gold or silver. The most ancient of clay crateras known to us came from Cyprus.¹ In the first half of the 7th century, the workshops of Corinth commenced to multiply vases of this type. It then appeared as characterized by handles of very peculiar form. From the top of the body are detached two vertical or nearly vertical stems. Each of these serves to support a rectangular plate, that projects outside the flat rim of the mouth on both sides of the vase. This brim is generally decorated by ornamental motives. The arrangement of these handles has given to this form the name of "vaso à colonette." (Vase with column). (Fig. 140).² Later, among the products of the Attic workshops of the 6th century is found another form, which has more nobility. The

handles end in an ample volute, whose terminal spiral is placed on the lip of the vas, which separates from the body a very short column of very firm design. This is what is sometimes called the "vase a rotelle" (vase with volutes). Some of the beautiful crateras signed by the painters of the black and red figures present this appearance (Fig. 141). In the 5th century, the cratera shows itself in two truly new forms, those to which are given the names of "vaso a calice" (calyx vase) and "vaso a campano" (bell vase). One of them indeed recalls the open calyx of a flower of the Campanula family (Fig. 142), and the other the profile of an inverted bell (Fig. 143). On these two varieties of the cratera, the handles lose their importance. Whether attached toward the top or bottom of the vessel, they have but a weak projection. In the paintings, the cratera is often seen placed on a fixed support, which is called hypokrateridion. It had these supports in bronze, but they were also made of clay. Several of the latter have reached us. They usually have the form of a hollow cylinder, and sometimes the brush has covered them by a rich ornamentation (Fig. 144).

Note 1.p.303. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, Figs. 508, 525.

Note 1.p.304. Gerhard proposed to call this form kelede. No ancient text authorizes the attribution of this precise meaning to the word kelede, which appears to have had a very vague meaning in current language.

In the decadence of the art, when Apulian potters had made crateras, the type of the cratera with volutes had their preference; but they frequently gave it dimensions previously unusual, and they complicated and overloaded the ornamentation of the vases. They preserved its movement and replaced the volute by the medallion filled by a Gorgon's head or some other mask of the same kind, modeled in relief and painted yellow and white. This is the "vaso con menicne a mascheroni" of the Italian catalogues.

A type very near that of the cratera is that of the vase without handles, rounded downward to which was applied the name of "dinos" with every appearance of reason. It could also serve for the mixing of liquids (Fig. 144); but it was impossible to use it without placing it on a support or a tripode (Fig. 145). The form of the dinos was sensibly the same as that of the "le-

"ledes," the metal caldron in which the heroes of Homer cause the water for the bath to be heated and the food to be cooked. The term chytra or clay vase, ^{was} devoted to the same uses in domestic life. Some vases are known to which the potter gave the form of the chytra.

A more complicated type is that of the "psykter", the cooler as its name indicates, derived from the root that expresses cold. It served to cool the wine in hot weather by placing it in contact with a receiver in which was piled snow brought from the mountain, or was poured at the time of the repast water from some icy spring. This result was obtained in different ways. Sometimes for that purpose was employed an amphora with double wall with an inlet on the shoulder by which was introduced cold water into the space left between the two walls.¹ The wine in the inner space thus found itself surrounded by a cold liquid. Later was adopted for the same purpose another arrangement in Attic workshops, that of a vase in form of a pegtop without handles, that was filled with cooling liquid and allowed to float in the wine of the cratera. (Fig. 146). The painting on a cup shows us the psykter thus plunged into the ample vessel in which it fulfilled its purpose. (Fig. 147).

III. After the wine was collected in the pitnos after leaving the winepress, had been transported to a distance in the amphora to then be mixed with water in the deep vase of the cratera, it must then be poured into the cups. Between these and the reservoir in which the mixture was made was required an intermediary. This role devolved on the kyathos.² This was a cup with a long handle in the form of a loop which ascended sufficiently high, that the hand holding it should not risk being wetted, when it dipped in the cratera the liquid, that it was charged with distributing to the drinkers (Fig. 118). This vase comprised numerous varieties, designated by terms mostly derived from the verb "asyein", to dip.

Note 1. p. 306. Saglio. Dictionnaire des antiquités. Fig. 534b.

Note 2. p. 306. Athenaeus, (Book X, p. 424) indicates well the kyathos by comparing it, after the comic poet, to the ladle of sailors. Varro (De lingua latina, IV, 26) establishes a comparison between the Roman simpulum and the Greek kyathos, which replaced the simpulum at feasts in Rome, when it was the fashion there to do everything in the Greek manner.

When the guests were numerous and drank hard, much time was lost in running from couch to couch to pour wine into the cups by the aid of the kyathos. Then it was used to fill pitchers by means of which the service was performed more rapidly. These pitchers were the oenochoe (oinichon, from oinos, wine, and cheein, to pour);¹ but the type to which was applied this generic name suffered many variations. The mouth is most frequently in the form of a trefoil with a spout opposite the handle. Usually the potter gave it a much swelled body. This is a character common to the archaic oenochoe (Fig. 149) and to that of the 5th century (Fig. 150); but there are also very slender oenochoes with the narrow and long neck, a high and recurved handle (Fig. 151). On the contrary, so to speak, on others is no longer a neck, and the body of the vessel is almost cylindrical (Fig. 150). These two last shapes are those that ceramographers have adopted the custom of calling prochos and olpe, to distinguish them from the oenochoe, properly so-called. The two terms belong to the best Greek language; but we cannot guarantee that they were particularly applied to the two varieties of the type, those designated by the nomenclature in current use.

Note 1. p. 307. Oinochoe. (Greek).

However temperate the Greek people has been at all times and still is, to the fashioning of the drinking vase, its potters and its painters have devoted their principal efforts; there have they made proof of most taste and ingenuity, with the work of Attic masters contemporaries of Pisistratus, of Cimon and Pericles. From those ceramists they had admirable works of very different types; but it is again from cups, which by the distinction of their shapes and the beauty of their paintings most charm the eyes of a delicate connoisseur.

We shall indeed avoid transcribing all the names of vases of this sort, that the diffuse erudition of Athenaeus took pleasure in registering. It would be lost pains only to seek to find in the glazed cases of our galleries the pieces to which it is proposed to apply certain of those names. Most of these most chiefly designate are variations of a known type, many of the varieties are due to the inventive mind of an artisan in quest of patrons, and had only an hour of vogue. What is important is to define here by examples the dominant forms. There are 2

certain number, five or six at most, which the potters did not cease to reproduce during the entire time while the painted vase was in honor. All drinking vases that we possess can be referred to one of those specific types, in spite of the singularities that characterize many of these pieces.

The simplest is that of the skyphos. This is a deep cup, that narrows downward; it has two horizontal handles attached very near the lips of the vase (Fig. 152). The cotyle had nearly the same curvature, all the difference was that the cotyle had no handles or had but one.

The cantharus, the ancient authors tell us, was the cup from which Dionysos loved to drink.¹ It is easy to recognize it in that placed in the hands of the god in the paintings of vases. It is borne on a high and slender foot, with a bowl with sides nearly vertical. The handles start from the bottom of the cup. They are rounded and rise above the lips of the vase, where they are joined to form a loop (Fig. 153). To this arrangement of the handles the cantharus owes its grace and originality. The term karkession appears to have designated a cup strongly resembling the cantharus, but with a recession at the middle part. The bottom is wider than the middle of the body; then the vase opens and enlarges anew as it rises toward the lips.² It was a very deep goblet.

Note 1. p. 308. Macrobius. V. 21. Pliny. H.N. XXXIII. (Latin).

Note 2. p. 308. Athenaeus. XI. p. 474.

The special drinking cup of luxury, the honor of rich feasts was the kylix.³ With its bowl of small depth supported by a very slender foot, the kylix has in general the form of our champagne glasses, but is distinguished from them by the two horizontal handles with which it is furnished. The Greek potter created this form in the time of his first attempts. He applied himself with love, from generation to generation to generation to give it purer contours and more correct proportions. In the first half of the 5th century he attained the perfection of the type. We cannot follow the artisan in this labor of patient retouches, nor present a comparative picture of all successive variants that arose from the effort. We must limit ourselves to showing the two extreme terms of the series. At the beginning of the 6th century, the kylix has quite a deep cup (Fig. 154). At the middle of the 5th century this division

as no longer traced. The bowl is more shallow and all unified with a shorter foot (Fig. 155). The potter reached this fast form of the type only after long reflection, and yet the profile of the cup seems traced with a free and bold line, that has all the appearance of a happy improvisation.

Note 3.p.309. Athenaeus compares the so-called naucratices & kylixes with the phiale on account of their width and small depth.

The phiale (patera in Latin) was a shallow cup in form of a saucer.¹ No handle, but at the middle of the cup was a boss, hollow beneath, and by this hollow the hand held it by inserting the fingers (Fig. 156). The phiale served for libations. Numerous paintings represent Nike or a bacchante pouring from the spout of an oenocoe the milk, that is to run on the altar, or the wine to refresh Dionysos. According to the examples presented by these paintings, the phiale with its paneled surface seems to have been more frequently a vase of metal than one of clay.

Note 1.p.310. Pollux. VI, 9, 5. Aristotle (Rhet. III, 4) compares the phiale to a shield.

With the red figure appears among the products of ceramics rhyton (from reein, to flow). From that time it is one of the types on which is exerted a most willingly inventive mind of the potter. Two peculiarities characterize it. It has no foot. It is a derivative, an artistic arrangement of the ox horn that served savage ancestors for this purpose; like that, it could only keep its place when set on its wide mouth.

To place it on the table, it was necessary to be drained to the last drop (Fig. 157).¹ Provided with a single handle, its lower part usually ended in a head modeled in relief, the head of a bull, ram or horse. (Fig. 158). For this head of an animal was often substituted later the head of a satyr or of a woman. Some of those rhytons with the firm accents placed on them by color are beautiful works of sculpture.

Note 1.p.311. On many rhytons, the lower end of the vase is not pierced by a hole. Men drink from it as from a glass at top. Pottier. Article Rhyton in Dict. des Antiquités.

Vases in which foods were served do not present the same variety as drinking vases. They all come in the type of the pinax. We shall call them dishes or plates, according to the dimensions.

V. In all collections of Greek pottery are found vases, whose uses are divined from a peculiarity of their form. They have a long neck and very narrow mouth, which only allows the liquid contained in them to issue in drops. The liquids so economically utilized could only be those fragrant oils, at first imported into Greece by Phoenicians, which the Greeks learned to make for themselves by the aid of substances brought from Syria and Egypt, as well as those which they could extract from the leaves or flowers of plants of their country. Men and women made great use of those oils with many odors, some to rub the body and hair after the sweats of the palestra, others for the very diverse cares of their toilette. They also served for anointing the corpses of a relative or friend. The flasks containing them appear in the paintings representing funeral scenes, grouped around the bed on which reposes the dead; then they descend into the tomb with him, to protect his flesh from corruption. So there was no interment, where one does not collect some of those vases. With the frequently very high price of the essences contained therein, it is not surprising that they were generally of very small dimensions. This smallness also rendered them easy to handle.

One cannot hesitate to recognize the lecythe (lekythos) in a vase, whose appearance recalls that of our flasks for oil.¹ It is seen to appear very early in ceramics; but it is at Athens in the course of the 5th century, that its form is finally determined and attains the most happy proportions. With the very elongated oval of its body, its flat or even slightly concave shoulder to which is attached a light handle, its slender neck with its mouth spreading like the calyx of the flower, the lecythe is then one of the most elegant types that the Greek potter succeeded in creating (Fig. 159). At that epoch it sometimes attained very great height as a show piece; some lecythes are known to be more than 3.3 ft. in height.

Note 1.p.312. The word lecythes in Greek is of the feminine gender. I do not know why the custom has prevailed to precede it in French by the masculine article. After M. Pottier, whose study, *Sur les lecythes blancs d'Athènes* forms an authority, we believe that we should conform and not make ourselves eccentric.

This case never presents itself for the alabaster and for the aryballa, that were more particularly employed for the frequent

anointings comprised in the exercises of the gymnasium and the practices of the gynecæum. The fingers held them in place this vase easily on the different parts of the body to pour their contents there. To this use lent itself ^{the} smooth disk, at whose centre was the orifice of these two types of vases. It contained an oily material that oozed from the neck, serving to apply it and spread it over the skin.

The alabaster (alabastron or alabastos) both forms are found in classical Greek) owes its name to the material of which were made the first vases in which the perfumes of the Orient reached the Greeks. Those vases were cut in a soft alabaster that Egypt had in rich quarries. These alabaster flasks have been found in Greece itself, in more than one archaic tomb. When the Greeks substituted plastic clay to contain their products for the alabaster that they did not possess, they retained the traditional shape for their flasks. This had an oval body, most frequently without handles.¹ Sometimes these are represented by very small ears pierced by a hole. Through these two holes was passed a cord by which the flask could be supported on the wall of a house or of the tomb. The neck is always very short. (Fig. 160).

Note 1.p.313. The Greeks explain the name of alabaster by the absence of handles; they see there a derivative of the verb labesthai, preceded by the privative a. (Etymologicum magnum, p. 55, 30). Pliny indicates with precision the form of these vases, when he speaks of great pearls (H.N.IX, 56).

The ancients mention as devoted to some uses another type of vase, the aryballa.² They tell us that it resembled a purse with top closed by a cord.³ This has been identified in full certainty in a type characterized by its globular body, its handle and very short neck. (Fig. 151). The potters of Corinth have scattered by thousands their alabasters and aryballas over all the coasts of the Mediterranean. Closely connected with the prosperity of the industry and the commerce of the isthmus, those forms almost fell into disuse, when after the median wars Attic pottery had supplanted that of Corinth in the markets of the West.

Note 2.p.313. Pollux. VII, 186; X, 83. The use of the aryballa as a vase for perfumes results from this verse of Aristophanes. (Greek). Knights.

Note 3. p.313. Athenaeus. XI, 783.B. Athenaeus even states that by reason of this resemblance, purses were sometimes called a aryballas. It was doubtless by a joke that was played on the word thus.

These forms were long popular, even if the manufacture of Athens did not adopt them, and if it preferred to them the lecythe, this was doubtless because they appeared to it as lacking grace and also offering to the brush of the decorator too limited fields. Yet it suffered their influence. About the middle of the 5th century it placed in circulation a type tending to both the lecythe and the aryballa. From the first it borrowed its handle, the slenderness of its neck and its calyx mouth. From the second it took the amplitude of its body without making it a spherical ball. This body was flattened at its bottom to fit the plane surface of the little disk, that served as a base for the lecythe (Fig. 162). We have no reason to believe that in antiquity a special name was given to this hybrid form; but nothing prevents the adoption of a conventional term to designate it, such as lecythe-aryballa.

For running oils, then had lecythes, alabasters and aryballas, which played the part of our flasks of perfumes; they likewise had the equivalent of our pot for pomade in a round box with a cover, the pyxis (Fig. 163). Especially at Athens and in the last time of painting red figures, this is often ornamented by little pictures representing women occupied in dressing themselves, marriage scenes, sports of love. The pyxis not alone served to contain rouge and unguents. It was also a box for jewels and pins. All the accessories and instruments of the toilette found a place there.

There only remains for mention for their oddity some rarer forms. Archaeologists long asked what could be a type, some examples of which were presented by our galleries (Fig. 164). In a half cylinder of clay, closed at one end and open at the other, it was proposed to recognize a ridge tile; but what opposed that explanation were the scenes represented on several of those objects. They showed the work of the wheel and of the spindle. The key of the enigma was given by the decoration itself on one of those pieces.¹ A woman is seen seated. Her knee and thigh are placed in the hollow of the cylinder; she seems occupied in twisting and flattening with her fingers the thread,

which she presses against the back of the cylinder (Fig. 165).¹ One can no longer doubt that there is the utensil which Pollux calls epinetron or onos because of the convex form of the vase.¹

Note 1.p.314. To Sophoullis and to Carl Robert belongs the honor of this small discovery, the occasion for which was furnished to them by a vase of this sort just acquired by the museum of Athens. (C.Robert. *Ephemeris*. 1892.p.247-255, Pl.XIII).

Note 1.p.315. Most of these onos that have been found bear on their tops a decoration in the form of incised scales, that gives a slightly rough surface on which the thread catches more easily, than if this surface had been smooth.

Note 1.p.316. Margareta Lang. *Die Bestimmung des Onos oder Epinetron*. 1908. Lang supposes that the onos not alone served for spinners, but that it also played the part of the cushion used by our lace makers. The material could doubtless not have been fixed on the examples in terra cotta; but there would have been for embroiderers onos of soft wood. This is an ingenious hypothesis that it is impossible to verify. Lang surveys the examples of clay onos preserved in the museums. Her statements have been made with great care; but she was unable to study the numerous fragments (still unpublished) of pieces of this sort, taken from the excavations of the Acropolis of Athens.

It is agreed to give the name of ascos (leather bottle) to a vase whose form recalls that of a leather bottle for wine; but nothing proves that the ancients ever applied this term to a clay vase. This type presents several varieties; here is the most ancient and most original of all (Fig. 166).

From the Latin is borrowed the word guttus to designate a vase, that from its shape must have served to pour oil into lamps (Fig. 167). This vase in black clay with ribbed sides never received a decoration by the brush. Its sole ornament is sometimes a medallion in relief applied on the top of the piece. Further, this is not the place for enumerating many other forms, more or less strange, that are found in isolated examples, particularly in the pottery of the Hellenistic age. Painted vases were then scarcely made. The fashion had passed. Potters sought to retain their patrons by the skill with which then hastened to copy in clay vases created under their eyes by the industry of metal. That endeavored to renew and vary its forms; it had to keep account of the taste for luxury, that had been

aroused by the life of the court in the oriental monarchies into which the empire of Alexander was divided.

To complete this study of the more common forms, it is proper to recall, were this only for the memory, those which the Greek potter with the freedom of his inventive imagination borrowed from the world of organic life, to combine them in various ways with those which kept to the same purpose as the vases that he fabricated. We do not speak alone here of the little aryballas in form of a helmeted head, or of the head of Hercules, that have been found as well in Sicily and Italy as in the islands and on the continent of Greece, nor the alabasters made in a figure or of a bust of a woman, whose top ends in the orifice of a vase. There are only imitations of foreign models. When in the entire eastern basin of the Mediterranean, the industry and commerce of the Asian Greeks undertook to compete with the Phoenicians, Ionian ceramists adopted certain types to which were accustomed their patrons, which they desired to take from their rivals. To succeed in this, perhaps they attempted and not without success, that technique of glazed clay practised long since by the artisans of Egypt and of Phoenicia;¹ but the Greek workmen soon ceased to practice that art of enamel. On those forms that he was interested in preserving, he applied an ornamentation, where the brush of the painter bore the entire cost.²

Note 1.p.317. On the aryballas of Greek manufacture in glazed clay, see Heuzey. Catalogue des figures antiques de terre cuite du musée du Louvre. Vol. I, p. 214. Also Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, p. 875-880., Fig 484.

Note 2.p.317. Coming from Cyprus, the British Museum has one of these alabasters in the form of a female head, that is in glazed clay. (Walters. History of ancient Pottery, vol. I, Pl. X, 4). Another of a Potters' head similar, that was discovered in Etruria, and that belongs to the Louvre, is not in glazed clay, but of yellow clay, on which the brush has laid blacks and reds. (Heuzey, Les figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre, Pl. XIII, Fig. 4).

Whether the idea of these vases of a mixed character was or was not suggested to the potters of Ionia or of European Greece by the types of oriental origin, those potters early thought of taking a part in sculpture, in the composition of works that

owed nothing to the foreign examples.

In the ceramics of the Dipylon, a bird perches on the neck of an oenocoe, and four horses are placed on the cover of a pyxis. The workmen later knew how to manage a more intimate union of the parts of vases, where the brush is charged with executing by itself the entire ornamentation, and those modeled in high relief with the roughing tool. Here is a pyxis, found at Tnara, that terminates in the neck of a bird of prey with its beak widely opened (Fig. 168). Here is an aryballa whose neck is formed by the head of a woman, placed between two falling masses of a thick head of hair (Fig. 169); but there is a certain work of this ceramics assigned to the sculptor that already assumes much more importance. This is the case for a very curious monument belonging to the museum of the Louvre (Fig. 170).¹ There is seen a satyr seated against a cratera with his hands holding the handles, and towards which he seems to lean as if to drink from it. At first sight, the statuette is the part of this entirety attracting most attention. Still one is convinced on examining this piece more closely, that there is indeed a vase, a surprise vase that had its marked place in the hall of the feast, into which wine was poured more than once, if not to refresh the guests, at least to amuse them, according as under the pressure of the air driven from the body of the figurine or allowed to enter there by the vent holes, the level of the liquid was lowered or raised in the cratera (Fig. 170).

Note 3.p.317. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Pls. 44, 68.

Note 1.p.318. E. Pottier. Le satyre buveur, vase de surprise du musée du Louvre. (Bull. Corr. Hell. Vol. XIX, p.225-235; Pls. XIX, XX).

About the end of the 6th century at Athens, the potters fashioned vases in the form of the head of a bearded man or Ethiopian, and more frequently female heads, some of which were signed by Charinos, Procles and Calixades.² As a type of this sort of works may be taken at the Louvre the vase, that was made perhaps at Corinth and bears the signature of Cleomenes the Athenian.³ Like the double Hermes in marble, it is formed by the union of two back to back and fixed together, being the head of a man and that of a woman. Above these heads at their junction rises and opens the wide neck of a vase (Fig. 171).

the care and art with which were modeled the two heads give a very clear impression that Cleomenes conceived his work as a sculptor far more than as a potter. This never served as a drinking vase; it is probable that being placed on a little shelf, it rather served to decorate one of the walls of the dining hall.

Note 2.p.318. See Klein. Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen. p. 214. E. Reisch. Röm. Mitt. vol. V. 1890. p. 318 et seq. Hartwig. Ephemeris. 1894. p.125.

Note 3.p.318. Collignon. Vase de terre cuite en forme de double tete signe de Cleomenes d'Athenes. (Mon. de l'assoc.p.l. enc. d'etudes grecques. Vol. II. 1895-1897. p.53-67, Pls. XVI-XVII). Furtwängler had affirmed in the most formal manner that this vase was the work of a modern counterfeiter. Pottier victoriously replied to this assertion by discussing separately the complaint against the authenticity of the piece; Le vase de Cleomenes, reply to M. Furtwängler, in Rev. Arch. 1900, p.181-203, pls. XIII-XIV.

We no more than ever believe that drinkers passed from hand to hand a little ram in terra cotta, to the back of which was fitted the neck of a vase.¹ It is otherwise for those rhytons that seem to have enjoyed a great vogue in the course of the 5th century; there the Greek ceramist knew better how to use the elements furnished to him by the beautiful appearance of the living form. These heads of animals, busts of men or of women extended the sides of the deep goblet; they animate and embellish the vase, without making it unsuited for its function. It is indeed a vase rather than a rhyton, a vase in which more than one guest must have left his reason; but it is difficult to recognize the same character in certain images, that were multiplied to the 4th century. As a type of these creations of a happy fancy, one can take a crouching sphynx with great wings and female head crowned with flowers (Fig. 172). There the shoulder of the sphynx is detached and there rises the neck of a lecythe furnished with its handle. Handle and neck are merely an ornament furnished by ceramists. The elegant curve of the handle and the bold relief of the neck lighten the figurine and give it a kind of ascensional movement. This is further covered by that coating of milky white that the coplain places on the clay of his statuettes. This is from the

snop of the modeler and not that of the potter, that came these composite figurines, which have nothing of the vase but a deceiving appearance.¹

Note 1.p.319. Rev. Arch. 1902.²pl. XIV, 4.

Note 1.p.321. As much can be said of another figurine of the same sort, that like the sphinx taken from Kertch, the ancient Panticapea. This is a bust of Aphrodite fixed in a large shell. A neck, now broken, rose above her head. For a stronger reason was it refused to class among vases for use, in spite of the same neck, a group representing Aphrodite seated on the knees of Adonis. (Rayet et Collignon. Histoire de la ceramique grecque. p.270-276, Figs. 103-105).

3. The Clay.

Chemists have analyzed more than once the clays from which were made the Gree vases. The analyses have proved everywhere the presence of the same elements, silica, alumina, iron oxide, a little lime and magnesia. From one clay to another, the part furnished to the mixture by each of these elements varies only in a very slight measure; but no more is required for clays from different sources to present very different tones to the eye. With some experience, one distinguishes a fragment of a Corinthian vase from a fragment of an Attic vase. In the first the color of the clay tends to green, while in the second, it is a yellow-orange or a quite dark red. The red is darker as there is more oxide of iron in the clay; but still to lighten the tone, certain workshops add a coloring substance to the clay. We are told that the clay of cape Colias in Attica passed for the best that the potter could employ; but at Athens he mixed it with milto, i.e., with a red ochre found in abundance in the island of Ceos very near Pireaus; by special agreements made with the two chief cities of the island, the Athenians were ensured the exclusive right to export for their benefit all of that material, which Ceos could produce.¹

Note 1.p.322. Suidas. See Kolladae, C. I. Att. Vol. II, no 246. Pliny attributes to the Corinthian potter Boutades the idea of mixing rubrica (red ochre) with the clay. (H.X.XXXV, 152). The Attic potters only followed the example of the potters of the isthmus, but then forced the proportion of the milto. The clay of their vases is much more colored red than that of the Corinthian vases.

This coloring material was further introduced in a clay at the last moment, after that had suffered the preparation which removed all impurities contained in it on leaving the pit. In very ancient vases, such as the Mycenaean and even those of the dipylon, little pebbles are mixed with the clay as observed in the fractures. This is no longer the case for the products of the workshops of Ionia, of Corinth and of Athens in the 6th century. The paste is homogeneous and very fine in grain. What processes were employed for that result? Was the clay passed under a current of water into a series of basins there when it was decanted, allowing to fall to the bottom of these reservoirs all bits of stone contained? It does not appear probable that even the springs brought to Athens by Pisistratus would have had a sufficient discharge, so that in the Ceramicos, men could at all seasons practice those washings in abundance of water. I should rather believe that they used a method requiring much less expenditure of liquid; this is what is termed in the workshop, *tramping*. The clay is thrown into a basin filled with water and there is tramped for long hours, like grapes in the harvest. In spite of the facilities afforded by mechanical mills, this is taken to triturate and knead kaolin in the manufacturing of Sevres. This mode of working, in spite of that it appears to be entirely primitive, is still that from which the best results are obtained.

4. The Snapping.

The invention of the potter's wheel dates back in a very high antiquity, much beyond Homer, to whom the potter's wheel suggested one of his comparisons.¹ It is seen represented in Egyptian paintings dating from the middle empire. What constitutes in its simplest form is a disk rotating on a vertical axis, and which the potter puts in motion with his hand (Fig. 173). Then was adopted the custom of rotating the disk by a helper seated on the ground near the apparatus (Fig. 174). The potter thus found both hands free to devote to the operation of turning. Did they go farther? Did they know the double wheel composed of two disks connected by a vertical, the upper a disk bearing the mass of clay, accompanying the lower disk in its revolution, to which the foot imparted by means of a pedal a rotation more or less rapid? This arrangement has the advantage of giving the workman more control of the velocity; but

no text alludes to it, and no figured monument supplies a representation. When is seen to what certainty of execution the Greek potter attained in the course of the 5th century in fashioning clay, what thinness he could give the walls of his vase, one is tempted to believe that he was not ignorant of this final perfection of the machine. The vases from which we have borrowed these images of the wheel all belong to the age of archaic painting.

Note 1. p. 324. Illus. 800.

The clay from which must come the vases is either placed directly on the disk (Fig. 173), or indeed if it be a piece of small dimensions, it is supported to be better at hand, by a chunk of clay, that in our workshops is called the mandrel. (Fig. 175). The turning is done with the left hand on the paste, while when not occupied in moving the disk, the right hand shapes or polishes the outside of the vase. It gives to that in general the desired form by means of a wooden tool, that now bears the name of "estegue" (stick?). While the block of paste rotates on the disk, all its surfaces successively come into contact with this calibrator, which being held fast and very straight, everywhere removes the same quantity of clay and shapes the same profile. The modeler has at hand quite an assortment of these calibrators, for the body, foot and neck. The fingers of the workman finishes the work of shaping commenced by the tool. As for the handles, they were made separately and then adjusted to the body. To fasten them was used slip, as still done today. This connection is furnished by the same paste as the vase, but when this paste plays the part of cement, it is thinned with water and a little gum is added to it. Thus is obtained a very strong adhesion. In the course of the vicissitudes suffered by Greek vases before reaching us, when the handle has been separated by a shock from the body of the amphora or hydria, it has most frequently broken a bit of the body.

"These operations seem to be very simple; but they require a long apprenticeship for the hand to become skilful. Several months of regular work are necessary to train a workman, that can execute in a satisfactory fashion ordinary products. Now certain antique vases, particularly cups, have a solid construction and lightness of wall that defies all comparison. The

practice of attaching the handle to the inclined surface of a cup so that the line can be followed without break and with a harmonious curve is a test of skill of which few ceramists are capable. It is further unnecessary to imagine that all antique pieces are marvels of success. Many are mediocre, and there the masterpieces are in the minority, as everywhere." ¹

Note 1. p. 328. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 656.

The Greeks of the 5th century appear to have been very sensitive, as were the Chinese and Japanese, to those feats of the trade that dealt with difficulties. One is tempted to believe, that in time when their taste was most delicate, they attached no less importance to the quality of the pottery than to its decoration, to the form of the piece, the perfection of the turning, and to the beauty of the black glaze, than to the image which ornamented the sides of the vase. This explains why the potter most frequently signed beside the painter. He does not wish his patrons to mistake the part belonging to him in what realizes the beauty of the work that he presents to them. He sometimes signs alone, as if that part were by far most important. Finally, some vases are found, that he has signed, although they present no figure to the eye, and the brush has scarcely traced on them some motives of ornament, or even has not placed thereon the lightest touch of color. Those monochrome vases could be taken at first sight for products of an inferior order; but if the potter has inscribed his name there, this is because he desired to call attention of the purchaser to what he has devoted he has devoted so much care and mastery, in the execution of the piece.

5. Drying and Polishing.

The piece being turned and shaped, while wet leaves the hands of the turner and fitter, needed to be dried. How did this operation proceed! Opinions differ. According to one of the most competent ceramographers air drying sufficed.² After some days, the clay retains an indispensable cohesion and acquires a hardness similar to that of leather, allowing dressing, incising and painting; it would be too fragile if completely dried. What proves that the vases were still a little soft before placing the decoration is, that several of them have received shocks in transportation and in the handling of the pieces; those depressions are still visible in the fired pottery. Certain cer-

chemists in agreement with treatises on ceramics think that the degourdi, i.e., a primary light baking was indispensable.¹ Would unburned pottery be dampened by abundant application of color like that of the grounds? Would it not melt? Consulted on this point, the tradesmen however consider that in practice, painting on clay dried in the air is easily executed with some precautions, and better incorporates with the clay. It is only necessary to seize the proper moment of drying for the painting. That favorable state scarcely lasts for several days: this is why the fabrication needs to be rapid. Thus the painting on clay slightly approaches fresco painting.

Note 1.p.326. Pottier. Catalogue, p.656.

Note 2.p.326. Reichhold. Griechische Vasenmalerei. I. p.152.

Note 1.p.327. Brogniart. I, p. 357.

Note 2.p.327. Pottier. Catalogue. p.659-660.

The brush could not attack the vase as the rotation of the wheel and drying had left it. The surfaces remained granular and spotted by slight irregularities. So that the brush should be able to intervene with success, a polishing was essential to render the surfaces perfectly smooth. For that purpose must serve a bit of wood or of hard leather. This operation is represented by the painting on the bottom of a cup (Fig. 176). There is seen a workman occupied in polishing a skyphos furnished with its handles, but still without any painting. The smallness of the image does not allow the defining of the tool that he employs; but one cannot mistake there the work to which he is devoted. Before him are placed on little shelves the vases already covered by black glaze, a cratera and an oenochoe.

6. Models and Plagiarism.

By his signature attached to the vases from which he derived most pride, the foreman declared himself responsible for them; he claimed the right of paternity of all of them. The capital that he had embarked in the matter and the risks that he ran conferred on him sovereign authority over all persons in the workshop. He presided over all operations, he stated to each of his helpers what he had to do to contribute to the success of the enterprise. In these conditions, he could not be uninterested in the decoration. Sometimes before becoming the master, he had followed the trade of painter, like Euphronios, or indeed like Nearchos, Exekias, Douris and Myson, he decorated

with his own hands some of the vases that he had thrown on the wheel. Even when he did not combine in his sole person this twofold talent of potter and painter, long practice had made him familiar with all the arts of design. It must be he, that for each piece or series of pieces should choose the themes treated by the painter. He doubtless did not limit himself to these brief indications. Every workshop of some importance must employ several decorators at a time. These artisans that did not all offer the same guarantees of experience and of invention, for the composition of pictures, could not be left without aid to the caprices of their invention or to the poverty of their routine. They worked from cartoons, as we say, that he had charged with that case some artist possessing his confidence, whom he could call his chief painter. That he made use of models we cannot doubt. "This is evidenced by the close resemblances in composition that many vases present,¹ and in certain cases, the repetition of the same picture on different vases.² Still, the most similar copies always admit some variations in detail and differences in execution, that absolutely exclude the idea of a pounced tracing reported on the walls of several potteries. The mechanical and machine reproduction of a motive appears essentially contrary to the habits of the Greek mind, and was not usual for ornaments. Sometimes a pair of vases were made in a workshop, that consequently were made as similar as possible; but those known to us are never identical.¹ The characteristic of the trade was to follow the model with freedom, to introduce therein novel details, to transpose there the elements of form to give to the entirety an air of novelty. There a well endowed workman found occasion to display qualities that called him to the attention of the master, and that could cause him to be admitted to the honors of the signature.

Note 1.p.328. Louvre. Hall F. 7-8, 39-40, 38-51, 234-298, 290-291, 299, etc.

Note 2.p.328. Louvre. Hall G. 529-530; see Furtwängler-Reichhold, p. 188-190.

Note 1.p.329. Louvre. Hall F. 387-388. G. 529-530. For this reason Pottier rejects the hypothesis proposed by Reichhold, of a model all prepared, of a vase completely executed in colors, which the workmen transferred exactly, line by line, the entire arrangement to the pottery entrusted to them. (Furtwän-

(Furtwängler-Reichhold, p. 13, 25, 109. See Pottier. *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*. 1902, p. 232).

Note 2. p. 329. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p. 660-661.

What aided the workman in that perpetual improvisation was, that no law or even no scruple of opinion condemned pirating. The idea of disloyalty and of dishonesty attached by us to this procedure was entirely unknown in antiquity. Everyone believed himself permitted to "take his property wherever he found it," as Moliere said later. In this world of Greek artists, who created forms without their imagination ever appearing wearied or exhausted, there is such a wealth of invention, that no one thought himself justified in jealously affirming his right of priority in regard to a certain type or the arrangement of figures, not to regard himself as the sole proprietor of the motive. Whoever handles the chisel, modeling tool or the brush borrowed and lent without accounting." Not only the ceramist took without shame all that suited him from works of grand art, but he pillaged his neighbors and colleagues without any fear of commercial claims. Nicosthenes copied the boats of Exechias.³ Pamphaios copied the amphora of Nicosthenes.⁴ Cachrylion imitated the ephebic scenes of Epictetos.⁵ Plagiarism is continual and receive from the public only encouragement. For the manufacturers without inventive genius, this is the most convenient source of subjects. They only have to look around them to provide these."⁶

Note 3. p. 329. Louvre. Hall F. 122.

Note 4. p. 329. Louvre. Hall G. 2.

Note 5. p. 329. Louvre. Hall G. 38.

Note 6. p. 329. Pottier. *Catalogue*, p. 662. See Walters. *Catalogue of British Museum*. Vol. II, p. 9-31. The same. *Smith*. Vol. III, p. 38-37.

7. The Sketch.

In the course of the period during which the Attic workshops produced their most beautiful works, i.e., about the end of the 6th and during the entire 5th centuries, the ceramic painter, before having recourse to color to decorate the vases by one or more figures, usually traced on the clay a sketch that the brush then resumed, correcting and completing it. He thus sought the movements, he fixed the plan of the great lines of the composition. This was first verified thirty years since, and

since then numerous observations have placed it beyond doubt.¹

Note 1.p.330. To Rayet belongs the honor of having first mentioned the presence of the sketch on antique vases. (Bull. de la Soc. des antiquaires de France 1878. p.49.50. Presenting to the society a cup of Cachrylion, which has since entered the Louvre, he caused the noting of "traces of the sketch made by the artist. Cachrylion sought his personage on the cup itself, simply polished and a little soft. The point that he used, at the same time that he traced the lines, slightly crushed the scarcely dried clay and slightly darkened it at the passage. Soon afterwards, Petersen, who had just studied the vases at the museum of the Hermitage, called attention to the same peculiarity. (Arch.Zeit.1879. Vasenstudien, p. 1-19). In these later times, Reichhold has furnished the most precise information on this custom of the Attic painters of the red figure. When he took tracings of the decoration of the vases which Furtwängler wished to comprise in his great publication, he also transcribed wherever visible, the first sketch of the figure.

This sketch was made with a pointed instrument, probably a stick of hard wood cut at the end like our pencils. This tool cut into the clay while still a little soft. It left there a light trace easily distinguished by causing the light to graze the surface of the painting. Thus it is thought to be recognized on a little utensil held by an ephebe, who is represented on a vase as painting a cup.²

Note 2.p.330. Hartwig, in Jahrb. 1891. p.157.

The sketch traced with the point only appears on vases with red figures. One divines why the painter of the black figure has not used the same process. After the first strokes of the brush had been given, the lines that served him as guides would have been entirely covered by the black color which he applied broadly to execute his outlines. He would have very quickly lost all guiding lines. He must trace with the diluted black color a first sketch of his painting." If this were good, he allowed it to dry and covered it by a thick and definite coating. If it was bad, he removed it by a stroke of a sponge, and commenced anew. Thus a modern designer removes with his rubber the lead pencil lines. An Attic vase in the geometric style informs us in that respect.¹ The painter had sketched in pale black color oarsmen seated on their bench. Later he desired to

more then more to the right; but he had not sufficiently erased the first sketch, whose weak outline is still visible."²

Note 1.p.331. Laurent. Bull. Corr Hell. 1901, p. 145, Fig. 2.

Note 2.p.331. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 335.

On the contrary, the use of the dry point was always recommended for the sketch of the figure reserved on a black ground. Assume that for this figure, to find the correct pose and the best proportions, to indicate the flow of the drapery, one would have desired to use the black color, even if much diluted with water. Where the very fine line traced by the brush had not exactly followed and covered the lines of the dry sketch, those would remain visible on the red ground; they would have made a spot and have obscured the image. Those did not have this defect which a point incised in the clay and merely scratched it. If uncolored, only a light trace was left, so slight that for a long time it escaped the eyes of the archaeologists who studied the Greek vases.

Some vases with black figures have been mentioned, on which the execution was preceded by a sketch with the dry point,³ but those vases are in very small number and appear to date only from the time when was already practised painting with red figures. When by the effect of the diversity of orders, the workman initiated in the new technique found himself thus transferred to the ancient, he returned there with all the tricks of the hand, the habit of which he had acquired in the trade last learned. Yet sometimes he made a distinction. On certain vases where black and red figures are placed side by side, the latter was sketched on the clay. Nothing shows a preparation of that kind for the black figure.⁴

Note 3.p.331. Pottier in *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 272 and in *Vases antiques du Louvre*, p. 36, 701. Furtwängler-Reichhold, I, 24, Pl. IV, p. 133, Pl. XXXI, Pl. 280.

Note 4.p.331. Furtwängler-Reichhold, p. 236, Pl. 52.

The sketch with the point is merely the rule for Attic vases of the 5th or 6th first years of the 5th century. It is very rare that on those when seen very closely, one does not succeed in distinguishing some vestiges of that sketch. In the second half of the century, this sketch becomes more sure. Ceramic painters dispense with it more freely to resort to means increasing with them, their confidence in a professional skill

inherited from several generations of artists. For a stronger reason there is no trace of this preliminary effort in the ceramics of the Italian branches of the 4th century. There the painter also satisfied himself more cheaply. His common facility was contented with a rapid and loose execution.

One can then say that the use of this method coincides with the most beautiful productions of the ceramists of Athens. According to the time and to the habits peculiar to each artist, these sketches are more or less hasty, more or less complete. A certain painter is satisfied to indicate by some lines which do not complete or join the entirety of the attitude (Fig. 177). A certain other man outlines the entire figure nearly to the extremities. It will be the affair of the brush to correct the detail of the feet and heads. These sketches are frequently limited to placing the nudes that the brush is charged to clothe; but sometimes they even give the larger parts of the clothing and the movement of its folds (Fig. 178). A curious example of this is furnished by an unsigned amphora, that from its curvature and the style of its paintings, it is believed right to attribute to the workshop of Eutymides.¹ The plate that we reproduce shows at one side the sketch as incised by the point, at the other being the painting as presented by the finished vase (Fig. 179). On this second image, it is inscribed there in dotted lines. What results from a comparison of the two traces is that the artist, when he has superposed the painted figure on the sketch, he has everywhere tried to make the lines more supple, to support and smooth the outlines.

Note 1. p. 332. Furtwängler-Reichhold. Pl. XXXIII, p. 173-181.

8. The Colors.

The palette of the painters of vases comprised only three fundamental colors:- black, white, violet red. Those tones sufficed for long centuries for ceramic productions. If men did not seek to introduce there the entire color scale of fresco, vermilion, blue, green and yellow, this was because these colors did not easily bear the degree of heat necessary for firing the pottery. At length were found expedients for incorporating them, and especially on vases with white ground that we see the polychromy enriched by new and vivacious tints, blue, rose, brown and gold; but they also found that those colors always remained very fragile, and that their use tended to make the

vase an object of luxury rather than a vessel devoted to the uses of life. The beautiful epoch of fabrication, that of the signed pottery of the 6th and 5th centuries preceding the Median wars, contented itself with the three colors that became amalgamated with the clay in nearly an unalterable fashion. It was again the consideration of the useful which decided here the methods taken by the art.

The beautiful black lustre, whose mastery dates from even to the origin of Greek ceramics, then remains always the primeval element. Employed as broad outlines on a light ground, or on a colored ground where the figures were reserved, and in fine lines on that reserve, it always retains until the end its predominant role. If one sometimes tried to change the black figures to red by an overlay, those were only isolated attempts, that ended nowhere. He was obliged to renounce this and to adhere to the black figure until a day, when by a solution of simple genius, a man (Nicostrates or Andocides) found means to harmonize all, to retain the black color and red figures by returning to the ancient system, so to speak, by making the ground black and retaining the tone of the red clay for the personages; but even then, it is still the black clay which holds most space on the field of the vase, that makes the originality of its appearance. From high Mycenaean antiquity, which saw the discovery of that admirable and indestructible material, it was this predominance of black, which constituted the peculiar character of ceramic painting in Greece.¹ It is not doubtful that the eyes of the Greeks and of their patrons overseas found a very special charm in that metallic gleam of this covering. This seems by itself alone to have formed the worth of certain vases, that mostly came from the tombs of Nola and were perhaps of Attic fabrication. On those amphoras and oenocoes are no figures. Some are ornamented by a garland of foliage laid on them by the brush of the gilder, as detached in light on this dark ground; but there are many pieces of which even that ornament is wanting. They are recommended only by the elegance of the form and the beauty of the glaze.

Note 1. p. 334. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 366-367; *Revue des études grecques*. 1898. p. 383.

How was this glaze made? What was the composition of this color with truly exceptional qualities of fusibility, adhesion

to the clay and resistance to time? Ceramographists have ^{not} failed to propose that problem, and have called to their aid the chemists to solve it. Here is what results their analyses have shown, executed in more than one laboratory. They thought of the black sepia ejected by the cuttle-fish, that mollusk abounding in the waters of the Mediterranean,² but it is agreed to reject that hypothesis. Doubtless in the kiln of the Greek potter, the head did not reach very high temperatures; but however moderate it was, the fire in that kiln would have sufficed to volatilize an organic material. It is necessary to see in that glaze, and it has been agreed to recognize a mineral substance, ground earthen to which were added iron oxide and soda. The oxide gave the black coloring; the soda caused the fusion. Manganese was not an essential element of the mixture, as has been believed; it entered into this only in very slight quantity.¹ With the elements that analysis has distinguished in bits of that covering, men have attempted to recombine the color, whose formula they thought themselves to possess. In the museum of the national manufactory of Sevres are vases to which was applied the color so obtained under the direction of the chemist Salvétat;² "but they have a hard, cold and uniform tone, which does not reproduce the velvety softness of the olive-green shades of the antique black."¹ There is a secret of fabrication that has not been recovered yet.

Note 2.p.334. Engel in *Revue archéol.* 189.. v.256.

Note 1.p.335. This is the result of the researches quite recently undertaken on this subject by an American chemist, O.S. Tonks. (*Experiments with the black glaze on Greek vases*, in *Am. Jour. Archaeol.* 1908. p.417-421). Except some details, the analyses of Tonks confirm the conclusions to which Brognart had already arrived. (Vol. I, p. 545).

Note 2.p.335. Brognart. I, p.546, 551-554.

Note 1.p.336. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p. 637.

"However this may be, this black is employed in different states, which produces different tones. Very thick, it forms projections sensible to the finger. Spread in a broad and thin coat, it takes an orange tone at the edges after firing; diluted, it turns a pale yellow and serves to indicate blond hair of juvenile heads. When it has received the touch of fire in the kiln, where the flame became what the potters term *oxicolor*,

it passes to red." 2

Note 2.p.336. Pottier. Catalogue. p.668.

Violet red and white are placed as retouches on vases. Violet red is clayey ocre colored by an iron peroxide, analogous to the substance known under the name of colcotar. The white on antique vases is thick and creamy, of a beautiful milky tint. It is a sort of white clay a little rough. It may be asked if the clay employed for this use was not frequently kaolin. Beds of kaolin occur at several points on the coast of the Mediterranean, notably in that island of Melos from which was also derive miltos or vermilion. The ancients certainly knew kaolin, but not being able to obtain in their kilns temperatures sufficiently high to vitrify it, they employed it only in the state of powder. Those cimolian earths must be kaolin, which according to Pliny served for cleaning fabrics.³ In Limousin for a very long time was used for soap the kaolin of S. Yrieix, before having the idea of using it for making porcelain after the example of the Chinese. We further have the proof, that in antiquity, fullers were not the only artisans that utilized kaolin. This was sometimes substituted for plastic clay to furnish the material of the bodies of certain figurines.⁴ Perhaps it also was the material of the white coating of Attic lecythnes. Before receiving the ornamentation applied by the brush, those vases had been dipped in a bath in which was suspended kaolin in very fine powder. Thus would be explained the fragility of that coating. Firing did not cause it to pass into the state of glaze; it remained slightly adherent; it was detached and fell in scales. It is also probable that were obtained by means of the same substance those white retouches, that abound on the late vases of Apulia. From a pulp of kaolin the brush would have required the touches of color, by the aid of which it indicated the detail of the adjustments, and designed its scrolls and garlands.

Note 3.p.336. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 57.

Note 4.p.336. Eugene Piot obtained the proof of this at the cost of a statuette of his collection, a statuette from Egypt and in that fashion. A fracture of it showed a white pulverulent earth inclosed within a thick metallic glaze, that prevented it from disaggregating. He caused the figurine to be placed in one of the kilns of Seures. At a great heat, the substance

of the nucleus became porcelain.

9. Brushes and Instruments of Drawing.

"The brushes employed by the ceramic painter must be of different sizes, some thick and broad to cover the grounds and fill the black outlines, others with fine points and slended for executing the lines. The painter of black figures added to these a metal graver for incising the opaque outline of the details of the muscles and clothing. As for the lines so admirably delicate and fine, found in the red figures, it is asked if it was just the tool with which they were executed, the problem is much discussed. In any case, what is proved by the representations that we have of Greek decorators occupied in painting vases is, that those painters did not hold the brush as do ours, with the fingers extending along the handle. They took it in the fist, all the fingers being folded in the palm of the hand; (Fig. 180); Thus Japanese painters work. This pose ensures a great certainty to the stroke; it prevents trembling, so difficult to avoid with extended fingers. Modern artists have other habits and express doubts of the results that can be given by the use of this method; but it is certain that the Japanese have employed it as well as the Greeks, one cannot say that it is not practical." ¹ Further, however reduced are the images, their evidence is formal; no place is left for doubt (Fig. 181).

Note 1. p. 337. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 669-670.

An entire debate now continues on the question of knowing what idea should be formed of the tool, that allowed the painter to trace freehand the lines of the contours, so firm in the boldness of their curves, as well as the fine and light lines that give all the modeling of the nude and the elegant sinuosities of the folds of the drapery. Men first thought of a sort of drawing pen, a reed whose end, like our metal pens, was split in two;¹ but this is not a reed, it is indeed a long and flexible stem held in the hand by an artist, on a fragment of a cylix found on the Acropolis, which decorates the reverse of a cup, on the fragments of another cylix already reproduced. (Fig. 181). Nowhere do we see appear this hypothetic reed in the images to which we refer. Men have attempted to obtain with an instrument with double point, a cut quill or split reed, lines like those found in paintings of vases; but then have not succeeded.¹ Hence one is compelled to reject a conjecture that

found at first some support.

Note 1.p.333. Hartwig. *Die Anwendung von Federfahne bei den griechischen Vasenmalern*. Fig. 2. (Jahrb. 1900. p.147-187). In Fig. 181, the five fingers are extended on the brush; the artist is going to begin the work; he has not yet closed the hand on the tool that he prepares to use.

Note 1.p.339. Hartwig. p. 148.

The ceramic painter thus employed only the brush to lay the color on the clay. The fact seems well established; but there were brushes and brushes. What was the character of that, which on vases with red figures made proof of a suppleness and such astonishing certainty, of such marvellous virtuosity? Opinions differ on this subject; here is the hypothesis that appears to have received most favor.²

Note 2.p.339. The hypothesis that we first explain is that of Hartwig in the Memoir, whose title has been given previously; we borrow from Lechat the summary given below.

"Certain birds, the martin and particularly the woodcock, have under the great feathers of the wing a little feather (only one beneath each wing), very small and very fine, whose fibres have the property of being arranged symmetrically on each side of the quill and terminate in a sharp point. This is a natural brush, the finest that can be found. This feather is termed the painter's feather: for modern painters sometimes use it, notably for miniatures. It is to be presumed that the Greek painters also employed it. Certainly the finest lines of the drawings on their vases could also be produced by an artificial pencil, and it is not the fineness of these lines that alone proves the use of a feather of the woodcock; but besides they have a quality of relief, that the ordinary brush does not permit. Further, it has often been noted, that about the middle of their length, they cease to be thread-like and show a slight groove with the color at each side. In other terms, the line seems doubled, and the interval momentarily apparent between the two lines is yet not devoid of color. This irregularity is more visible in curves slightly abrupt, and cannot be explained with an ordinary brush. It is explained very well with the painter's feather, because that has between the supple plumes its less flexible quill, that very easily and especially at the turns of the line, grazes the surface of the clay, and depositing

there the color with which it is also wetted, separates it in two by a slight groove with double banks."¹ Experiments have been made with a woodcock's feather fixed at the end of a little reed. It is affirmed, that the result is rather favorable to the hypothesis that suggested it.

Note 1.p.340. Lechat. *Revue des études grecs*. 1900.p.407-408.

Still this hypothesis has found an opponent. No one has studied the painted vases with more patient and minute attention than the skilful draftsman, Reichhold, to whom we owe the accurate tracings of such a great number of beautiful paintings, which he has taken from all the museums of Europe and reproduced at actual sizes. It seems that no one has been nearer penetrating into the intimacy of the Greek ceramic painters and to surprising their secrets. Now that observer declares that he has not been able to trace with the "painter's feather" lines similar to those of the vases with red figures, lines so fine and uniform, whose slight relief examined under a lens sometimes appears as if divided by a central groove.² He has multiplied his researches and has long hesitated; then he has ended by pronouncing for the transformation of a brush made of hog's bristles, from which has been gradually removed the bristles, leaving only a single one, long and stiff. Charged with color, this bristle being drawn over the clay by the handle lengthwise, it will give the lines in question.¹

Note 2.p.340. Reichhold in *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. p.20-22 of text.

Note 3.p.340. The same. p. 67-71.

Note 1.p.341. The same. p.149-152.

Although the opinion expressed by such a competent judge merits serious consideration, doubts remain. The great difficulty of the problem is, that there are two unknown quantities, the nature of the instrument and that of the color for the application of which it moved.² For the brush to lend itself to the bold dash of the line, it is necessary for that color to be sufficiently fluid. If on the other hand, it was too much so, it would spread into the field or the line would lack clearness. It must be confessed that this occurs in the attempts made with the "painter's feather;" there has been used with it an oil color, a paste of black to which it has been sought to give the necessary consistence.³ The hypothesis of the use of a hog's

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bristle removes more than one difficulty. That bristle, it is said, could charge itself with only a very small quantity of color. It would be necessary to take up more color several times to finish a line of a certain length. It is replied to that, the paintings often bear the trace of those supplies. In spite of the certainty of the joinings, one verifies by the lens that a straight line is sometimes composed of three or four lines placed end to end.⁴ But this is not always the case, even for very long lines. It has again been alleged against this hypothesis, that in many paintings the tracing of the black line seems to have scratched the clay. Where on the vase, friction or shock has effaced that line in places, it is represented in the field by a light line impressed in quite a deep hollow. Consequently it has been said, that the instrument employed had a hard and not a soft point. This is not the bristle, however strong and stiff it is assumed, which could have drawn that sunken line. Recent experiments have proved that this bristle yields and bends at contact with the clay; it does not cut into it.⁵ The objection is not without reply. Slightly viscous, the color adheres to the clay. When it falls off, it takes with it some particles of the skin of the vase, which explains the superficial line left thus on the clay. In these conditions, it is truly difficult to decide, until the time of finding the formula of the black glaze of the Greek ceramists, which still remains a mystery. Until the new order, one must limit himself to admiring the simple and delicate line, which characterizes the style of the painters of the red figure. The decorators that had acquired this practice accomplished veritable marvels of that kind. They further avoided executing in this fashion the entire design of their painting. Whether for the fine line in relief, they made use of the "painter's feather" or of the hog's bristle, for many other lines they certainly adhered to the use of a brush better filled, that gave the broader contours without projections.

Note 2. p.341. Tauser in Bull. Phil.Koch. 1902.p.1582.

Note 3.p.341. Hartwig. Anwendung etc. p.150.

Note 4.p.341. Reichhold. p.149-159. Figs. in support.

Note 5.p.341. The evidence of Tonks, Experiments, etc., is formal in that respect. Of all the learned contemporaries who have occupied themselves with Greek ceramics, Edmond Pottier

is the one that by the familiar practice, which he has had with painted vases, best rivals Hartwig and Reichhold; in what results from the explanation that he has presented in this question (Catalogue, p. 668-672) is, that he has not yet arrived at a definite stand on the subject of the different hypotheses proposed. He sees difficulties in each of them; he reserves himself and waits.

10. Execution of the Decoration.

The ornamental motives were usually executed before the pictures. This is demonstrated by one of the paintings most clearly representing the interior of a pottery workshop (Fig. 183). There are seen workmen occupied in painting the ornaments on vases that do not yet bear any personage. The inference suggested by this illustration is confirmed by the study of the originals. In those "one frequently verifies that a certain detail of the image, the crest of the helmet, a spear, penetrates into the band of ornaments and was executed later."¹ The contrary is not without example. Certain vases are mentioned on which some fillets and other motives of the same sort encroach on the figures, which proves that they were traced when the latter were already in place.² but the case is very rare. It has been assumed that the foreman of the workshop employed an assistant for that work, beginners making their apprenticeship to the brush.³ I freely admit that it was so for current products; but on beautiful vases that could command a high price, the ornament is no less careful than the figures; it shows equal mastery. I imagine that on these choice examples the execution was entrusted to workmen, that had made a specialty of this part of the decoration. Since there were famous painters of figures, there must also have been ornamentists, who in the workshops of Ceramicos were known and sought for the skill with which they knew how to draw a palmetum beneath the handles, or to carry a garland around the lip of the vase, on which alternated the flowers and buds of the lotus. In the workshop of the Attic potter, when his industry had attained its full development, the division of labor was carried very far. The vase only reached the purchases after having passed through many hands; but each workman that concurred in the completion of the piece had his part of the initiative and of personal invention. Doubtless, the part pertaining to the painter of ornaments

in the execution of the vases could not be compared in importance to that taken by the painter of figures. It did not comprise the honor of the signature; but glance at the masterpieces of the Attic workshops and it suffices to demonstrate that this anonymous painter, when he had to furnish the frame of paintings signed by a Clitias or an Ezechias, a Euphronios or a Douris, imposed on himself an effort making him a worthy collaborator of the more famous masters.

Note 1.p.342. Pottier. Catalogue. p.672-673. Louvre, hall F, 19, 20, 33, 53, 59 etc.

Note 2.p.342. Louvre, hall F. 25, 36, 38, 286, 294.

Note 3.p.342. Pottier. Catalogue. p.673.

Still, what particularly gave to the vase the character of value of a work of art, was the interest presented by the scenes figured on it, and what the artist had placed of movement and of expression in those images, of accuracy and of liberty in the interpretation of the living form. What it is then especially important to know is, how to acquit himself of his task, he took that one of his decorators on whom had devolved the principal role, now were executed those paintings by one or several persons, that make for us the entire value of all that pottery.

For vases with black figures, when he had traced his sketch with the brush or with the blunt point, the painter filled with thick color the whole interior of the outline thus arranged. persons and accessories were thus profiled in black on the red of the clay. This opaque contour comprised no internal details. To indicate these details, the painter armed himself with a metal graver, and when the coating of color was dry, he incised the black so as to render visible the clay of the field in the hollow of the line. Thus were detached in light on that dark ground the muscles, the folds of the fabric and the ornaments of the costume, the arms and other objects that the persons held in their hands. This work of engraving modeled the body and designed the pose, gave play to the drapery and made the figure alive. Certain painters there made proof of an attention and a skill, truly extraordinary, while further the workman charged with the incision showed himself needless or negligent. He accumulated faults to the point of making the silhouette almost incomprehensible.

"It has sometimes been thought that the black was fired in the kiln before the incision. That is an error for the color after firing would be hard to cut through, and the point would have traced there irregular lines with broken edges, instead of beautiful and perfect grooves that are noted there. So it occurs that the black in firing melts and runs into the incisions, which it fills in places. Consequently, the incision was made before placing it in the kiln."¹

"It is thought that after the laying of the black and the incisions, the vase suffered a first and light firing, and that the workman then placed the retouching colors, the white and violet red, on places that he desired to enhance by a more vigorous tone. The white itself was sometimes incised to allow the black ground to reappear, on which it had been laid."¹

Note 1. p. 345. Pottier. catalogue. p. 674.

In the decoration with red, reserved figures with incisions, the brush had to do it all. Once the sketch was made with the blunt point on the still slightly soft clay, the artist took a brush charged with black color and outlined the contours with a broad line intended to protect them from all slips of the brush when it came to fill in the ground. This is attested for us by an unfinished little fragment of a cup, that belongs to the museum of Sevres (Fig. 184). The painter could take the occasion of this first outlining to slightly rectify certain parts of his sketch, a leg placed too high, an arm advanced too much, or a head too bowed. While he had the brush in his fingers, he here indicated without delay and by a bold touch on the heads, the black mass of the hair.

This preliminary work being accomplished, the painter took finer brushes and executed with black color within the space thus reserved on the clay all the internal details. There again he followed or corrected at his pleasure the traces of his sketch. The nature of the brush varied, and with it the thickness of the black, in the course of the work. Sometimes the line is almost without thickness and continues an entire length, by means of a brush with few bristles. The line is sometimes of excessive thinness and leaves a projection sensible to the touch, which reveals the use of a special brush, of the painter's feather or the single bristle. Here the black is thick; it is thinned there. In particular, in the indication of the muscles

is employed a black much thinned with water, that turns pale yellow in firing. Thus the black itself gives several scales of tones, that the artist ingeniously utilized and distributed over the surfaces, in order to obtain different planes, some vigorous and the others less accented. Men have thought themselves able to prove by the direction of the lines and by the slope followed by drops of color fallen accidentally on the surface, that the painter must work his brush from top to bottom and from right to left, the vase being laid on the side."¹

Note 1. p. 346. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 875-876.

During the entire period of the vases of the severe style, the decorator only used retouches very discreetly. He demands no effect other than by the contrast of the red of the clay and the black of the color. The attention of the spectator is longer attracted in the works presented to him, except by the nobility and purity of the design. White disappeared. It will reappear only on vases of the free style about the middle of the 5th century. As for the violet red, it likewise becomes quite rare, when the black figure has passed out of fashion. Yet it is sometimes resorted to for indicating narrow bands or foliage, that it is desired to accent on the black of the hair.

Were these retouches laid after firing, as sometimes conjectured? This is scarcely probable. White and violet, applied on an underlying coat of color could not like that, become incorporated with the clay by penetrating its pores; thus they lack stability and scale off easily. According to all appearance, this violet and white were laid on the black before firing, and as soon as it was dry. All went together to the kiln. By melting the glaze or at least softening it, this established a certain connection between it and these overlaid tones. The slight adhesion that they possessed, they owed to the heat of the fire.

The placing of these retouches was one of the difficulties in the making of vases with black figures. Under the reign of the red figure, once that the picture was executed by the painter of persons, all the fields of the vase were to be covered with black. This work was doubtless left to subordinate workmen; but still it required much care. Where these workmen were careless, their negligence risked the disfiguring of the piece. Thus we see in our galleries some vases where the brush charged

with this color has left uncovered places. On the contrary, it has elsewhere passed over the painter's design,¹ or it has touched some places reserved for the red.² A manufacturer that was not indifferent to the good appearance of his products knew how to avoid these negligences and bad works.

Note 1.p.347. Furtwängler-Reichhold. Pl. IV.

Note 2.p.347. Louvre. Hall G. 45.

11. The Firing.

In this cooperation of competence and concerted efforts that gave birth to the painted vase, a very important role was that of the foreman, who after having arranged in the interior of the kiln the pieces to be fired, lighted, urged or moderated the fire until the time when having finished his work, there was nothing more than to extinguish it. Final success depended on the experience and the sight of this agent. If he had an instant of forgetfulness, all the trouble was lost, that so many skilful workmen had taken from the moment that the block of clay was placed on the disk of the wheel. Of the work that so many industrious and patient hands successively strove to embellish, there remained nothing but fragments to be thrown away.

This is because the art of the firing, if it is of all, that giving the most marvellous results by the transformations produced in the material, is also that comprising most surprises. The workman flatters himself in having by long practice reduced the fire that he manages to the role of a docile servant; but suddenly, it disconcerts him by its caprices.³ The potter soon perceives this when he makes the first attempts in his art. In an old song that came to us among those little pieces to which is attached the name of Homer, one knows not why, the filled kiln is placed under the protection of Athena Ergane, the patroness of industrial labor. It is demanded of her to drive from the fire all the malevolent demons, who are intent on disturbing the operations: Asbestos, "unquenchable," Smargos, "he that causes the clay to crack," Syntrips, "the breaker," Omodamos, "the savage conqueror."

Note 3.p.347. The perfecting of the modern industry has not caused these dangers to disappear, and has not protected from mistakes. Much to the contrary, their sum has increased since ceramics has pursued more vivid and more complex colorings.

Some years since at Gulf Juan,, I visited a workshop where was imitated the Spanish-Arabic plates and the so-called Persian falence of Veramin. Now the man that did the honors said to me, that of ten plates of a certain kind that he showed me, there was scarcely one that succeeded. This proportion would even be too great. On the other hand, touches of flame sometimes gave effects that differed from those desired, yet were very happy, unforeseen effects leading to the creation of novel types.

This part of chance and the unforeseen is the same, whatever the intensity of the heat to which is pushed the fire of the kiln. The ancients never knew the firing with a great fire, by means of which are produced the hard earthenware now in common use. Today, falence and porcelain are fired at a temperature of 1500° to 2000° C; even these figures are exceeded. There have been made experiments on fragments of Greek pottery, having for their object to determine the average heat that could be supported by the antique clays and colors. It results that there is reason to place between 900° and 950° C the normal temperature attained in firing vases with red and with black figures. This is because the temperature was not carried higher, that the clay in those potteries remains soft and easily scratched with the nail. It retains a very great porosity, so as to be sensitive to humidity, even in the glass cases of a museum. Saltpetre often forms on the vases in halls that do not regularly receive the rays of the sun.¹

Note 1. p. 348. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 677-678.

The apparatus that served for firing must have been very simple and have resembled what is now termed a muffle. An idea can be formed of it by the Roman kilns found at various points of the Attic world. This kiln of the Greek potter is represented at the right on a hydria, which shows the interior of a ceramist's workshop. It is decorated at the top by a mask of Silenus, that plays there the part of an apotropaion. This image was intended to frighten the evil spirits that prowled around the kiln and sought to cause the firing to fail. At the bottom are seen the flames from the hearth, that are urged by a workman with a long iron bar. Behind him the heavy burden under which bend the shoulders of another slave can scarcely be anything but a sack of charcoal. It is necessary to feed t

the fire that flames.

Superposed on the hearth built of bricks, the kiln of conical form was made of the same materials; but the external surface of that structure was doubtless covered by a thick layer of cement or of earth; the loss of heat was thus reduced to the minimum. As in our kilns, the floor of the firing chamber, of the alboratory as said today, must be pierced by holes through which the flames passed to surround the pieces. Openings made in the top of the cone formed a chimney and carried away the products of combustion. Perhaps inlets in the sides for air made the draft more active. How did the Greek potter undertake to assure himself of the success of the kiln? No text informs us. For ordinary pottery, it sufficed to pile them on each other as still done now; this is what is termed firing a charge; but for vases decorated by paintings, more precautions were necessary. On the treatment to which these were subjected, we have only one statement, that furnished us by a Corinthian plaque (Fig. 185). The painter has presented here a sort of birdseye view of the interior of a kiln in which are arranged ready for firing some 15 vases, amphoras, oenocnoes and cups of various kinds. Judging by the elegance of the forms that they have received, these must be painted vases. The plaque shows them all as lying on the ground in the chamber where small intervals separate them. The position that this image seems to give them cannot be that in which the hand of the potter placed them before kindling the fire. Had they been laid on the side in contact with the brick floor, a part of their ornamentation would not have felt the effect of the flame. That could not touch all surfaces of the pottery and carry all of them to the same degree of firing as when the vases were upright in the kiln. If the painter of the plaque laid them lengthwise on the ground, this was because he desired to indicate their shapes, and saw no other means for obtaining this result. We have already referred in more than one work on the arts of antiquity to many examples of these arbitrary projections, caprices of a perspective that had nothing scientific.¹ Accustomed to these methods of representation, the spectator easily seized the meaning of the image; this was all that the artist desired.

It is possible that in these workshops of Athens, where Greek

ceramics created its masterpieces, there had been adopted for the passage of the vases to the flame, less elementary procedures than those which satisfied Corinthian fabrication. Perhaps Attic potters could arrange their vases in tiers, as it is said, on terra cotta tiles supported in seggars, that could form several superposed tiers. What seems certain is, that about the time when the red figure began to dominate, the regulation of the kiln was much better ensured than during the preceding period. Men knew better how to construct the kiln and better to proportion the heat. Many vases of the archaic style bear the marks of accidents in firing. Touches of the flame have turned black to red or yellow. What led to those accidents was not too high a temperature reached in inadvertence; it was especially by what chemists term the oxidizing flame. If by some false art or because of a crack that opened in the wall, the external air entered the heating chamber, there was produced an escape of oxygen, which decomposed the black color. The Greek architect could not penetrate the cause of the effects of that kind, but he observed the phenomenon and learned to avoid what this repeated to his detriment. When one surveys an entire series of vases placed in chronological order, as these approach the 5th century, he more rarely finds the trace of defects due to the irregularity of the flame. In the period of decadence on Italic vases are perhaps more examples of these alterations of colors. Art was declining; but the technics of fabrication had not ceased to be perfected.

There have been noted on vases some other defects, that resulted less from injuries by a badly managed fire than from the manner in which the pieces were arranged in the kiln. For economy, too many pieces were placed there at once; they came to be placed closely against each other so as to touch each other. A spot was formed by a point of adherence. "Other curious phenomena were also produced. A part of the fresh painting of a vase was removed and appeared on the surface of another. There is also noted on a certain number of vases a round mark, a circle impressed on the body, as if the mouth of a vase had been applied there during the firing. It seems that these marks correspond to circular supporting rings on which the vase was placed in the interior of the kiln. It has occurred that other-

otherwise very careful have suffered from these contacts. Thus there is no reason to believe that Greek potters ever carried precaution so far as do modern ceramists. In contrast with constructing a well closed kiln, the latter place the porcelain in seggars, i.e., in receptacles of refractory clay, which forms a second enclosure in which the pieces are fired while sheltered from all accidents and in a very uniform temperature.⁴

Note 1.p.350. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I, p.451-458, Vol. II. p. 339-348; vol. VI, p. 791; Vol. VII, p. 176-177.

Note 1.p.351. *Pottier. Catalogue*. p. 680.

When one frequents the museums, this is not without noting certain vases there, whose entire surface, fields as well as ornamentation, presents the same gray and dull tint. This is not due to an accident in firing. They received the hot fire of the funeral pile, or frequently after the corpse was burned there, several articles were deposited, which had belonged to the deceased. As verified in the excavations in the tumulus of the dead of Marathon and in those other Attic cemeteries, painted vases appeared among those funerary offerings.² It even seems proved that before delivering them to the flame, men commenced to break them, to put them forever out of use. In those small fragments have been found all the vases that served for the completion of this rite.

12. Glazings.

It has long been believed that the touch of the flame alone gave to black the brilliant and velvety tone, of which men boast, but have never succeeded in reproducing. The flame would have made the color more vivid, as it did for the enamel powders, whose dull gray is changed by the passage of the fire into gleaming and varied tints; but it has been necessary to renounce that idea. Even on leaving the kiln the black was still dead. When the white or red retouches had been superposed on the black and disappeared by wear or by accident, the color that appeared beneath was dull.¹ To a later operation after firing, the vase owes this lustre that brightens at once the red of the clay, the black of the figures and grounds, and the retouches of polychrome pieces. This operation could not be a simple polishing. The use of a fluid lustre is betrayed by deposits appearing in places in the form of reddish lines attach-

attached to the most porous parts of the clay. The vase was made glossy after it had cooled, just as one varnishes an oil painting today. It does not seem that this varnishing was executed with the brush. Had it been, one would find in places traces of the strokes of the brush, which is not the case. On the other hand, the reddish deposit is usually more abundant on the foot than on the rest of the vase; its presence is verified also in depressions and in the little scratches produced in the course of the fabrication. By plunging the vase in a bath, the potter covered it with this lustre. All observed facts agree with this hypothesis of immersion, and further those men still proceed today in ceramics for applying glazes. When he dipped his pottery in that bath, the foreman took care not to allow the liquid to penetrate into the interiors of amphoras and of hydrias, of crateras and of oenocnoes. A glance in the interiors of these vases suffices to recognize that the clay there has not the same tone as on the external surfaces; it is more dull and pale. It is the same in the cracks and under the foot of the vases. During the dipping, this foot rested on the bottom of the receiver; it was removed from the action of the bath.

Note 1.p.302. This accords with what Pottier has recognized. (catalogue, p.881-884). And Reichhold (p. 145, 181, 202). They both affirm that the vases owe to the application of this lustre the brilliancy of their black and that of the red of their clay.

That this glaze was applied on painted vases is what we cannot doubt; but we know its composition no more than that of the black color. It is believed to contain mineral substances, that where found in excess, have given the reddish precipitate, whose presence we have mentioned on certain points of this pottery; but even there, the layer of lustre thus deposited on the clay is so thin, that it has been impossible to attempt an analysis. It is supposed, a little red was mixed with this glaze, while giving more depth to the tint of the clay, it would have dulled that of the black.¹ The lustre of the Greek potters must have been transparent and colorless like our varnish, so as to brighten all tones without the risk of taking from anyone something of its freedom.

Note 1.p.353. According to Reichhold, "it is not doubtful, that after the adoption of the style with red figures, a red color was mixed with the glaze." (p. 181). If this were so, why did not this red reduce and change the black tone?

All these operations in the workshop occupied a great number of workmen, each of whom had his special task. M. Collignon and I endeavored to reproduce in the retrospective section of the last universal exposition in Paris, the appearance of one of those workshops (Figs. 174, 182). The workshop is covered above; but it is largely open to the day in front and at the sides. To draw the fine lines of their images, the ceramic painters needed a very free light. Our plate XVIII is a reduction of a photograph taken of that restoration. Against the wall are tables and shelves on which are placed vases in course of execution or already finished. Tools are hung against the wall. At the end and the right is a workman shaping a vase on his wheel. At the middle a woman attaches the handle to the neck of another amphora. At the front of the picture a young man is painting the ornaments that decorate the border of a crater. As convenient, the kiln is outside the workshop. A laborer urges the fire. In reality the kiln must be farther than it is here from the room where is performed the work of adjusting and painting. The sparks that make their escape from the furnace and scatter in the air should not risk spotting and culling the surfaces of the clay.

13. Epigraphy of Vases. Inscriptions traced with the brush. Names of personages. Signatures of painters. Other texts.

Greek ceramics interests us particularly by the elegance of its forms as by the nobility of its decoration. Yet one cannot dispense with studying the monuments from another point of view, to notice the inscriptions scattered in very great number on the fields of its vases. This ceramics has its epigraphy, which is very rich and varied. Unlike Chaldea and Assyria, Greeks did not adopt plastic clay as the special depository of ideas, that it was important to transmit to contemporaries and to posterity as the guarantee of public and private agreements. To fix and perpetuate its thoughts, those of its poets, historians and philosophers, it employed papyrus. To bronze, stone and especially to marble, it entrusted the acts of public authorities, and the text of agreements between private men; but it

also wrote much on the clay of its pottery, either with the point of a metal tool, or with the brush of the painter. Many facts that it was charged to witness have their importance. History finds more than one statement useful, the history of an industry whose products reflect the beauty to the creations of a lost art, Grecian painting, also the history of the language and of its alphabet, and finally the history of the religious beliefs and of those myths, many of whose episodes would escape us, if we had for knowing them only the little that remains to us of the literary work of Greek genius. Painted inscriptions are far more numerous. It is proper to occupy ourselves with them first.

Note 1.p.354. These inscriptions have been gathered by Kretschmer (*Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften*. 1894), but Kretschmer did not include in his collection the painted or engraved inscriptions that came from the owners of the vases. He has given space only to those that he presumes came from the hands of the potters or painters. Further, he studies them from the point of view of the dialect and of the orthography.

When in a museum, the eye pauses over a series of Greek vases, what first strikes it is, that there are words written beside the figures on more than one of them. Those words sometimes indicated the subject of the painting or indeed the scene of the action.² Sometimes also they designate one of the accessories of the picture, an altar, seat or a vase;² but most frequently, they are names of the actors themselves in the scene. Where the vase of great dimensions comprises a series of pictures, there are many of these names. One even reads 115 on the Attic cratera signed by Clitios and Ergotimos. The letters of those words are generally small. They are hardly more than 1.18 to 1.58 ins. high. On vases with black figures, they are delineated in black on the red ground. On vases with red figures of the so-called severe style, they are either painted violet on the black ground, or black on the red parts of the field. On the vases of the free style, they are usually traced in white. They are further not found on all vases with figures; on a number of them not a vestige of these is seen; but at least on the products of Attic workshops, it is rare that they are wanting where the decoration is evidence of careful execution. They will be sought in vain on white lecythes for a funerary decoration.

this is because on those the theme of the painting is not taken from mythology; it calls for no commentary.

Note 2.p.355. This krene on the Francois vase, in the picture representing Polyxene at the fountain, Kallirekrene on a hydria, that represents young Athenian girls filling their urns at the fountain of Callirhoe. (British Museum, B, 331).

Note 3.p.355. Thus on the same Francois vase are these mentions: - thanos, seat; hydria, water vase. Elsewhere are likewise found inscribed beside the objects designated, the words stathmos, bomos, lyra, thronos. Near that of a hog is read the word sus. (Walters. Vol. II, p. 260).

Where these inscriptions are found, all that the painter seems to have intended, was to place the name near as possible to the figure to which it applied. What determined the arrangement adopted for each group of letters was only the form of the field on which these letters had to be inscribed, and that of the free space left around the persons in the picture. No fixed rule. The inscription describes a curve on the bottom of a cup; it follows the contour of a vase. On the side of an amphora or of a hydria, it very frequently extends in a horizontal line. Elsewhere it is in the direction of the height of a vase that it is elongated; it is usually read downward. On the so-called panathenaic amphoras, the letters are sometimes arranged vertically, some below the others, kioneion (Fig. 133). On Corinthian and Chalcidonian vases, the writing often goes from right to left as in Semitic inscriptions. It is also thus in the epigrams of some Attic vases with black figures; but the painter of vases with red figures only traces his letters from left to right.

Neither Mycenaean potters nor those of the Dipylon placed these legends on their vases; but if they omitted them, this was only first, because they were not yet in possession of the written alphabet; second, because if they perhaps knew the principle, they did not yet voluntarily or very readily; this was especially because that there was nothing in the ordinary themes of their paintings, which made necessary this graphic complement, or that even made its utility felt. Those themes had nothing of history nor anecdote. On the vases of Onoskos, of Phaeistos and of Mycenae, were fanciful landscapes, little more than real or fictitious animals. On the vases of Athens

In the 8th century was the representation of rites and pomp, the spectacle of which developed under the eyes of the multitude, when one of the Eupatrids died; but from the succeeding century conditions were no longer the same for the industries inspired by the models offered to them by monumental painting and sculpture. After the brilliant flowering of the epic poets, sculptors and painters were set to illustrate their fictions, to represent in their reliefs and frescos those adventures of gods and heroes, that the poets had imagined, and whose story they had varied in a thousand ways. Then about this time, the practice of writing had become common in the Greek world. The idea had then come to artists to profit by this marvellous invention to supplement the insufficiency of the means of expression at their disposal. By the description that Pausanias has left us of the coffer of Cypselos, probably executed about the year 600, we know that the carvers of metal, ivory and wood, had the habit of inscribing their names beside the personages placed in the scene.¹ The historians of art whose evidence has come down to us through Pliny attest that the most ancient painters of frescos had employed the same procedure.² Why had not the painters of vases followed this example? Their very reduced pictures were less suited than mural paintings to distinguish and to define clearly the actors in the scene by attitude, costume and accessories, given then by the work of the brush.

Note 1. p. 356. Pausanias. V. 17-8.

Note 2. p. 356. Pliny. H.N. XXV. 16.

In the archaic schools were made the most constant and the widest use of these inscriptions. When the ceramic painters had familiarized the public with the principal themes of their repertory, and when on the other hand to make themselves understood, they could count more on their talent as designers, they felt less imperatively the need of thus adding a name to each figure. Already they often dispensed with it on vases with red figures in the severe style, and on those in the free style, those additions became more and more rare. They are scarcely found on the Attic vases of the 4th century, and they are more exceptional on Italian vases of the decadence.

There is another reason for the change that operates thus in the habits of ceramists. At the origin in the time of the black figure, these inscriptions served to increase the ornamentation,

also like certain ornamental motives scattered on the field. By multiplying these, they obeyed the secret instinct whose trace we have found in more than one primitive work, and which we have termed the dread of the void.¹ Later with the new system of decoration, this feeling fades and disappears. The eye finds its pleasure in the contrast made by the red figures rising in light on the field of a beautiful black. This field does not refuse the insertion of some letters traced by the brush wet in violet color; but those letters do not solicit the eye. They do not concur in the effect of the whole. Where they are absent, their absence is not regretted. The farther one goes, the more one is accustomed to do without them.

Note 1. p. 357. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 195.

What we have to consider in these inscriptions is the service, that they render in explaining the sense of the work of art, the part that they take in characterizing the appearance of the decoration. One can also seek their indications that cast some light on the condition and degree of culture of the artists occupied in the industries of the land. Nothing is more incorrect than those texts. The omissions of letters, the caprices of a very capricious orthography give reason to think, that the painters who wrote those on the clay had only a very mediocre instruction. We cannot enter here into the detail of the peculiarities of the dialect presented by those inscriptions, nor into that of the forms in which appear the letters of the alphabet. That is a study especially in the domain of philologists; but even the history of ceramics has found more than one fact to utilize. During the entire duration of the archaic age, each province of the Hellenic world, each group of cities, one could almost say that each city had its dialect and its own alphabet. The ceramists employed this dialect and local alphabet in the legends placed on the vases. It is understood what aid the ceramographers have found in those legends in classifying those vases, which they found heaped in confusion in Etrurian cemeteries. The inscriptions read therein have been compared with the lapidary texts of the different Greek cities and the legends of their coins. By those comparisons they have been almost always able to refer each vase to its origin, and to distinguish thus what botanists term natural families, those

of Ionian, Corinthian, Chalcidian, Boeotian and Attic vases. When on the faith of epigraphy, these families were constituted, it has most frequently been very easy to attach the epigraphic vases to one or the other of them by comparison of the forms of the style. Thus was first established the lists of the great workshops, those which scattered their products by thousands of examples in the entire basin of the Mediterranean. This part of the task did not offer serious difficulties; but by the comparative tables that the learned epigraphists made of the local varieties of the most ancient Greek alphabet, men have been able to divine and in a measure to affirm the existence of certain secondary workshops, that are represented in our collections by only a small number of pieces. On some vases have been found characteristics, which only occur with certain values at a single point of the continental or insular countries, among which in high antiquity was distributed the Greek race. If men had not noted those peculiarities in writing, which had not yet created its national type, they would have been ignorant that Sicyon and Argos had workshops, which did not fail to furnish their quota to the commerce in painted vases.¹

Note 1.p.358. For Sicyon, Walters, vol. I, p. 252; for Argos, Kretschmer, p. 7-8.

Of whatever nature they may be, all inscriptions deciphered on the clay of vases, sometimes not without effort, lend themselves to observations on the language and the writing; but those texts presenting most lively interest to the historian of art are the signatures of artists, potters and painters. We shall have more than one occasion to cite them, when we survey the work of the Greek ceramists. It will suffice here to give some general indications.²

Note 2.p.358. The list of these signatures has been drawn up with much care after long researches in museums and collections of ceramographs by Wilhelm Klein (*Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*. 2nd edit. 188.). This so meritorious work has only one defect, that of already dating back 23 years. Every archaeologist has since added many names on the margin of his copy of the work.

Taken in ~~its~~^{their} entirety, all these inscriptions can be reduced to four different forms.

1. The manufacturer, the master potter signs alone.
2. The painter signs alone.
3. The signature announces the author as both fashioning and decorating the vase.
4. The painter signs beside the potter.

Those forms comprise several variants, that further have no importance. Thus two or three potters among the first that employed the red figure, substitute the imperfect *epolei* for the aorist *epoiese*.¹ This example was not followed. Very much later, the potters of Apulia and of Paestum alone returned to that imperfect, which gave them an air of modesty. The masters of the black figure liked to add *me* or *eme* to their *epoisen*. It is the vase that speaks. In the 5th century, this sort of fiction passed out of fashion. Some potters, who did not form a school, sought various equivalents for the verb *poiein*. One finds very rarely these variants of the ordinary form. (See text).²

Note 1.p.359. Andokides, Chelis and Psitax are those that employed the imperfect.

Note 2.p.359. Walters. Vol. II, p. 258.

In 1867 were counted 80 signatures of artists, that had been found on more than 400 vases. Since then have come a certain number of names by new discoveries to be added annually to these lists; but these additions have changed nothing in the inferences believed to be derived from the texts already known.

Outside Athens are found very few signatures, and most of those are the signatures of potters. Two Corinthian signatures of Timonidas and of Chares alone form an exception. The verb *egrapsen* is read there. The signatures only began to be in current use in the Attic workshops, and their frequency suffices to inform us of the activity developed by that industry at Athens from the 6th century. The manufacturers incited sales by having their patrons even distinguish in the shop of the dealer vases from a workshop known for the careful execution of its products. In the list made of those Attic ceramists, who thus signed their works, there are more names of potters than names of painters, especially for the 6th century. This numerical difference is evidence of the preponderance that opinion assigned to the industrial chief. His trademark represented in the eyes of patrons what we should call the firm. If f

from the time when began the reign of the red figure, names of painters more frequently accompany names of potters on the vases, this is because that on those vases more and more appreciated by foreigners, the decoration had assumed greater importance than in the past. In the Athens of the Pistratides and soon afterwards in that of Themistocles and Cimon, the ceramic painters gave their figures a nobility and purity of form to which the brush of their predecessors had not attained. Their pictures became compositions of wise and beautiful arrangement. These artists were compared to each other; they were discussed; men boasted of them. In these conditions, for vases intended for the local market or the markets beyond sea, the signature of a famous painter was no less recommendation than that of a manufacturer in vogue. It even seems that at a certain time the signature of the painter had for the purchasers of those vessels, more prestige and effect than that of the master potter, and that it had more on the sale. The manufacturer then had an interest in hiding himself behind the collaborator employed by him. Of all vases signed by Euphronios as painter, only one bears with his own the name of the potter. His rival, the painter Euthymides signed 7 vases. On none of them appears the name of a potter. On 23 vases of the painter Douris mentioned in 1887, only 3 mention a potter, Python. The painter Smicros likewise signed alone the 3 vases known to us from him.

If we consider the advantage that the principal manufacturers in Athens found in thus placing on their vases these certificates of origin and of authenticity, one has more trouble to understand why they made only a restricted use of them. Signed vases are in very small number in comparison to those not signed. Whether the potter did not care to place his name on products of the second rank, on vases made in dozens for sale cheaply is easily explained; but why and how it occurred that there is no signature of either potter or painter on many vases, that it is agreed to rank among the masterpieces of Greek ceramics? To judge of them by their forms and by their entire fabrication, these vases are contemporary with those on which are most read the names of artists, and they came from the same workshops. It is the same that among them, according to the character of the drawing and certain peculiarities in execution, ceramographs believe themselves right in attributing them to a certain

master, whose taste and style they have determined by the vases that he has signed. The anonymous vase rivals in all respects the signed vases. Why has the painter done himself honor by them, while he has disdained to inscribe his name on the others? This question is frequently asked; but so far as I know, it has not yet received a truly satisfactory reply.

The motive of this absence has been sought in the capricious mood of the artist. They had inscribed or omitted their names at the caprice of the moment.¹ Yet it is difficult to admit that caprice played such a part in an industry, where under the impulse of strong competition, each manufacturer had a constant purpose to combine all to retain and increase his patrons. In the conduct of his business, he must follow certain rules whose adoption was suggested to him by the experience acquired of the tastes of the public to which he addressed himself. Here is what has been believed to be discovered some reasons that dictated the part which he had taken in this matter. "However beautiful was the pottery, in which the chief of the house had undertaken no part of the work, that had been executed by his workmen according to the current models of the workshop, it would not seem to him worthy of his trademark. On the contrary, why do vases that seem to us quite insignificant show to the eyes the signature of the manufacturer? This is because is placed on them some novelty in form, some change in proportions, some unusual composition. The signed vase could then be a sort of editio princeps, where the master of the workshop had introduced an element, that he judged important."² The hypothesis is ingenious and plausible. It must contain a certain part of truth. Yet it does not explain to us why signatures become more rare at the time, when about the middle of the 5th century ceramic painters produced their finest works, and why they passed entirely out of fashion in the 4th century.

Note 1. p. 361. Ducati. Brigo. p. 3.

Note 2. p. 361. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 700-701.

After the signatures of artists, there is the place to mention another category of inscriptions, that composed of proper names accompanied by the epithet *kalos*, or *kalé* much more rarely. On Attic vases alone is found this form. It already appeared on vases with black figures; but its use became much more

requent on vases with red figures. It is very difficult to state what must be understood by the word *kalos*. Was that name addressed only to the physical advantages, or did it indeed express admiration of a more general character, that produced by the moral qualities and the social position of the person saluted by that title, as by the beauty of features and body? Perhaps it would be wrong to wish to attribute to this epithet a very precise meaning. It seems that at Athens the word *kalos* attached to a name had assumed in the current language a sort of vague applause.¹ It would have corresponded to our word *vive* in the sense employed, *whereby* *vive* such a one! Still, given Athenian customs, such as we know them by Aristophanes and by the Banquet of Plato, we incline to believe that the praise implied by that *vive* was particularly for the beautiful ephebes, to those that after having inspired in the gymnasiums the most lively passions, who a little later when they began to count themselves men, became the favorites in fashion, no less vaunted for the elegance of their clothing and the luxury displayed, than for the perfection of their youthful forms and for the talents of a squire, proved in the periodical reviews of the Athenian cavalry. Among those to whom the ceramists had decreed this praise, it is believed to be recognized by the name borne, many persons that played their part in the history of the city, members of those old families of the Eupatrides, even after Solon, Clisthenes and Aristides had given an entirely democratic color to the constitution of Athens, that continued to enjoy much influence and prestige during the entire course of the 5th century. In that Athens, which in the time of great ambitions and great undertakings was not yet the city of pleasure, which it would become after irreparable defeats, those young men, future captains and future generals, were much more popular than the courtesans more in view. In 555 inscriptions of this kind that had been collected in 1898 by a patient learned man are found only 30 names of women.¹ If in the epoch of Philip and of Alexander, the industry of the painted vase had retained its ancient customs, the names of Phryne, Lais and Glycera, painters would have inscribed on the clay on which their brushes played.

Note 1.p.362. This clearly results from two passages of Aristophanes in which the poet alludes to the habit of using the

word *kalos* on every occasion, to show the respect and affection borne to a female, a people or even to an institution. (Acarnanians, 1.3; Kaspis, 143). On the agora or the *pinx* was heard the word *kalos* at every moment, when there appeared a person loved by the multitude, and when the orator finished, whose opinions it shared.

Note 1. p. 383. Klein. Vasen mit Lieblinginschriften. 2nd edit. 1898.

If many of these names of *kalos* are those transmitted from grandfather to grandson in the noble houses of Athens, others are far from having that aristocratic appearance. There are some that like *Erachos*, *Midas* and *Perses*, which seem to indicate a foreign origin; these must be the names of resident foreigners or perhaps of slaves. When men were accustomed to lavish these inscriptions on vases, the painters must have made a sport of it, sometimes by awarding that homage to comrades in the workshop, thus assimilating them to the celebrities of the day. It also occurred that the painter did not take the trouble to seek a name, suitable for adding the consecrated epithet. He writes without ceremony. "The boy that I love is beautiful; the girl that I love is beautiful." (*Kalos o pais*, etc.). This was sufficient to evoke the image of a beautiful *ephebe* or of a pretty girl. The form also comprised other variants. Sometimes to the epithet *kalos* was added *dokei*, "such a one seems beautiful to me," or the words *nai*, *naichi*, "yes indeed," which gives more force to the affirmation. There is even seen on the shoulder of an *oinochoe* with black figures in the museum of Munich, the form developed and takes an exceptional length. "Nikolaos is beautiful; but Dorotheos also appears beautiful to me; yes indeed; still another boy is beautiful; that is Menon, my beautiful friend."² One believes that he hears there the echo of a discussion aroused in one of the workshops of potters between the workmen, each of them emphasizing the rights to this praise, that the *ephebe* to which he was attached could have. The Attic painter then had this word *kalos* so much in hand, if one may so speak, that he allowed himself to apply it to the actors in the scene which he represented. *Kalos Hektor* is read on the field of an amphora in the Vatican which represents Hector taking leave of Hecuba in the presence of Priam.³

Note 2.p.363. Otto Jahn. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung Königs Ludwig's in der Pinakothek. No. 334.

Note 3.p.363. Gerhard. Auserlesene Vasenbilder. No. 189.

How came to the Attic ceramists the idea, which neither Ionians nor Corinthians had, of these laudatory inscriptions that were heard everywhere in the city itself and overseas, among foreign patrons of the potters of Ceramicos, the names of the most beautiful sons of Athens? Was this the result of a calculation of interest or that of an intimate and entirely spontaneous feeling? The two elements concurred in suggesting to them this idea and in erecting this custom. "It is probable," has been said, that the great majority of the persons thus applauded, and that know it by historical names like those of Miltiades, Megacles, Leagros, Glaucon and Alcibiades, belong to the high society, the political of Athens. The workmen who celebrate them do not obey an entirely disinterested motive. By placing themselves under the invocation of a certain young aristocrat, whose race horses and beauty excite public admiration, they make a direct appeal to the patronage and protection of a wealthy family. Here again we find an indication of the subordination and patronage that indicates the modest condition of the manufacturers."¹ Doubtless they were not insensible to the profit, that could be derived from those compliments and flatteries; but the calos of the Attic vases was not all persons of high lineage. With these salutations addressed to beauty became in a way customary in the programme of the decoration of Attic vases, they must have expressed a sentiment to them in all minds, in those of the poor and humble as in those of the rich and refined, a feeling as strongly expressed by the works of art of this people as by all its literature. If there were ever a society, possessing the admiration, one could almost say the cult of virile beauty, it was indeed that of the Athens of the 5th century, when the sculptors modeled on the frieze of the cella at the Parthenon the bodies of the horsemen of the marvellous procession, and in the pediments of the Ilissos and Theseus, then also that of a sage like Plato, was pleased to group around the Socrates of his Dialogues the most beautiful young men of the city, and to seek the words which best rendered the charm of their faces and attitudes, the grace of their supple members, as if sculptured by the exercises

of the palestra.

Note 1.p.364.Pottier. catalogue. p. 706-707.

In this epigraphy of vases, the signatures of artists and the salutations addressed to the calos form the two most interesting series; but the brush of the decorators is diverted to scatter on the field many other inscriptions, whose variety is so great that one can scarcely group them by lists. Some allude to the purpose of the vase. On a number of cups with black figures are read appeals thus formulated:- "Hail, good wood," or; "Hail, empty this cup." On many cups with red figures is found the word *prosagereyo*, literally "I speak to thee." This is something like, "Good morning."¹

Note 1.p.365. We borrow all these legends of various kinds from the list of examples given by Walters. Vol. II, p. 261-264. There will be found in the Notes references to the monuments.

The words are sometimes supposed to be spoken by one of the persons in the pictures. They are placed in the field before the head of the figure. That recalls the words which are seen inscribed on certain paintings of the middle ages on bands, that seem to proceed from the mouths of the saints. A painter has represented a boy that has emptied the contents of an amphora into a cratera. He encourages himself to continue his work:- "Pour sweet wine," he says to himself. Elsewhere is a woman that holds a cup to one of her companions and says to him:- "Drink, you also." On a vase signed by Euphronios, a courtesan amuses herself by the play of cottabe, and casts on one of the guests the contents of a cup held in her hand, saying to him:- "On you, Leagros, I cast these drops of wine." On a cup, a drinker at the end of his powers extends himself on a couch, murmuring with a hiccup:- "No, I can do no more."

Sometimes the spectator seems to address one of the actors in the scene represented on the vase. Above the first in the file of three runners competing for the prize is read:- "Polymenon, thou winnest." Written near Amphiaros is the word *anaba*;

Mount, inviting him to take his place on his chariot. In more than one legend are divined the first words of a song that one of the persons sings with open mouth. There has been recognized on a cup the beginning of the elegy of Theognis, and on another is that of a song of some Lesbian poet. Finally, there is a vase with black figures, which represents children and men co-

occupied in looking at a swallow, the first one seen after the winter. One child says:- "See the swallow;" to which the man replies:- "Yes indeed, by Hercules." Another child joins in the dialogue:- "That is waat it is;" he adds:- "It is already spring." It would be easy to cite other inscriptions of the same kind, equally familiar and sportive. In paintings with themes taken from actual life, these legends served to explain the subject of the picture, just as for scenes drawn from the epic myths, do the names written beside the persons.

Paintings of vases have frequently been compared to modern engravings, for the reductions that they present of the works in mural painting or of paintings on wooden panels. Not alone by this trait do these paintings on clay recall our engravings. They approach them again by the part that is played there by all these inscriptions, signatures of potters or of painters, addresses to the kalos and explanatory mottos. Thus at the bottom of an engraving or lithograph is read with the name of the artist, a title indicating the subject of the work and frequently in the case of humorous drawings like those of Gavarni, Dourmier or Hérain, is a legend spoken by the actors in the scene represented. Sometimes even such a dedication to an important person causes one to think of those addressed to the kalos.

To omit nothing concerning the inscriptions painted on clay, it remains to mention those read beneath the feet of some vases, - they are only composed of two or three letters, and these letters are larger than those scattered in the field of the vase. Their signification is not well known. It is asked whether they are marks of the workshop, or if it is necessary to see there the mark of a middleman, who stamped thus the pieces purchased at the manufactory.

Except the last case, the texts of which we have given some specimens from many, have the same origin. They came from the painter. He traced them on the clay with the brush and the same colors that served to execute their decoration. They made an integral part of that decoration. Entirely otherwise is the character of the inscriptions incised with the point, which are found on a certain number of vases. Most times the maker and the painter have nothing to do with these scratches. Nearly always is recognized the hand of a third holder, the merchant who purchased the vases and sold them to the patrons, to architects

that possessed them, that have given them or received them as presents.

14. Epigraphy of Vases. Incised Inscriptions.

There are examples where the makers incised their names in the clay instead of tracing them in color. One of the most ancient signatures¹⁸ known as that of the potter Gamades. On an oenocoe in the Louvre, it is painted in large letters of reddish brown; on an alabaster of the British Museum it is incised with the point.¹ In such a matter, there is no established rule. To sign his works, that he always did on the handle, the Attic potter Hieron in the full 5th century sometimes used the brush and sometimes the point.² Later the potter of southern Italy had recourse to incision with the point, when that is not natural with them, they signed their vases or placed on them the names of personages; this is the case for Assteas, Python and Lasinos.³ There is cited a salutation of kalos, that is engraved and not painted.⁴ The same procedure was adopted in the pottery of the temple of the Cabeires at Thebes for all inscriptions. In the hollows of the letters the painter has placed a white color to make them more prominent.⁵

Note 1.p.367. B.C.H.Vol. II, p. 350.

Note 2.p.367. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p. 162-163.

Note 3.p.367. Walters. History of Greek pottery.II. p.238.

Note 4.p.367. Klein. Lieblingsinschriften. p.118.

Note 5.p.367. Athen. Mitt. 1890. p.398.

These are only rare exceptions. In this list of incised inscriptions, what predominate so far are those in which the signer claims his ownership of the vase. Accompanied by the verb eimi, they give the name in the genitive of the possessor of the object. The vase speaks. It says:- "I am, I belong to such a one." Sometimes this affirmation is developed and takes the metrical form. On the foot of a cup with black figures that came from Rhodes is read this text:-⁶

Note 6.p.367. British Museum. B, 450.

"I am the cup of beautiful Philto." Elsewhere the inscription condemns to damages the careless person, who breaks the vase or formulates an imprecation against the criminal that dares to steal it. The gift is sometimes made as a private person; it is more frequently to a deity. At Naucratis on the sites of the temples of Aphrodite and of Apollo, also at Thebes in

the Cabires, were found on fragments of painted vases dedications of this kind. The ordinary form at Naucratis is :- "I belong to Apollo." On a panathenaic amphora, the athlete that won it as a prize incised these three words (Greek) which attest the victory won by him in the race in the men's stadium.¹ Oscan or particularly Etruscan incisions, of which several still await their explanations, seem to have disclosed either the possessor of the vase or the deceased in whose honor, this vase was deposited on the tomb.

Note 1. p. 368. Rayet-Collignon. *Histoire de la ceramique grecque*. p. 134.

Certain texts offer another kind of interest. Those are the ones where is recognized the hand of the maker himself or that of the buyer who came to make purchases in his warehouses. There are found monograms that it is not always possible to interpret; but frequently whether written with all the letters or abridged, the words composing those inscriptions present a very clear sense. Here is one of these inscriptions. (Greek). I.E., 6 crateres at 4 drachmas apiece, 12 cups at 3 oboluses, 20 oxides at 3 oboluses, 20 oxycapha, each worth 1 drachma and 1 obolus.³

Note 2. p. 368. Walters. Vol. II, p. 239-240.

Note 3. p. 368. Pellinon is a diminutive of pella, that designates a deep cup. It is not known what were the oxides, literally "vases for vinegar." The cratera and the oxybaphon are known. We cannot admit that the figures given in this inscription represent the total cost of the purchase; for example, that he had 6 crateras for 4 drachmas, 12 cups for 3 oboluses. The hypothesis of such a low price would contradict what we know otherwise. Aristophanes indicates 3 drachmas as the average cost of a kados; the kados was a more common vase and less elaborate than the cratera (Peace, verse 1202). In an incision read on a cup Kephison states at 1 drachma the cost of a cup, of which he declares himself the owner. He says that whoever breaks it "will have to pay a drachma." (Böckh. C. I. 3. Vol. I, 545). Thus there cannot be a question of delivering 12 cups for a round sum of 3 oboluses. On the contrary, elsewhere the figures carried in the bill seem to represent the total price of a lot. One of the inscriptions mentions 34 lecythes for 37 oboluses, and another has 13 lecythes for 11 oboluses. That

would here be a little more and there a little less than one obolus per lecythe; now by Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 1236), we know that for one drachma could be purchased a lecythe of the good sort. It is then necessary according to circumstances to understand, after the notes of the dealer, so much apiece and so much for all.

It has been supposed that in this inscription and in other texts of the same kind, it is necessary to see a reminder or note taken by the maker on the clay while still wet in his workshop, when he received an order.¹ What confirms this hypothesis is the fact, that in many cases the inscription is read on the foot of the vase, which has none of the shapes mentioned by the inscription. If the order were made by a private man, it might be that of an entirety, of what we should call a table service. At other times, by the diversity of the pieces comprised, it would rather seem to have corresponded to the vases made in the shop of a dealer, by whose intermediary the painted vases were exported in all directions. One of those merchants could inscribe on the foot of one of the vases purchased the list of the pieces which he had bought.

Note 1. p. 369. Letronne. *Ouvres choisies*. 3rd series. Vol. I, p. 450-459; sur les noms traces à la pointe sous les pieds de quelques vases.

These marks scarcely appeared elsewhere than on Attic vases. They are found much more frequently on the great vases, amphoras, hydrias and crateras, than on cups and the other small pieces. Very frequently is noted the use of letters belonging to the Ionian alphabet, which tends to confirm a conjecture suggested by other indications, the great part taken in the movement and progress of the ceramics of Athens by foreigners, of Ionian origin.

For all these inscriptions, whether painted or incised, the similarity of the marks and of the writings sometimes allow their comparison, and to attribute to the same epoch two vases of different styles, to assign to the same workshop two vases, one of which bears no signature of potter or painter. The study of these cursive texts so far has been merely sketched.² It will have to be resumed, an accurate and complete list be made with facsimiles, of all inscriptions of this sort that can be found in public and private collections. This later will require

long and patient researches; but it will not fail to furnish some data useful for the history of the industry of the painted vase. Whoever undertakes this labor must otherwise be on his guard. Men sometimes have been tempted to increase the mercenary value of a certain vase by adding a painted inscription, an artist's signature; but in such a case, the fraud is easily discovered. Washing with alcohol will cause colors to disappear, that have not been fixed by the fire of the kiln. It is not the same for the incised inscriptions. With some skill, a counterfeiter can execute them in a manner to deceive the purchaser. To distinguish a recent engraving from that dating in antiquity, it needs to be very closely examined.

Note 2.p.369. Rudolf Haekl. *Merkantile Inschriften auf Attische Vasen.* (In *Münchenor arch. Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet.* 1909. Also see Richard Schöne. *Ueber einige eingeritzte Inschriften griechischen Thongefässe.* (In *Comm. phil. in honor Th. Mommsen.* 1877. p. 642-659).

15. Social Condition of Potters and Painters of Vases.

When one measures the place that painted vases occupy in our museums, and what is made of them by the tradition of art in inventory which he draws up of the creations of the plastic genius of the industrial workers, to whom we owe so many works of high interest, and that of the painters associated with their undertaking; but however legitimate this curiosity, it is found difficult to satisfy. In the rare allusions to the clay trades found in the classical authors, there is a sort of disdain.¹

Note 1.p.370. See the texts cited by Pottier. *Catalogue.* p.691.

The lapidary texts give a slightly different impression. They prove that the corporation of Attic potters was admitted to the honor of dedicating exvotos on the Acropolis, beside the beautiful works of art that encumbered the vicinity of the sanctuaries. We know two inscriptions that are dedications of offerings made by Athenian ceramists, Cesiades (or Mnesiades) and Euphronios. They are engraved on the shafts of columns and bases, which served to support the consecrated object. One can thus represent to himself some great craters like the François vase, casting its sombre note in the midst of the white statues and steles that bordered the sacred way. Some of the beautiful fragments that have been gathered on the Acropolis like the pottery signed by Nearchos,¹ must have formed a part of ceramic

ex-votos, thus placed in evidence."² Not only the place of consecration, reserved for offerings of worth, attests already the importance of the industrial workers that used this privilege; but certain indications give reason to think they sometimes associated themselves with great artists to make their dedications. An inscription gives the name of a Nearchos who dedicated an offering in company with Antenor, son of Eumaus, who was the most illustrious sculptor of Athens during the second half of the 6th century.³ Unfortunately the inscription is incomplete and indicates neither the connection nor the profession of Nearchos. The Nearchos thus associated with Antenor might then be any citizen.

Note 2.p.370. C. I. A. Supp. to vol. IV. Nos.332,373(215). Compare Studniczka. Jahrb. 1887. p.135-145.

Note 1.p.371. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p. 38.

Note 2.p.371. Pottier. Catalogue. p.692.

Note 3.p.371. C. I. A. No. 373 (95).

More yet can be deduced from the data furnished by the inscriptions painted and incised on the clay of vases. This data may appear at first sight in contradiction with others. The names of certain potters and painters are followed by a patronymic, Eucneios, son of Ergotimos; Ergotales and Tleson, sons of Nearchos; Eutymides, son of Polios; Hieron, son of Mecon, which implies free citizens. Teisias mentions most frequently his quality of Athenaios. One even finds in a signature of the end of the 5th century the indication of the deme; Nicias, son of Hermocles, of the deme of Anaplystos.⁴ On the other hand, on the list of the manufacturers of vases or of painted plaques, is found many names of foreign appearance:- Skytnos, Lydos, Amasis, Colchos, Thrax, Brygos, Sikanos, Sikelos, etc. Certain other names, Douris, Paidikos, Epictotos, Smicros, Mys, etc. without showing a foreign origin, are not of those which we know by authors and inscriptions, to have been in use about that time at Athens in the world. Of the true sons of the city; they make us rather think of those numerous humorous names that the caprice of the master gave to the slave. Among these manufacturers and the artists employed by them must have been more than one foreigner and more than one freedman. It is known that these domiciled foreigners were better treated in Athens than in any other Greek city, enjoyed there certain rights and had

their marked place in the religious ceremonies of the city. By their industrial and commercial activity, they were for much in the great movement of affairs, that after the Median wars contributed so greatly to make the prosperity and the power of Athens. As for the freedman, Athenian law assimilated him to the domiciled foreigner. He paid the sake tax as the latter and had the same liberties:— could as easily attain to fortune. That is known by the example of two bankers, Pasion and Phormion, frequently mentioned in the civil pleas of Demosthenes. Both started from a servile condition, and they ended by obtaining the freedom of the city; they had taken rank among the richest financiers of Athens.

Note A.p.371. Walters. History, etc. Vol. II, p. 253.

This must have been in general such a mixed society, that inhabited the two quarters of Athens in which was concentrated the industry of painted vases, the inner Ceramicos and the Ceramicos outside the walls. Besides some chiefs of workshops, considered for their fortunes or their connection with the great, it was doubtless composed in the majority of foreigners or sons of foreigners, who themselves engaged their apprentices, workmen and workwomen in the lower class. The intellectual level must then have been in general very mediocre. It would be very imprudent to seek there learned men and thinkers. Some potters had education, because they made allusions to verses of Theognis and of the epic poems, where they themselves attempted to indite their inscriptions in a metrical form, as did the sculptors;¹ but I believe it necessary to adhere to a very ordinary average of instruction. Many workshop employers in this manufacture were illiterate; for on a considerable number of vases, especially in the period of black figures, the inscriptions accompanying the subjects are replaced by letters without order or even by black points.² The manufacturers themselves allowed the painter charged with tracing their signatures to mutilate their names.³ Pamphaios is written Panphanos, Panphaos, Spaiphaios. On a cup of Euphronios is read the barbarism epocissen for epocisen. Faults in spelling of all kinds are frequent.⁴ Dorian forms are frequent in inscriptions on vases and prove there were employed a number of workmen originally from Peloponessus, perhaps from Corinth. When the activity of Corinthian manufactories slackened, the artisans that no longer

found employment in the workshops of the isthmus must seek to hire themselves at Athens. On a vase attributed to Eryxos is another peculiarity. The aspirate *ps* is there replaced by the hard *p*. (*Dipilos*, *Pilippos*). The workman who thus disfigured names very common at Athens pronounced Greek badly. There is reason to believe him a Macedonian or even of Scythian origin.¹

Note 1. p. 372. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*, p. 255, note 2; Walters. *History*. Vol. II, p. 261.

Note 2. p. 372. There is further reason to admit that sometimes these simulated inscriptions rather betray the negligence of too rapid work, than prove the ignorance of the workmen.

Note 3. p. 372. Klein. *Meistersignaturen*. p. 14.

Note 4. p. 372. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p. 898.

Note 1. p. 373. Walters. *History*. Vol. II, p. 256.

We know nothing of the revenues on which the manufacturers could count, nor of the salaries paid to their collaborators. In the 7th and 6th centuries, the ceramists of Ionia and of Corinth and later those of Athens, must have derived fine profits from an industry, which to sell its products did not look entirely to local sales, but also addressed itself to a rich foreign patronage. Among the vases that fill the glass cases of our museums, there is but a small number that came from the same districts in which they were made. Most of them were exported at a great distance from the sites of the cities in which they had been placed on the wheel. They have been collected in the cemeteries of southern Russia, in those of the Cyrenaica, of Sicily and especially of Italy. Some have been found among the ruins of the Greek agencies of Egypt and even in the cemeteries of Carthage. A commerce that had such a diversity of purchasers and such distant markets was certainly very fruitful. These ceramists were private individuals very much at ease, whose offerings appeared on the Acropolis near those of the first personages of the city. If to them fell the best part of the profits thus realized, the painters in the time when their role assumed importance doubtless knew how to cause themselves to be paid for the service rendered to the manufactory by the aid lent by their talent and signature. What induces one to think that these artists sometimes earned enough money to be able to allow themselves the luxury of pleasures reserved for wealthy persons, is the curious painting on a beautiful crater²

with red figures in the museum of Brussels. It is signed by the painter Smicros. There are seen ephebes voluptuously lying on the couches of banquets and surrounded by courtesans (Fig. 186).² Each of those persons has his name written near him on the clay. The women are called "The sinuous, the dance, the rose." The central person is placed just below the signature and bears the name of the artist himself, Smicros. The ephebe on the left is named Pheidiades, and this name is found, followed by the epithet kalos and twice repeated on another cratera that Smicros has signed. There remain but two letters of the third ephebe. The place here attributed to the figure named Smicros, the presence of Pheidiades here, whose name reappears in another painting of the same artist, are so many indications that suggest a very specious conjecture. In this painting was represented Smicros himself giving a feast in gay company with two of his comrades of the workshop. We are thus informed that these ceramic painters were not obscure and needy workmen penned in Ceramicos in the smoke of their kilns by the smallness of their wages. Their profits were fine enough and their social condition was sufficiently elevated, that they could on occasion, like men of the best society, pay for the luxury of rare meals, courtesans and musicians in vogue. These feasts that they loved to represent, with the folly of the joyous and noisy procession that terminated them, it was not by hearsay that they knew the arrangement. They reproduce the attitudes which the guests were caused to take by the intoxication of the cup and that of amorous desire, they were not reduced to gaze through the doorways. They had sometimes shared this intoxication. From their own memories, perhaps from sketches made at the place, when the gayety of the repast was at its highest, they designed the varied scenes of the banquet and of the comos, the scenes in which the most skilful among them had put such a lively movement and such amusing animation.

Note 2.p.373. C. Gaspard. Le peintre ceramiste Smicros, etc. (Monuments Piot, Vol. IX, p.13-41, pls. II, III).

If the rich manufacturers and famous painters, who formed the pick of the corporation of ceramists mingled in the movement of the Attic city, and made a figure there by the masterpieces of their professional skill, that they dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis, if then prided themselves on tasting in

sallies the pleasures more frequently offered to men of high birth of opulent leisure, yet this must have been in the ordinary course of life a world a little apart, a little more closed than that of all these people, chiefs and workmen, citizens, foreigners, freedmen and slaves, who derived their subsistence from the arts of clay. Concoiled in the two quarters, where day and night flamed the fires of the kilns, they lived there together in a comradeship, that produced familiarity, but which did not exclude the violence of competition, secret or open jealousies. From one workshop to another, men observed and questioned. They communicated or sought to steal the secrets of the trade, those tricks of manual skill which shortened the work. They borrowed or stole the moulds. They showed the finished vases and discussed their merit. At the hours when they left the work for meals or rest, what fine disputes there must have been in the two *ceramicos* between the adherents of the ancient method and the partisans of the new, when the red figure came to supplant the black one! There could not fail to be strong rivalry in those laborious swarms, animated rivalries of interest between the owners, of self respect between the artists, between young men that had made a brilliant beginning and the aged masters, who were troubled by the increasing reputation of a rival, whose signature commenced to be at a premium in the market. These passionate rivalries, whose echo has even reached us in the celebrated inscription on an amphora signed by Euthymides. In the field of a picture whose execution does not seem to justify this boast, Euthymides has traced these words:- Euthymides has never done so well!"

Chapter XX. Ionian Ceramics.

I. Necessity for classifying vases in geographical order; Discoveries that have permitted finding and constituting Ionian Ceramics.

There is one sole means of classifying vases in geographical order, which renders the study easy and fruitful for the historian of art: this is to group them by natural families and by schools, as we have done for the monuments of sculpture, taking into account assured or probable sources, of the character of the alphabet employed in the inscriptions and the peculiarities of the fabrication. Even better than statues and reliefs, vases are suited to enter this geographical list.

More than ceramics, sculpture comprises rapid variations due to the originality of the temperament of the artist and to his bold initiative. There were indeed also innovating ceramists; yet as a general rule, the traditions of the workshop and the habits contracted in the course of years of apprenticeship must have imposed themselves with more authority on the makers and painters of vases, than they could do on the masters of the chisel, on statuary that the grandeur and often the novelty of the tasks to which they were called by the orders of princes and of cities, aroused to entirely personal efforts of creative invention.

The contempt it known and is very explicable, that struck the first antiquaries who discovered some of these painted vases, which now crowd our galleries. It was in Etruria that they were collected, in the tombs with walls covered by Etruscan inscriptions. They did not hesitate then to credit them for the industry to which they had reason to attribute the rest of the equipment of the tomb. Then was introduced into current use to designate these monuments the name of Etruscan vases. Men have scarcely dropped this habit, whatever learned men have since said and written. Half a century since, Merimee, who prided himself on being an archaeologist, gave as a title to one of his most charming works:— The Etruscan Vase.

What after the rich finds of Vulci led Gernard and some of his contemporaries to doubt that most painted vases were made in Etruria, and to see in them merchandize imported into Tuscany, was the incontestable fact that the subjects represented

on those vases were nearly all borrowed from Greek mythology. Excavations then came to confirm the inferences that had been derived from these discoveries. As soon as men had begun to seek painted vases in Greece, they were found. Soon were formed collections, like that of the Archaeological Society at Athens, containing only pieces gathered outside Italy in Greece. The sources were noted; the styles were distinguished, and men very quickly came to define by very clear characters two groups of workshops, that of the Corinthian and that of the Attic workshops. But this being established, they were astonished to not arrive at the same result for the industrious and commercial cities of insular and Asian Greece, which by the relations maintained with the Orient, had preceded the cities of European Greece in all the paths of civilization. Was it possible to admit that there had been no Ionian ceramics, or even that it had vegetated obscurely in a country where the other arts had flourished with such splendor? Must it not have profited by the examples given by the same in historical painting?

To reply to these questions otherwise than by conjectures more or less specious, it was necessary to await the evidence of the excavations and their revelations. From Rhodes came to archaeologists the first information by the memorable discoveries made there by A. Salzmann about 1860. They studied the painted vases that came in numbers from the tombs of Kamiros. There were noted in the choice^{of} themes, in procedures of execution and in the making of ornaments and figures, more than one peculiarity recognized elsewhere; thus from 188, men commenced to speak of Ionian vases, of "local workshops of Ionia."¹ At the same time, the excavations of Flinders Petrie at Naucratis and Daphnae in the Delta came to supply precious elements for comparison.² The Ionians had founded these agencies, when Psammetichus had opened Egypt to them in recognition of services rendered.³ Men could believe themselves certain in advance that most of the objects discovered in the soil of these two sites were products of Ionian industry. The event justified these conjectures. The epigraphic texts were written with the Ionian alphabet and worded in the dialect of Ionia. As for the vases, they strongly resembled those of Rhodes and this resemblance was immediately noted.

Note 1.p.379. C. Smith. Jour. Hell. Studies.p.371 et seq.

Note 2.p.379. The excavations of Naukratis were in 1884 and 1885; those of Daphnae in 1886.

Note 3.p.379. All the texts that relate to the Greek agencies founded in Egypt in the course of the archaic age, the texts of Herodotus and of of later writers, were collected and commented on with much criticism by D. Mallet in the Memoir entitled:- Les premiers établissements des Grecs en Égypte (7th and 6th centuries).(Memoirs published by the French Archaeological Mission of Cairo. Vol. XII, part I, 1893).

With the finds of Rhodes and with those of the Greek agencies in Egypt, there was a sure criterion. The evidence of the ceramics could be defined by the characteristics that distinguished it from its rivals. This point settled, the work of examination and classification was accelerated. In the entire extent of the territories known to have been inhabited by the Ionians, and by those where the influence of poetry made itself most vividly felt during the entire duration of the archaic age, as well as the language of arts of Ionia, discoveries were multiplied. But except at Rhodes, they were reduced to very little. None or very few vases, whose fragments would lend themselves to a restoration of the whole. Nothing but fragments, mostly very small. Yet among these shards were scarcely any that did not have something to teach us. What resulted from minute examination was the unity of Ionian ceramics on the one hand, on the other its rich diversity. All this pottery has enough traits in common that one could regard them as forming a single and the same species; but unity is not uniformity. If in the series that men labored to establish, the trade is nearly the same everywhere, and if the decoration everywhere appears as inspired by the same taste, yet there are appreciable differences between one group of pottery and another. The same motive is not always presented in the same fashion. A certain theme or ornament seems to have been much in favor here, while elsewhere it is wanting or appears but exceptionally. There is a certain type that is found only in a single place. That is the case for what is called the situla, from its Latin name. Outside Daphnae, where it abounds (Figs. 187, 188), it has not yet been found in a single example, save a fragment that came from Samos.

which seems to be detached from a vase of this form.¹ In the situla is recognized the clay copy of the bronze buckets used by the Egyptians, and which were very frequently represented in their paintings. If this conjecture be correct, is it not singular that the same idea did not come to the Greek potters of Naucratis?

Note 1.p.380. British Museum. Hall A. 1535.

2. Ceramics of Ionian Colonies in Egypt; Daphnae and Naucratis.

Here is now established the lists of duly attested sources, and of the groups that can be constituted according to the indications that allow one to affirm the Ionian origin of even vases, that have been collected in the Orient very far from Ionia...

Outside Ionia at Daphnae and Naucratis in the Delta of the Nile have been collected painted vases, whose Ionian origin is most surely attested by what we know of the origin of the immigrants, who lived in those places. The first Greeks that had a fixed residence in Egypt were the Ionian mercenaries, to whom Psammetichus I about the year 650 entrusted the guard of the narrow isthmus by which Africa is joined to Asia. He cantoned them in what Herodotus and Diodorus called the Stratopeda between the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and lake Menzaleh. In the vicinity of the fortified camp was created a city, in which is believed to be recognized the Daphnae of Herodotus, which he calls Pelusiac. This city, which seems to contain about 20,000 souls, must be inhabited by a mixed population, where the merchants of very diverse nationalities sold to the soldiers provisions, arms, objects of luxury or fancy, and provided for their pleasures. Natives and Syrians lived there side by side with Hellenes from Asia and the islands; but those were attracted by the presence of their mercenary compatriots, and must form the principal element of this agglomeration." This is what the many fragments of painted vases sufficed to indicate, that have been collected at several points of the ground formerly occupied by the city and the camp. They are there mixed with shards of ordinary pottery without any ornament, found everywhere in Egypt.

Note 1.p.381. Herodotus. II, 30, 101. An alteration of the ancient name is thought to be found in the name of Tell-el-

Deffeneh, now borne by the hill made of the ruins of the ancient brick fort. This etymology has been contested, but it seems without good reasons.

Note 2.p.381. Mallet. *Les premiers établissements*. p. 58.

On these painted vases, the field on which the figures and ornaments are detached, and which are executed in black on reddish brown with touches of purple, is covered by a coating of creamy color. All this pottery having been broken into small bits, men have been able to restore partially but very few vases. Here are the principal pieces that are mentioned. First this bucket, whose type is found only at Deffeneh (Fig. 187), then amphoras where all the body is decorated by images extending in circular bands superposed over each other upward. Below is a series of the flowers and buds of the lotus. Above are palmatiums and then a file of ibexes. On the shoulder is a row of birds. On the neck is a lattice where large black points represent the knots of the little cords of the band. (Fig. 189).¹

Note 1.p.382. See Deffeneh. Pl. 28, 1, 4. Two other amphoras of the same type, but with more simple decoration.

What would give reason to think that most of these vases were made at Napnae itself are the types and motives that the potter has borrowed from Egypt. The form of the situla is that of the bronze bucket, that is often found represented in the Egyptian reliefs. It is certainly a motive of the same origin as the hawk placed on a basket (Fig. 190).² On another fragment is seen a nude man running and brandishing a club, the ordinary weapon of the fellans of the valley of the Nile;³ but the themes where recognizable are nearly all those familiar to the Greek ceramist. Typhon and Eoreas are on a situla (Figs. 187, 188); on another is the Chimera.⁴ Elsewhere is the Gorgon.⁵ These are processions, scenes of combat or of the chase.⁶ Is it an amazon or an Artemis huntress, that should be recognized in a woman that appears nude, and who mounts astride a horse, preceded by a man with a great painted beard, armed with a spear? A wolf walks beside the horse.⁷ Everywhere are sphynxes and passing animals, bulls, stags, panthers and birds. Representations of Bacchic scenes with Silenuses are not rare.

Note 2.p.382. F. Petrie. Deffeneh. Pl. XXV, 1; XXVI, ..

Note 3.p.382. The same. Pl. XXVI, 3.

Note 4.p.382. The same. Pl. XXVI, 3.

Note 5.p.382. The same. Pl. XXVI, 10.

Note 6.p.382. The same. Pl. XXX.

Note 7. p. 382. The same. Pl. XXIX, 4.

It was at first believed that all the painted pottery of Daphnae dated from the 7th or the first years of the 6th centuries.⁸ The site of Daphnae had been abandoned, when Amasis undertook to cause the evacuation of the strategos of the Egyptian frontier, and to recall from it the Greek mercenaries to group them around Memphis.¹ This was perhaps to force the conclusion that is based on an inference from the text of Herodotus. There occurred through the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile too active a movement of merchandise, so that Daphnae did not survive as a much frequented port the departure of the foreign garrison. A more careful study of the pottery gathered in that place has fully confirmed that conjecture. It tends to cause to be believed, that under Amasis himself there remained at Daphnae many Greeks, makers or at least purchasers of painted vases.² This study has demonstrated that it is proper to distinguish two ceramics at Daphnae, that do not date from the same time. The first that may be called archaic, is represented by the buckets with black ground and by the amphoras with friezes of passing animals. It is made of carelessly prepared clay and is coated with a white glaze. In the products of the second, the clay is much finer in grain, and it has received no coating on the fields. It everywhere retains the yellowish red tint given to it by the firing.

Notes 1. p.383. Herodotus. II, 154.

Note 2.p.383. Dümmler. Zu den griechischen Vasen von Tell Defenneh. (Jahrb. Vol. X. p. 35-36).

Finally, what suffices to prove that this pottery dates from the last period of the development of Ionian art is the fact, that to indicate the internal details of the image, the painter there uses incised lines. Now Ionian decorators did not begin to incise the clay till very late, when the diffusion and the vogue of corinthian pottery had given them the idea of preferring this more rapid procedure to that of reserved lines and white retouches. These vases cannot be earlier than the second half of the 6th century. The character by which they indeed remained Ionian is the taste shown by the painter for the richness and diversity of colors. In his paintings on the

yellowish ground are detached the figures of dark red, which tends to violet in places. The flesh of men is brown and that of women is white. In one of these fragments the blanket of a horse has white spots, and white crosses ornament the tunic of the woman that springs into her chariot. (Fig. 191).

On the amphoras and hydrias of which we have but slight remains, the decoration presents an appearance recalling that offered by painting in a little group of vases found in Italy, we mean that which ceramographs call the hydrias of Caere. Where were made those hydrias so designated? It is unknown, and it is also impossible to affirm that the polychrome pottery of which we have given a specimen was made at Daphnae. It could have been imported from some workshop to be sought on the Asian coast or in one of the adjacent islands. However that may be, the resemblance that we mention has its interest. It is another indication to invoke in favor of the hypothesis, that attributes vases to an Ionian workshop, that have been collected on distant Etruria.

Another Egyptian site, that of Naucratis, has supplied a much greater number of painted vases than Daphnae, better preserved and more varied in form and decoration. This is because Naucratis has had a very different importance and a much longer prosperity than Daphnae, that it attracted and caused to live in Egypt a much greater number of Greek immigrants, in better defined conditions of permanency. Very early and perhaps from the end of the 8th century, the Miletans had established in the west of the Delta at the mouth of the little river Bolbitine an agency, which they had enclosed by a rampart to protect it from pillage of the merchandise, which they had deposited there. This was what was called the wall of the Miletans.¹ When the call addressed by Psammeticus to the multitude of foreign hoplites had accustomed the Greeks to travel in the interior of the country, the Miletans were emboldened to leave the coast and to found Naucratis in the midst of the land on the left bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, which had sufficient water to open a passage to the largest ships of commerce. By this arm of the river, Naucratis was in direct connection with Sais, that had become the capital of Egypt. Different indications, those derived from the texts like those furnished by the result of the excavations, give reason to think that

the creation of the Miletan agency dated from the reign of Psammetichus. This first Naucratis was entirely Miletan and appears to have been destroyed at the end of a certain time by a great general conflagration. At Tell-el-Oebirich, where has been recognized without possible hesitation the site of this city, on a part of the area on which are scattered the ruins of the ancient city, there is deeper than a thick layer of rubbish, a layer of ashes and of objects that appear to have been calcined by a violent fire.

Note 1. p. 384. Strabo. XVII, 18.

When did the Miletans rebuild their houses and destroyed edifices? We do not know; but what is known from Herodotus, that a new era opened for Naucratis under the reign of Amasis, the philhellenic Pharaoh (569-526). To Naucratis he sent all Greek immigrants, who desired to have their part in the profits that the Egypto-Greek commerce had been worth to the Miletans for more than a century.¹ Amasis made concessions of lands to all that presented themselves for this purpose. He took measures intended to cause nearly all this commerce to pass through Naucratis. To the Greeks established there under the protection of the royal officers he granted a sort of monopoly, that enriched them very rapidly. Naucratis became a city of business and industry, luxury and pleasure, when stopped at the beginning of their travels, all Greeks, merchants or mere observers, that came to visit Egypt. More than those of Corinth, the courtesans of Naucratis made a scandal by their wealth and prodigality.²

Note 1. p. 386. Herodotus. II, 178-179.

Note 2. p. 386. The same. II, 135.

The Miletans saw themselves compelled by that influx of arrivals to give place to the newcomers near them. These formed an amphictyon at Naucratis, an association with its elective administrators, the overseers of commerce. These delegates held their meetings in an enclosure termed the Hellenion, that has been recognized in the foundations forming a vast quadrilateral on the ground. Forming a part of this association were four Ionian cities, Chios, Teos, Phocæa and Clazomenes, four Dorian cities, Rhodes, Cnidos, Halicarnassus and Phaselis, and finally the Eolian city of Mitylene; but the Miletans, who were perhaps not resigned with very good grace to the division of the

did not enter into that syndicate. Grouped around the temple which they had consecrated to their national Apollo of Didymus, they formed a separate society, and as the first occupants, they must continue to hold the primacy in that motley of active multitude. Their example had been followed by the Samians and Eginetans, these doubles being the last comers. The Samians had as a centre their temple of Hera and the Eginetans their temple of Zeus. There were elements sufficiently diverse; But Miletus and the four other Ionian cities to which ^{was} adjoined Samos, this was the civilization of Ionia and its dialect, which dominated in this entirety and gave it tone. We have already had more than one occasion to prove that the cities regarded as Dorian on the southern coast of Asia Minor had scarcely more of Dorian than the name; they had been penetrated by the Ionian genius and had allowed its ascendancy. It is Ionian art that is occupied in architecture, sculpture and ceramics, of what remains to us of the art works of Naucratic art. We then have a right to attach to Ionia as an annex oversea this Naucratis, which by the part that it played in the Egypt of the Saites, appears to us as the predecessor, as a first sketch of the Alexandria of the Ptolemies.¹

Note 1.p.387. The excavations of Naucratis were commenced by Flinders Petrie in 1884-1885 and continued in 1885-1886 by E. H. Gardner. They were resumed first in 1889 for the account of the English School of Athens, and then in 1903 at the cost of the Craven fund of the University of Oxford. For its results, see the third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Naucratis. Part I. 1884-1885 by W. F. Petrie with chapters by C. Smith, E. Gardner and B. V. Head. 1886.

Sixth Memoir of Egypt Exploration Fund. Naucratis. part II. by E. A. Gardner, with appendix by F. L. Griffith. 1888.

Annual of British School at Athens. Vol. V. 1888-1889. G. Hogarth. Excavations at Naucratis. Plates II-XIV. Site and buildings. C. C. Edgar. Inscribed and painted pottery. C. C. Edgar. A relief. C. Gutch. The terra cottas.

Jour. Hell. Studies. Vol. XXV. (1905; Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer, C. C. Edgar. Naucratis. Pls. V-VIII. 1903).

By studying the monuments found in these excavations and those from the same source preserved in various museums, Hugo F. Prinz has undertaken a general study with the title:- Funde

aus Naucratis. Beiträge zur Archaeologie und Wirthschaftsgeschichte des VII und VI Jahrhunderts. §7 th supplement to the Review Olio).

A summary of the same kind but much more condensed, has been given by A. J. Reinach:— *Les fouilles de Naucratis et l'histoire de la ceramique grecque* (Jour des Savants. 1909, p. 354-363).

It was not alone commerce in transit which made the prosperity of Naucratis. A number of artisans were established there, who worked both for Greek patrons and for Egyptian. In the course of the excavations, it was believed to be discerned, that those artisans were grouped by trades, as they are today in the cities of the Arabs, Turks and Persians. We have to occupy ourselves here with one of those industries, that of the ceramist. That it was practised at Naucratis during the entire archaic age in shops with a very active production, it is not possible to doubt. In the entire extent of the field of ruins, and especially near two of the temples, in these pits in which were buried the rejected articles, the fragments of painted vases were gathered by thousands. It can scarcely be admitted that there was brought from outside into that little city such a prodigious quantity of decorated pottery. Further, for some of the vases represented by these fragments, the proof is made that they were fabricated at the place. There are read dedications in honor of local deities, and these are written in letters traced with the brush on the clay before firing.¹ It was not in a workshop in some distant city, purchased at the manufactory, that these inscriptions could be placed on the vases intended to serve as an offering. Finally by Atheneus, who was of Naucratis, we know that in the second century of our era this industry still flourished in his native city. He says:— "There are many potters at Naucratis, and hence it comes that the city gate opening on the quarter which they inhabit is called the ceramic gate."² The persistence of this industry gives reason to think that Naucratis had in its vicinity beds of excellent plastic clay, and that certain trade conditions were retained in its workshops, where the work was not interrupted. Atheneus informs us that in his time was made there a very special kind of cups. He says:⁶ "They are in the form of pialles and appear not to be shaped on the wheel, but by hand; they have four handles and a broad and flat base; they are covered

by a coating that gives them the appearance of silver." Of these cups described by Athenaeus, one would be tempted to recognize the prototype in a cup of the 7th century B.C. found at Naucratis (Fig. 192). By its small depth, this tends to the phiale. It has four handles, and the heads ornamenting these handles, modeled with the roughing tool, imply the free work of the hand. Finally, the white coating that covers all surfaces there, in its first freshness had something of the tone and gleam of silver.

Note 1.p.388. Naucratis. Part I, p.54. Part II, p.39. This refers to dedications to Aphrodite on fragments found in the precinct of Aphrodite.

Note 2.p.388. Athenaeus. XI, 480 B.

The excavations at Naucratis have always been made by English archaeologists. Then it is not surprising that most of the monuments discovered have gone to the British Museum. It is necessary to go to London to study the ceramics of Naucratis and the fragments of the same kind, that have been gathered at other sites in lower Egypt. Yet other galleries have succeeded in obtaining possession of a certain number of pieces that came from those works. The Louvre, so rich in other respects, is the one of all great museums in which that manufactory is most poorly represented.¹

Note 1.p.390. Small collections of fragments from Naucratis went to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and the Ashmolean of Oxford, to the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, to the Berlin Antiquarium, to Heidelberg and to Bonn. M. von Bissing acquired some fragments for the Museum of Munich. The Louvre has only some bits brought in 1905 and 1909 by Seymour de Ricci. Finally, the Museum of Cairo levied its share during the excavations, and since their close, the Museum of Alexandria has been enriched by the best of the thousands of bits, which seekers for Sebakh still extract from the mounds situated between Kom Saef and Megrach, that about a mile east still retains the ancient name. (A. J. Reinach, p. 353).

Most of the vases, whose fragments have been found at Tell-el-Nebiren, we believe were made in the workshops of Naucratis; but it does not follow that there have not been introduced into Naucratis many vases from the workshops of the coast of Asia

or from the neighboring islands. We know in what quantities and with what facility painted vases journeyed by sea from one end to the other of the Mediterranean; but what seems difficult to us, if not impossible, is to distinguish imported vases from those produced by the local industry. If in the form and by the style of its decoration, a certain vase found at Naucratis strongly resembles a vase that came from a Rhodian or a Samian cemetery, is it not rash to conclude from this, as sometimes done, that this vase received its shape at Rhodes or Samos? ² More than one master potter of Naucratis might have learned his trade in one of the Ionian cities represented at Naucratis by their sons, that the desire of making their fortune had led to Egypt? Further, in that little Greece of the Egyptian delta, could not one adopt the fashions of the metropolis or rather of the various metropolises, with which were connected the different groups, whose reunion formed this composite and multiple colony? If taste changed in the industrial centres of Ionia, some new procedure in execution was adopted there by the artisans, and some novel motive entered their repertory, they must follow at Naucratis without delay the movement, whose signal had been given in the mother country. Save in one or two cases where the source seems certain, we shall not undertake then to separate imported vases from those of local fabrication. All this pottery of Naucratis, we shall regard by hypothesis as the work of the potters of the Delta; but it will appear to us in its entirety as a transfer and imitation of Ionian ceramics, an imitation in which is summarized as in a faithful abridgement, all the scattered and varied efforts of European Greece.

Note 2.p.390. Hugo Prinz in his Memoir, that further shows such a careful and systematic study of the fragments from Naucratis, starts with a hypothesis in contradiction with that adopted by us. He regards as imported nearly all vases whose fragments have been collected at Tell-el-Mebireh (p. 38, 42, etc.). He divides them into vases of Miletan, Samian, Clazomenian, Lesbian, Cyrenean, Melian origins, etc. The great defect of this classification is the small number and the slightness of the indications observed to define what Prinz terms these different ceramics. I scarcely see that characteristics of the Cyrenaean are sufficiently established, that one can at Naucratis take from a heap certain fragments, and affirm with some

assurance that they came from vases made at Cyrene.

Like all ceramic that the tomb has guarded, that of Naucratis is reduced to bits, and it has not been possible to restore nearly complete but a very small number of vases. But the fragments are frequently of dimensions sufficiently large to allow the form to be divined, to which they belonged, and in any case to appreciate the style of the decoration. However irritating it may be to hardly have there more than bits to study, still by this means men have come to classify the vases from Naucratis, and to divide them into groups distinguished by differences of manufacture corresponding to the differences in date.

The group that seems most ancient comprises vases of various shapes, jars, hydrias, amphorae and crateres, dishes and cups, characterized by the use of a whitish glaze of slight resistance, frequently detached in scales. This glazing has been applied to the entire exterior of the vase, whose interior was painted black. The ornamental designs are executed in brown sometimes tending to red, enhanced by touches of purple and sometimes of white. The decoration has as a principle the division into concentric or superposed bands, occupied by files of animals, real or fictitious. Lions and wild boars, ibexes and goats, hinds and stags, griffins and sphynxes. With these processions of animals sometimes alternate garlands of the buds and flowers of the lotus. The ordinary elements of these entirely conventional decorations reappear in nearly the same order on many fragments; but of all these, we shall indicate but one, for the variety of the motives that ornament one side. What the painter has placed on the cratera over the lion and stag of the lower zone are two cocks facing each other, separated by a serpent with double coils, raised and menacing head. (Fig. 193). On another side of the cratera is an eagle between two riders, over a hind and a siren (Fig. 194). As an example may be cited a vase in form of an *ascos*, on the body of which are represented dogs pursuing a hare with two passing wild goats.¹ The decoration has suffered too much to be suited for reproduction. The goat with the beautiful curve of his horns backward to the rear, furnishes the painter with one of his favorite motives. This painter also loves the fallow deer with the white spots dotting its covering. These spots are either given or

by reserves, that allow the ground coating to appear, or by touches of white laid on the black. Most of the figures are in opaque outline; but sometimes the head and the extremities of the members present only a line drawing, which gives more effect to those parts of the body.¹ Lines are never incised. The human figure very rarely appears on this pottery with white glaze on which there is no engraving. On those at least numerous fragments that we have given, there is only represented but one head of a man of very rude execution and the bottom of a draped figure.

Note 1.p.392. Naucratis. II, Pl. V, 1.

Note 1.p.393. The same. II, Pl. XII.

Note 2.p.393. The same. II, Pl. V, 5, 6.

This human figure on the contrary is very frequently found on the fragments of vases, that are certainly a little less ancient. They came from a pottery, without breaking with the traditions of the first fabrication, that has suffered the influence of Corinthian manufacture. To the products of the latter was opened the way to European Greece, and there without renouncing the use of the white coating, they had borrowed from the Corinthian artisan to model the interior of the image the convenient process of incised lines. As a specimen of the mixed style that characterizes this borrowing may be mentioned the heads and bodies of negroes presented by several fragments (Fig. 195). On considering these images, it seems that the artist took malicious pleasure in exaggerating the deformity of these types offered to the eyes in the servile population of Egypt. The complacency with which he reproduced them is another indication to allege in favor of the hypothesis, which is ours, that of a local industry which gave birth at least to most of the vases, whose fragments strew the soil of Naucratis. To this same series are also connected several other paintings. On a fragment of a cratera is seen an amazon that gallops behind a great swan.¹ Elsewhere there are Kosroi, files of male or female dancers.²

Note 1.p.394. Naucratis. I. Pl. VI, 4.

Note 2.p.394. The same. II, Pl. XI, 1, 2; XIII, 1.

A type peculiar to Naucratis by its form of decoration is that of a great bowl with or without feet, whose contour presents a broken line (Fig. 196). Its interior is coated by a black

and brilliant glaze, on which appear parallel bands of red, purple or white. On the exterior is a glaze of yellowish brown. These two coatings were fixed on the clay by firing; they do not scale like the white covering. On that of the exterior is applied in black a decoration composed of the same elements as those of the vases of the first series, real animals or imaginary monsters, horsemen pursuing deer,¹ general ornaments like the fret, ornaments borrowed from the plant kingdom, the palm-
atium and especially the bud and flower of the lotus. The design of these palmatiums and these garlands is often very free, and one notes the same boldness of line in the lions' heads.² (Fig. 197). There are also sometimes floral motives painted in red and white on the black glaze covering the interiors of these vases.³ By this medley of colors and the character of these motives, these vases recalled to one that exhumed them the appearance of the prehistoric Cretan vases called of Kameiros.

Note 1. p. 395. *Naucratis*. II, Pl. VI, 3; VII; XIII, 2, 8. *Annual of British School at Athens*. Vol. V. Pl. VI, 9. (Fragment of a great lebes).

Note 2. p. 395. *Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1887. Pl. 79, 3.

Note 3. p. 395. C. C. Edgar in *Annual*. Vol. V, p. 51-53. *Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1905. p. 121.

Note 4. p. 395. *Jour. Hell. Studies*. p. 119-121. Pl. 79.

On these vases, bowls and crateras, the polychrome decoration aims at effect by the variety of its tones and by their animation. Thus on one fragment are four different colors. The ground is a creamy yellow on which the figures, a spotted deer between two lions, is detached in full outlines, whose mass is given in black; but on this black are laid touches of purple and of white. The modeling is completed by incised lines. In the field are black and white rosettes, small black flowers with four petals. These images are enclosed between a row of clubs and a fret (Fig. 197).⁵ On another fragment of the same pottery, where the ground is the same yellow, the brush has drawn in white, red and black a sphynx, whose head is ornamented by a reversed Mycenaean plume.⁶ Elsewhere the ground is a dark red and is divided in metopes by vertical black and white stripes. In each of these panels, executed in light yellow, is a nude figure of a horseman armed with a spear. Brown lines

model the form.⁷ Still elsewhere on a ground of brick red arise busts of bearded persons; they are black and red with white touches.¹

Note 5.p.395. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1887. Pl. 79, 2.

Note 6. p. 395. The same. 1905. Pl. V, 1.

Note 7.p.395. The same. Pl. V, 2.

Note 1.p.396. E. A. Gardner. J. H. S. 1887. p.119-120.

Of this pottery frankly polychrome, we have already found remains at Daphnae (Fig. 191); but Naucratis has furnished much more numerous specimens of it. Without good reasons, it has already been desired to attribute it to Clazomene; but for the archaeologist that has handled most of the fragments from Naucratis, it is not doubtful that it was made at Naucratis itself.² It is gathered there in considerable quantity, and this type of bowl has not been found on any other field of excavations. What seems to solve the question is that on several of these fragments, that came from the precinct of Aphrodite, are read dedications with letters painted on the clay before placing it in the kiln. Finally, what confirms this hypothesis is that on some of these fragments are noticed motives, which seem to have been suggested by the decorator by this Egypt that he inhabited. Such is the fragment that shows a profile of a man on which rises above the brow the head of a serpent. The painter is there certainly inspired by the traditional headdress of the Egyptian kings, and he has carried fidelity in the imitation so far as not to forget those scarf ends tied around the head, that in the royal images fall on the nape and float behind between the shoulders.³ Some of these bowls had as sole ornament two great eyes painted on a cover of beautiful yellow, between which the nose is sometimes indicated in an entirely schematic manner. This is still a motive that appears to have been borrowed from Egypt. One has good reason to believe that popular superstition attributes to it the value of a sort of talisman.

Note 3.p.396. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I, Figs. 474, 502.

Note 2.p.396. In the interior of one of these great bowls, E. Gardner read, traced in great white letters this inscription: (Greek). The vase had been ordered from the manufactory to be offered to Aphrodite.

If the secondary varieties are neglected, all pottery found

at Naucratis divides into two groups, that are distinguished from each other by sufficiently clear characteristics. On the one hand, there are vases without the human figure, that admit no elements of other than images of animals arrayed in pairs, or that march in long processions. No incised lines. The brush has done all this decoration. . The painter has only a very poor repertory; however, by the skill with which he used these motives, especially by the harmony that he knows how to produce, with a very just sense of color, between the softness of its creamy grounds and the diluted blacks, the purple and the white of his figures, he gives to the whole a harmonious appearance, that does not fail to please the eyes. In the second group, where the decorator calls the point to the aid of his brush, the themes are much more varied and the colors more vivid; but the polychromy is not an example of any violence.

It is not doubtful that the first group, with the simplicity of its entirely conventional decoration and its discreet colorings, may be the most ancient. In the second is felt the effort of a school that desires to renew itself at any cost, sometimes free to exceed moderation. Thus one risks little to deceiving himself by admitting that the vases of the first group in general came from Miletan Naucratis contemporaneous with Psammetichus I, while those of the second group had been made in the more populous and richer Naucratis, in which the privileges granted by Amasis had attracted Eolians and Ionians, Dorians and Egineans. The most ancient of these vases dated back to the 7th century, to a time when oriental Greece was not yet accustomed to seek and import the products of the workshops of Corinth. It would date from the second half of the 6th and perhaps from the first years of the 5th centuries. Herodotus attests that the prosperity of Naucratis survived the Persian conquest.

The local industry thus by striving in invention and by sometimes inspiring itself by foreign models, might prolong its activity quite late; but the colony had already commenced much before that time to obtain from outside many painted vases. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from those made at Naucratis itself, those supplied to it from Miletus, Rhodes and the other industrial cities of Asian Greece and of the adjacent islands; but one does not feel the same embarrassment in deter-

determining the imports from European Greece. At Naucratis are very rarely found remains of the vases termed protocorinthian; but those of the true Corinthian ceramics are found there in much greater number.¹ Perhaps the Eginetan merchants brought them to this market. Attic pottery is well represented there. Doubtless by the intermediary of the Eginetans, it seems to have found at Naucratis from the middle of the 6th century more favor and sale than the ceramics of Corinth. There have been collected many fragments of Attic vases with black figures contemporaneous with the great cratera signed by Clitos and Ergotimos. The associated signatures of this painter and this potter are found at Naucratis on two fragments of cups. An Athenian ceramist previously unknown, Sandros, has left his name on four other cups at Naucratis. It has given the 75th signed work of the fertile Nicosthenes.² No Attic vases with red figures. The beginning of this style corresponds to the time when the Median wars interrupted the commercial relations between European Greece and Egypt, that had become a province of Persian empire. Finally, here is a last current of importation that should not be forgotten. Some 30 fragments whose color and decoration recall the cup of Arcesilas are regarded as of Cyrenaean origin, because of this similarity. Their presence is explained by the relations that had always existed between the ports of Cyrenica and those of the Delta, relations which became still closer when Amasis was allied by marriage with the royal family of Cyrene.¹

Note 1.p.398. Hugo Prinz. p. 68-75

Note 2.p.398. A. J. Reinach. (Jour. de Savants. 1909,p.380). Hugo Prinz. p. 75-81.

Note 1.p.399. Naucratis. I. p.53-54; II, p.43-44; Hugo Prinz. p. 84-87.

By its luxurious pottery, Naucratis interests us here; but to collect the fragments of that ceramics and to define it, one is led to survey the discoveries of all kinds that have been made on several occasions at Tell-el-Nebiren. Now this study of the whole cannot fail to suggest to the historian reflections, that aid him in seizing one of the original traits of Greek genius.

Naucratis was a Greek province in Egyptian territory, like Hongkong in our days on the shore of the bay of Canton, an

English province in Chinese waters. Assuming that in some 10 centuries the city of Victoria, capital of the colony is reduced by some catastrophe to a mass of ruins similar to that beneath which are concealed the remains of what was Naucratis. Suppose that a Flinders Petrie of that time undertakes excavations in that heap of rubbish intended to permit him to form an idea of the life led about the year 1900 of our era in that city of European colonists, who thus established themselves on the margin of the civilization of the middle empire. In the trenches that he will dig just where rose formerly the beautiful houses of wealthy English shipowners and merchants, he would collect the remains of machines and furniture, vases of metal and of clay, objects of all sorts to which he would have a right to attribute to an English origin according to their fabrication; but he would certainly gather, mixed with those products of western industry, fragments of lacquer, bronzes and Chinese or Japanese enamels, Satsuma porcelain broken into a thousand pieces. Perhaps he would even recover the traces of workshops, where in the immediate vicinity of the European quarter native workmen practised the trades learned from their ancestors. Thus he would convince himself that those strangers that came so far to live in a world very different from the one in which they were born, had retained their hereditary habits and their form of mind, but they had been very sensitive to the prestige of the arts of the Orient, and that in the installation and decoration of their residences, they gave their concession, as it is called, artisans of the yellow race occupied in fabricating for them in place all that they borrowed from China in tools, goods and luxury.

At Naucratis is nothing similar. There seems to have existed at the south of the temple of Aphrodite an Egyptian town, perhaps preceding the foundation of the Greek Naucratis, which would then have served as a residence for the royal officials charged to oversee and protect the foreign colony.¹ There were exhumed the remains of the material and works of a manufactory of scarabs of glazed clay and of figurines made of the same paste. The cartouches impressed on these scarabs are so incorrect, that it seems difficult to recognize in them the hands of true Egyptian artists. Scarabs and figurines were of those exported wares for which men were satisfied by something nearly

correct. Did Greeks carry on this workshop, whose products are thought to be found at Rhodes and even elsewhere? Men had begun to suppose this; but it was observed that scarcely any vestige of the presence and activity of Greeks was found in this field of the excavations. There were scarcely found those bits of painted pottery, that in the north quarter were gathered in cart loads. It was then asked if there had not been rather a Phoenician workshop, opened before even the coming of the first Greek colonists, and that was closed after their arrival. It is known that the Phoenicians made a trade of counterfeiting. Those posted in the suburbs of Naucratis, must find their account in exporting their wares by the intermediary of the merchants of Miletus and of Egina.

Note 1.p.400. Hogarth in Jour. Hell. Studies. 1905.p.100-8.

Excavations gave entirely different results in the ground situated north of the Aphrodision, where were huddled close together the public and private buildings of the different Greek agencies. Everywhere there was not uncovered a single effigy of a god or of an Egyptian king, not an object bearing the mark of the old industries of the valley of the Nile, that recalls the beliefs and usages of the great country in which Naucratis held so small a place. All at Naucratis is Greek, and purely Greek. Scarcely are there some motives of decoration like the propylæotic eye, the brow of a man surmounted by the uræus, some heads of negroes, that give reason to think that the ceramists of Naucratis sometimes passed the limits of the concession, and glanced at the surrounding country and cities. One could just as well believe himself in some island of the Egean sea always inhabited by Greeks, as in one of the cantons of the Egyptian Delta.

This is not because the Greeks scorned or were ignorant of that Egypt, whose wealth they had come to exploit. They were too intelligent and too inquisitive to hold this disdain or to condemn themselves for this ignorance. They admired rather nervously sometimes this ancient civilization before which they felt themselves very youthful. They were engaged in borrowing many technical procedures which they lacked; but in spite of this homage and those borrowings, they felt themselves profoundly different from the oriental world. Everything separated them from it, their conception of the universe and of life,

their religion and poetry, gymnastic training, republican manners and pannellenic patriotism. They had such a vivid feeling of the contrast, that where they found themselves plunged and as if drowned in what they termed barbarism, they retired within themselves with an instinctive movement, and applied themselves to rebuild a little Greece, the image of the great one, in some distant region to which they had been led by the love of adventure and luxury. Everywhere that they had settled, the Greek city was reconstituted at once with its debates in the agora and with its elective magistrates, its palestra and gymnastic games, with its competitions in music and poetry. The organism thus created was as if impenetrable to external influences. For those who succeeded in modifying it were required much time, and events that no one was able to foresee in the 6th century. It was necessary for the Macedonian conquest and the monarchies born from it to move and stir the human material from the coasts of the Egean sea to those of India, that all peoples should be mingled to the point of losing something of their moral independence and of their originality.

It has been said that Naucratis was like a sketch, a first edition of Ptolemaic Alexandria. The comparison is true so far as regards its position on the map, the establishment of the Greeks at a fixed post in Egypt and the commerce which was carried on there; but it is faulty in other respects. Naucratis was a closed Alexandria, where the two Greek elements did not react on each other as they did in the great cosmopolitan city, where all histories of the past were resumed and brought together, where operated the fusion of all beliefs and of all myths, all doctrines and all the arts of the old world. At Alexandria this ancient world was studied in a microcosm, that was its faithful and living summary. At Naucratis was found only a projection of Greece, a Greek city, or rather a group of little associated Greek cities, each of which gave its personal note in the concert, brought to it the peculiarity of its own traditions, of its industry and of its art.

3. What has been recovered of Ionian ceramics on the coast of Asia Minor and in the adjacent Islands, excepting Rhodes.

It would have been expected that there must be counted among the centres of Ionian art the island of Cyprus, which is nearer

Ionian than the coasts of European Greece. But like its sculpture, Cyprus by its native ceramics, that for several centuries appears to have responded to its needs and tastes.¹ The island has furnished very few vases in which one has reason to recognize objects imported from outside, and those are rather of Attic origin. There have also been found some Corinthian aryballes. As for the Ionian industry, in the contributions of the Cypriote cemeteries it is only represented by an amphora, whose fabrication is that of the vases of Rhodes.²

Note 1.p.402. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. Chap. X. Sect.2.

Note 2.p.402. P. Hermann. *Das Grabenfeld von Marion auf Cypern*. 1888. p. 13. Note 10.

On the other hand, this island of Rhodes is nearer the metropolises of Ionism, and has reserved happy surprises for us. When the great movement of peoples followed what the ancients called the return of the Heraclides, immigrants from Argos were established there. Then the Dorian blood predominated there;³ but in all that region of the European coasts of the Egean sea, Ionian genius had invented so much that its prestige and its ascendancy was imposed on the cities themselves, whose inhabitants were not of Ionian race.

Note 3.p.402. The Rhodians "εἰσι γένος;" Thucydides.VII.57.

To speak here only of plastics, all that has been collected of archaic sculpture in Asia Minor and in the islands adjacent, allows to be recognized the types created by Ionian art and the mark of its style.⁴ It is thus for the stone statuettes collected at Camiros;¹ some entirely similar came from Samos, Clazomenes and Massilia, a colony of Phocæa.² We have represented a relief discovered in the little island of Syme near Rhodes;³ now by its entire form as by the fabrication of the image, this stele announces itself as the work of an Ionian artist.

Note 4.p.402. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 329 and Note 2, Fig. 142.

Note 1.p.403. The same. Figs. 138, 140, 144.

Note 2.p.403. The same. Figs. 119, 139, 193, 194.

Note 3.p.403. The same. Vol. III, Fig. 143.

If by the representations of the human form given there, Rhodes appears to us as a dependency of Ionia, ought we not to expect this predominance of the arts of Ionia to present themselves

more strongly still in what the excavations restore to us of its ceramics? The products of the industrial arts are more mobile than those of statuary, and the workmen that fabricate it easily travel; they soon open a workshop where they find a sale for their goods. Whether the people of Rhodes obtained their pottery from Miletus and Samos, or they purchased it from potters who had fixed their residence in that island, the cemeteries of Kamiros have given us the best series of Ionian vases now possessed, the series which counts more well preserved vases, and from which one can demand the most certain elements of comparison, when he undertakes to refer to Ionian manufacture fragments or vases that have been collected in various places, frequently very far from the country of their origin. By their importance, by finds made at Rhodes they call for a special and separate study here.

The original characteristics of Ionian ceramics, their traits are found more or less marked in the very rare vases or fragments of vases, that were found very far apart either in Ionia properly so called, or in the territories adjoining Ionia in which were formerly established Eolian and Dorian immigrants.

The importance of the industry and commerce of Miletus have caused some archaeologists to think that Miletus must have had potters that produced much, and who exported in full cargoes their painted vases into Egypt and into the islands. The conjecture is specious; but it is truly to abuse it and term Miletan on the faith of this hypothesis, vases with white coating and files of animals that are found either at Naucratis or at Rhodes.⁴ It is possible that the workshops of Miletus may have fashioned vases of this sort, and fragments of them have been gathered on the site of Miletus, where recent excavations have exceptionally reached the archaic layer; but the fragments of vases of this kind are mixed with bits representing other varieties of Ionian ceramics. This results from a single very brief statement, which we have given concerning those finds.⁴ Until a new order, nothing then authorizes us to affirm that the Miletans were the creators of the style to which it is desired to attach their name, nor that they have at any time whatever the monopoly of the fabrication of the vases in question. The term Miletan vases that it is proposed to introduce in ceramicographic nomenclature thus appears to us for the moment,

unjustifiable neither by a historical text nor by the results of excavations.

Note 4.p.403. I believe that Böhlau was the first to place that ticket on a number of vases and of fragments, none of which were found at Miletus itself nor in the vicinity of that city. His example has been followed by Hugo Prinz.

Note 1.p.404. See the fourth brief report of Wiegand on the excavations that the royal museums of Berlin caused to be made at Miletus. (Sitz. of Acad. of Berlin. 1907. p. 545-548.

In Ionian lands, at only one point in the island of Samos, at the gates of the ancient capital, the pick has attacked a cemetery of the 6th century. There have been opened tombs contemporaneous with Polycrates. The results of those excavations have been stated with much precision; but they have only produced vases in small number and of very limited dimensions.²

Note 2.p.204. Böhlau. Aus ionischen und italischen Necropolen. 1898.

When in regard to vases of Italian fabrication is proposed the question of origin, one of the first names that come to the mind is that of Clazomenes; the sarcophaguses found there suffice to prove the mastery with which were practised the arts of clay. The kilns from which came those enormous pieces must also have furnished vases of all kinds; but the mode of burial that the Clazomenians had adopted excluded the tombs in which elsewhere preserved for us the painted vases. We have from this site only some fragments gathered on the surface of the ground.³ The most singular are two fragments of a hydria on which it has been desired to recognize the image of two episodes of the Trojan cycle, Hecuba and Priam before whom stands a herald, and who see running toward them Troilus pursued by Achilles, then on the other part is Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector around the tumulus of Patroclus (Fig. 198, 199). By their appearance these paintings recall several vases of Dapnae and of Naucratis. Details are wanting concerning fragments of "vases of the ancient style," that were collected at Smyrna and are now in the museum in Leyden.¹

Note 3.p.404. R. Zahn. Vasenscherben aus Klazomai. (Athen - Mitt. 1898. p. 38-79; 2 Figs. in text and Pl. VI).

Note 1.p.405. O. Jahn. On p. 27 of the introduction of his Beschreibung of the vases at Munich.

Phocæa is again one of the cities of which one cannot fail to think in the same connection. There is known the part taken by it in the maritime commerce of Ionia, what relations its merchants had created for themselves on the coasts of Italy and even on those of Spain. If many vases contained in Tuscan tombs came from Ionia, there is every reason to think that the Phocæans were among the most active importers of that ware, and that they produced at least a part of those vessels of luxury, which they loaded on their ships; but up to the present, the ceramics of Phocæa remains more unknown to us than even that of Clazomenes. But a single vase is cited, that was discovered at Phocæa, it is assured;¹ but that this is a false indication of the source, or that the piece in question had been brought afar in antiquity itself, where it is said to have been found, the quality of the clay, the pale tones of the painting and the choice of motive concur in causing to be recognized in it rather the work of some Cypriote potter.²

Note 1. p. 406. Ramsay in *Jour. Hell. Studies*. Vol. II, p. 303-305. Ramsay speaks there of another vase from the same source, which he bought at the same time and proposes to publish later; so far as I know, he has never kept that promise.

Note 2. p. 406. Collignon. *La tête d'Athor sur des vases Cypriotes*. (*Rev. d'Etud. Grecques*. 1899. p. 33-39). C. Smith, who owns the vase in the British Museum, is of the same opinion; he placed it there in the glass case that contains Cypriote pottery.

The great cities that would seem to have furnished the richest booty, have also given almost nothing of this sort, Ephesus no more than Miletus. On those two sites the archaic layer is at a great depth beneath the alluvium of the Cayster and the Meander. On both of those fields, recent excavations have scarcely more than uncovered the ports, walls, streets and edifices of the cities of the Macedonian and Roman ages. Further, one cannot affirm from the preceding that in this industry of ceramics, those metropolises of Ionia necessarily enjoyed the first role. When the history of the industrial arts in other civilizations is studied, it is proved that the most fruitful and most celebrated workshops were not always established in the great centres. There are often local circumstances, which decided the site on which was born and developed a certain indus-

industry. Men wished to have in hand at the foot of the work the primary material that they worked. potters preferably built their kilns where the soil supplied the best clay. Thus among us the first manufactories of porcelain were founded at Limoges in the vicinity of the beds of kaolin. To speak of Greece alone, do we not see a very small city like Tanagra become for a century or two one of the principal seats of the industry of the terra cotta figurines, and to acquire in this sufficient vogue, that the types created by it were copied even in Asia Minor.¹ Thus what would seem to result from the inquiry is, that it would be useless to seek in Ionia a city that played in the industry of ceramics a role analogous to that successively filled in Europe, first by Corinth and then by Athens a century later. We have no reason to suppose that any Ionian city, either continental or insular knew how to ensure itself for a longer or shorter time in a monopoly of that kind, by the activity of its workshops and by the superiority of its products. In that Ionian world where was everywhere movement and life, in which was scarcely not one city and even of the second order, which did not glorify itself as having given birth to some poet, sage or famous artist, workshops must have been numerous. Each of them must have had its independence and its originality; this is what is thought from the observations made in comparing the pottery of Naucratis and of Papanae, or at Rhodes the so-called vases of Fikelloura with those that at first were termed vases of the Asian or oriental style.

Note 1. p. 407. E. Pottier. *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité*. 1890. p. 157-158.

North of the Hermos and south of the Meander, among all those Greeks termed Eolians and Dorians, that borrowed from the Ionians ideas and the forms used to express them, almost no painted vases are found except at Rhodes, that present any interest. The Eolian city of Kyme near Smyrna has supplied two fragments of a great vase which seems to have been a crater.² On one of them are horsemen and on the other are satyrs, that dance around one of those crateras (Fig. 200). The painting is with black figures on a red ground. The theme and processes of execution all recall the group of those vases found in Etruria, known by the name of Hydrias of Caere; it is now agreed to attribute to these hydrias an Ionian origin.

Note 2.p.407. F. Dümmler. Vasenscherben aus Kyme in Aeolis. (Arch. Inst. Röm. Abth. 1888. p. 150-168 a, Pl. VI).

A little farther north at Pitave on the Elaitic gulf have been made excavations for the Ottoman museum, to which we owe the power to publish a beautiful Mycenaean vase, one of those on which the marine decoration is most singular and most complicated.¹ In the graves in which for a thousand years the inhabitants of this little city have deposited their dead, to the Mycenaean pottery has succeeded vases in which painting on a brown that firing has often changed to pale red, is applied on a white glaze. To the list of Rhodian oenocnoes must belong a fragment of a great vase on which is seen a passing stag between a fylfot cross and a fret.² (Fig. 201). There is a specimen of the same style in a cup with a foot, decorated both inside and outside (Fig. 202). On one side is a crouching animal without a head, but which seems to be a dog. On the field are rosettes, circles and lozenges containing large dots. Here again is a plate of a type represented at Camiros by numerous examples; but the decoration is simplified here as much as possible (Fig. 203).¹ Nothing but a star at the middle, then several concentric circles, and finally a border divided into a number of little squares, in each of which is a geometric design.² In another interment was found a little Corinthian aryballa.³

Note 1.p.408. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VI, p.923-924; Figs. 489, 491.

Note 2.p.408. Revue Arch. 1883², p.122.

Note 1.p.409. There has been discovered at Myrina a nearly similar piece (La necropole. Vol.I, p.233, Fig. 36).

Note 2.p.409. The same. p.505; Fig. 57.

Note 3.p.409. E. Pottier and S. Reinach. La necropole de Myrina. 2 vols. of text and plates. 1887.

In the same district is found Myrina, another of those obscure and prosperous cities, that may be said to have left no trace in history. Yet today there is perhaps no amateur in art, who does not know the name of Myrina, for all the pretty figurines of terra cotta that have passed from its cemetery, by the excavations made there by M.M.Pottier and Reinach, into the glass cases of our museum of the Louvre; but all men of taste as were the Myrineans, they do not seem to have ever had a passion for ceramics of luxury, such as they had in the third

century B. C. for those light and charming works of the modeler in clay. The archaic tombs there furnished but very few painted vases, besides a monochrome pottery that has always been a current fabrication. The production of Ionian workshops is scarcely represented there except by an amphora of heaven form, on which the decoration was executed on a coating of yellowish white in a brown tone, that a touch of fire has changed into red. (Fig. 204 bis). On the entire bottom of the vase is no other ornament than a circular band, then at the top of the body is a fret between two bands, and on the shoulder above is at one side a reserved lotus flower between two wide lanceolate leaves, on the other being "a bust of a man with the head turned toward the right with long painted and recurved beard, no moustaches, an enormous front eye, long hair falling on the shoulders. He is clothed in a tunic with short sleeves and raises both hands as if in a posture of prayer. At his right is a large rosette and all around the field are fylfots. The whole is enclosed by a band of vertical frets.¹ On the other sides are the same frets."

Note 1.p.411. La necropole de Myrina. Vol.I, p.585-588.

The decoration is simpler on another amphora of the same type and style, that came from the same cemetery. Here also the field is void on all the lower part of the vase. The painter has given ornamentation only of the zone of the shoulder. He has placed on one side a reversed lotus flower, and on the other is a great rosette among ornaments in the form of volutes and in an enclosure of frets. Around the neck and at the top of the body is a motive, that recalls the meshes of a fillet.

Not alone in Eolian districts touching Ionia have appeared the remains of a pottery on which are recognized several motives familiar to Eocadian ceramics. These motives are all represented in the fragments which Schliemann and Dörpfeld gathered in the course of their excavations at Troy.¹ There is noted a fragment of the same kind found at Alexander Troas in the coast.² Also in the Troad at the site of Larissa have been found the remains of a plate with edges decorated by images of passing stags and ibexes, quite similar to those of Rhodian oenocres. (Fig. 205). Some white glaze; some geometric ornaments around those figures.³

Note 1.p.412. Dörpfeld. Troja und Ilion. 1907. p. 220.

Note 2.p.412. G. Hirschfeld. *Annali*. 1872. p.175.

Note 3.p.412. Böhtau. *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen*. p. 86-88.

Traces of this Rhodian pottery have also been found in another region south of Ionia, on the coast colonized by the Dorians and opposite Rhodes. In 1903 the British Museum acquired "two fragments of archaic Rhodian plates, on which are represented snips. They came from Datona near Cnidos." (Fig. 206).¹

Note 1.p.413. G. Torr. *Rev. arch.* 1894² p.27.

4. Rhodian Pottery.

We have undertaken to draw up the inventory of the products of Ionian ceramics, that have been collected in either continental Ionia, in the adjacent islands that were its extension, among those Eolians and Dorians on the coast of Asia, that so docilely submitted to the ascendancy of Ionian genius, or finally in those colonies of Egypt that were like distant annexes to Ionia; but whatever care was employed to omit no place that offers interest, with some rare exceptions we have scarcely been able to mention more than fragments, of which many were even too small for it to be easy to divine the form of the vase from which they came. We had to deal with those bits picked up in the dust made of the ruins of destroyed cities. On the contrary at Rhodes is the tomb, the faithful guardian of the treasures deposited in it, and which has preserved the painted vases. This is not to find those often intact, such as they were enclosed on the day of the obsequies. Nearly all are broken in the graves by the pressure of the earth of the walls and by the fall of stones detached from the ceiling; but the fragments have remained in place in a heap. Sometimes these have been so greatly crushed and reduced into bits by a violent shock, that it is impossible to utilize them, but also frequently the restorer has little difficulty to fit together these fragments and to restore the vases almost entirely.

The Mycenaean vases that have been found in this island, especially at Ialagos, give reason to think that during the so-called period of primitive Greece, that this island was inhabited by tribes related to those, whose industry and arts are represented by the monuments discovered at Cnossos and Phaestos, Mycenae and Tiryns, there must have been one or more Achaean principalities.¹ These Achaeans had found the Egeanians

established on some points of the island, to whom it was convenient to enter a port when they sailed north in coasting along the south shore of Asia Minor. In certain cults of the island has been the persistent trace of the contact produced then between Syrian merchants and the ancestors of the Hellenes. After the European Greeks had been invaded by the Dorians and when these found themselves crowded in the Peloponessus and began to emigrate to the islands and the eastern shores of the Egean sea, the island fell into the power of colonists sent by Dorian Argos; but there as elsewhere, the ancient inhabitants doubtless continued to form the bulk of the population. Heirs of the Phoenicians, they could transmit to the newcomers the traditions of the trade and of taste deposited with them. By this too brief summary of a history whose details escape us, it is seen what survivals and what influences must mark the art, that expanded in surroundings so prepared, when at the signal given by Miletus and Ephesus, the genius of the Asian Greeks took its flight and produced that brilliant flowering, of which unfortunately nearly all is lost, in the domain of plastics as in that of thought and of poetry.

Note 1.p.414. One of these Achaian chiefs, was Tleptolemus in the *Iliad*, who furnished 2 ships to the Greek fleet (II, 653-670). He led to the combat the contingents of three cities of the island.

From a very high antiquity, three cities already named by Homer, divided the country of the island.² These were Ialysos at the north, Lindos on the eastern coast and Kamiros on the western shore. It was only in 408 that they withdrew and abdicated for the benefit of the great and illustrious city which they had concurred in founding, and that took the same name as the island.³ Of those old cities, Kamiros seems to have been the most important and most populous. From its cemetery, excavated by Salzmann and by Billoti, came most of the vases that represent in our museums Rhodian ceramics. In the suburbs of Kamiros have been recognized several groups of tombs, designated by the names now given to each of the cantons in which these discoveries had been made. There is the cemetery of Fikelloura, that of Siena and still others. It has been proposed to apply to certain kinds of vases the name of the cemetery in which they have at first been found in numbers; but the series

of excavations has demonstrated that the same group of interments could enclose vases, which did not seem to have all come from the same workshop. To group those Rhodian vases by series, this could not then be based on the fact that they had been exhumed in a certain cemetery rather than another. If these vases did not all appear to have come from the same workshop with common traits, there were sensible differences between them to be noted, so that only according to the fabrication and the style of decoration must be established the distinctions and the classification be attempted.

Note 2.p.414. (Greek). *Iliad*. II, 858.

Note 3.p.414. *Diodorus*. XIII, 75. *Strabo*. XIV, 2-6, 9, 11.

In following this method, a classification was proposed that found favor with some archaeologists.¹ The Rhodian vases were distributed in two series, to each of which was attributed a foreign origin. At Rhodes as at Naucratis, men desired to distinguish Miletan and Samian vases; but nothing is known of Miletan fabrication and it is by the most arbitrary hypotheses, that some have risked giving it the honor of vases, which have been collected on the sites of cities sufficiently industrious and prosperous to make for themselves the pottery that they needed. In what concerns Samos, we are not condemned to an ignorance so complete as for Miletus. With much common pottery nearly or quite without decoration, there has been collected there enough painted pottery to form some idea of what the archaic Samian pottery was; but in what is divined of it by these specimens alone, there is nothing that gives the impression of a very active manufacture, of an autonomous fabrication, whose products had a marked originality. There are found only secondary proofs of types already known to us by Dapnnae and by Naucratis, types that we shall find again at Rhodes, where they are further represented by examples in better preservation and of very superior execution. The author of the excavations of Samos says, that the Rhodian vases termed from *Fikelloura* might have been made at Samos and imported from Samos to Rhodes;¹ but to support that conjecture, he brings not one reason, not even the shadow of a presumption.

Note 1.p.415. Böhlau. *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen*, p. 52. Hugo Prinz in his study on Naucratis adopts in every p

part the theory of Böhlau and does the same with the vases called Samian.

Why be obstinate thus in seeking everywhere than at Rhodes the place of origin of the vases that the island has furnished us in numbers? There is a method assumed, a flavor of a gratuitous hypothesis, which I have not succeeded in explaining to myself. What is known of the prestige of the Rhodian cults and particularly of the cult of Athena of Lindos, what remains of the edifices of Lindos and of Kamiros, the richness and variety of the equipment of the cemeteries adjoining them, all concurs in attesting that the old cities of the island, as well as Samos, were of those whose normal life in even the bosom of the city comprised the presence of numerous art workers, such as goldsmiths, modelers of clay figurines and ceramists. To place their works, the latter further did not have to count solely on local patronage. The Greeks of Rhodes did not await the 4th century to launch themselves on the sea. Posted on the border of one of the most frequented routes followed from all time in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, they saw pass and repass in the strait separating the island from the coast of Asia, the Phoenician ships that sailed north or regained the ports of Syria. The example benefited them. When the Phoenicians were driven southward by the expansion of Hellenism and retired from those seas, the Rhodians replaced them there. They commenced by settling on the shores of Caria and Lydia opposite them. There they founded agencies where they loaded the products of the interior of the continent, grains and skins of beasts, live cattle from the fat pastures of the mountain, metals extracted from mines of the plateau, structural woods from the forests of the Taurus.

The Rhodians did not stop there. Like their neighbors, the Dorians of Cnidos and of Halicarnassus, they followed even to the shores of Egypt the route traced by the track of the Milesian galleys, and then went there to take a part in the founding of the Naucratic amphictyon. Soon even encouraged by the profits derived from the traffic with Egypt, they ventured even into the waters of the western basin of the Mediterranean and they landed in Sicily. The eastern coast of the great island had already received Chalcidian and Corinthian colonies: but the southern coast, that offered no natural shelters comparable

to the fine harbors of Messina and of Syracuse, was still abandoned to the Sicules. Immigrants from Lindos were led by Antiphenos and founded Gela,¹ a city called to brilliant destinies. Rhodian sailors even pushed farther. Perhaps before the Phoenicians, they came to the distant shores of Iberia. At the foot of the eastern part of the Pyrenees, they opened an agency later inherited by the Massaliotes.¹ The ancient name of Rhodes still survives in the modern name of Rosas, a Spanish city.

Note 1.p.416. Herodotus. VII, 153. Pausanias. VIII, 46-2.

Note 1.p.417. Strabo. XVI. 2-10.

In the course of those long voyages, the sailors of Rhodes must have taken with them, stowed in the spacious holds of their great barks, cargoes of that painted pottery of which they were certain to find a sale both in Egypt and on the markets of the West. There have been collected at Naucratis many fragments of vases so strongly resembling those of Rhodes, that they might well have come from one of the workshops of that island. On the other hand, one of the most beautiful vases from one of the pure Rhodian style known to me, a vase now belonging to the Louvre was purchased from a dealer in Rome about by the painter Emile Levy, several years before the excavations of Salzmann brought to light the contents of the cemeteries of Camiros (Pl. XIX). According to all probability, this vase came from some tomb of Italy or of Sicily.

In what we now know of those Rhodian cities by the literary texts and the monuments for the most ancient period of their history, there is then nothing repugnant to the hypothesis of a local manufactory of ceramics, one that found its patrons at the place and abroad. What confirms this hypothesis and must seem to remove the last doubts as the fact, indicated to us by a connoisseur, M. E. Pottier, whose competence in these matters is strongly recognized. The correctness of the observation that he has communicated to us can further be verified by all the conservators of museums, that have at hand pieces collected in the excavations of Camiros.

Take those vases from that source, whose fabrication does not denounce them as imported objects, that are neither from a Corinthian nor an Attic manufactory, and you will prove by examining them in a fracture, that the material is the same as that of the clay statuettes, that have been gathered in great numbers

in the tombs of Kamiros. In both is the same rosy clay spangled with mica. Now if it be proved that the painted vases traveled much, in the smallest Greek city the coroplasts fashioned at the place in the local clay those little images of very small value, which popular piety dedicated by thousands in the precincts of temples, and that relatives or friends buried in the tombs of their relations. If the Rhodian vases are made of the same paste as the votive statuettes of Kamiros and of Lindos, we have reason to affirm that those vases were also executed at Rhodes. There is here a truly Rhodian ceramics in all the force of the term.

At Rhodes as everywhere else, between Mycenaean and archaic Greek ceramics appears to have been interposed a ceramics, that sought all the elements of its decoration in what we have called geometric motives. This ceramics is represented in the collections formed of the spoils of Kamiros, of some vases on which the ornamentation comprises lozenges, checks, frets and other ornaments of the same kind that characterize the style, by the same floral ornaments of the Mycenaean style referred to a geometrized form, if one can so speak. As a specimen of this fabrication may be cited a skyphos with two flat and vertical handles of the finds of Salzmann (Fig. 207); but there is nothing to insist on these vases of transition. We have further studied the geometric style, that pushed its principle to the extreme and reigned longer in European Greece than in Asian and insular Greece, where the tradition of the arts of Achaean Greece had left more traces. Those vases where the ornamentation borrows none of its traits from the types of the organic world, men continued to fabricate till very late. The simplicity of their decoration was a temptation for the workmen, who did not wish to take the trouble of invention. By the happy design of the shape, the quality of the black glaze and the precision of the lines, it is divined that certain vases of this sort are contemporaneous with the vases of a much more advanced style.

The sole vases that we have to occupy us here are those in which we recognize by the entire character of the decoration the work of artists, whose minds were aroused by the sight of models offered them by the arts of the Orient, and they valiantly attempted to represent life, that of the plant like that of

the animaland of man. In the series of these vases are found forms, that we have described as those of which the Greek potter has made most frequent use; but the Rhodian potter has perfected several of these forms, among others being those of the amphora and of the jar. There was also a sensible predilection for certain types like the plate, which have not enjoyed the same vogue elsewhere.

A model that appears to have been much in favor in these workshops is that of very shallow cups without handles, or rather plates mounted on a wide and very low foot, that were made not to contain liquids. These must have been a sort of dishes on which were placed fruits or other solid foods (Fig. 20c). They were decorated and ornamented by borders with a central subject. Some of these pinakes are furnished on each side with a notch, that served as a handle (Fig. 20g). It may be asked if the potters took the model from the so-called Boeotian or Argive shields with lateral notches. Only on two or three of these plates the foot supporting them is quite high.¹ For drinking cups, here are only found bowls with two handles similar to those found at Naukratis (Fig. 210) and the cantarcos (Fig. 211). Nothing announces the kylix of the Attic potters, that deep cup with a high foot, to which these master workmen finally gave such rare elegance.

Note 1.p.420. Longperier. Musée Napoleon III. Pl.LIV.

In what remains of Rhodian ceramics is found everywhere, whatever the decoration, the various types that we have mentioned; but it is otherwise with the decoration. That is far from presenting everywhere the same uniformity. In what concerns it, there are notable differences from certain vases to others, in the use of color, the choice of themes, and also the mode of distribution of the figures in the field. By taking account of all these differences in the entirety of the work of Rhodian ceramists, one can distinguish two styles, whose peculiarities attest variations that taste has suffered in that island from one workshop to another, during the course of the century from which date all these vases. To designate these two styles, we can propose no terms other than these; first and second styles of Rhodes. By the comparison and study of the vases we shall seek to define these terms.

What characterizes at first the vases of what we term the I

distributes his ornaments and figures. On the oenochoes the entire external surface is divided in zones of more or less height, that from foot to neck are superposed on each other. (Fig. 212). As for the plates, the difference of form requires a different arrangement of the enclosures. On plates are found parallel zones; but these succeed from the circumference toward the centre, always on the border (Fig. 20), and sometimes even at the middle of the disk (Fig. 208). What most frequently fills the middle part of this circular field is an isolated image of an animal, rarely of a man. This image further does not occupy all the free space. It is cantoned in about two-thirds of this space, the remaining third being separated from the principal field by a transverse band formed by a plait or fret. In this secondary field are found various motives, here a swordfish and a lotus flower (Fig. 213), elsewhere are radiating leaflets (Fig. 214). Everywhere on the plates as on the oenochoes, the painter has scattered around his figures, linear motives of smaller dimensions, such as rosettes and half rosettes, single volutes or coupled in pairs, lozenges, rectangles pitted by great black dots.

This dust of linear ornaments scattered on the field as with open hands is a remnant, a survival of the Mycenaean style, and even more of the geometric style. That was poorer in motives than its predecessor and is carried farther than it from the horror of the void. To garnish the surfaces of its vases, it must have made more complex these odd combinations of lines and have made much greater use of them. By the habit which it had retained of having recourse to this filling, the first Achaean style is then related to the two styles, which before it reigned in the entire extent of the lands bathed by the Mediterranean; it announces itself as their heir; but at the same time is inspired by models whose influence did not make itself felt, or made itself felt very feebly on its predecessors. These suggestive models are the works of the industrial arts of the Orient, arts of Chaldea and of Phoenicia. They are rugs woven in all western Asia; fabrics of luxury, over which the needles of the embroiderers of Babylonia scattered brilliant and capricious designs. Finally are those cups of metal, ornamented by the chisels and gravers of Syrian workmen, and that

the merchants of Sidon and Tyre distributed on all the coasts of the Mediterranean.

From those rugs and especially from those cloaks and mantles covered by embroideries,¹ as well as from cups of silver and of bronze,² the Rhodian potter borrowed the principle of the general arrangement of his ornamentation, when the awakening of Ionian genius came to arouse a renaissance of ceramics, which was long delayed in the poverty and monotonous repetitions of the geometric style. Tapestry and goldsmith's work suggested to it the method that it adopted, the systematic subdivision of the field into parallel zones, that according to a certain form given to the vases on which they were placed, were superposed vertically, or enclosed each other in the horizontal plane. This principle is not that of an art caring to express ideas, or which wishes to represent either a scene of real life or one of pure invention; it is that of an art aiming only to amuse the eye by a series of images of pretty outlines, and sometimes of strange appearance, images that the painter places in long files, or that he brings together by twos, threes, or in groups of ingenious variety.

Note 1.p.422. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, Figs. 443-449.

Note 2.p.422. The same. Figs.398,399,405-409;Vol.III,Figs. 543-553.

Note 1.p.423. Fig. 212. *Oenoe*. Louvre. Hall A. Musée Napoléon III. Pl. LVII. Height 1.15 ft.

For those of its vases whose form was developed in vertical elevation, it was particularly tapestries and embroidered fabrics that inspired the potter. On those oenoe for which he seemed to have had a marked preference, he never placed anything but files of real or factitious animals.

Even by its form, the plate suited the painter changed to modify this arrangement. The borders there lent themselves very well to the continuity of the processional decoration, but the central medallion that is circumscribed by this band appears to call for an isolated figure, that takes possession of the free field, which is spaced there and developed at ease. That is the method on which the decorator decided for most of those plates. In this middle space he has placed a passing sphinx,¹ a chimera,² elsewhere a bull that turns his head back (Fig. 215). Perhaps the bull were personified, as frequently the case on

coins and especially those of Sicily, one of the rivers or rather torrents of the island. For other plates, the painter is nearer the system followed by the decorators of jars. What forms the decoration on these plates is a series of concentric bands. Here is one of these bands, that by the elegant heads of birds, which rise between these groups of cuneiform lines, really assumes more importance than the central motive.¹ This was no longer a mere flower composed of radiating petals (Fig. 215). Certainly the ornamented cups rather than tapestries furnished painters of plates with the plan of their decoration, and the met.1 cups offer us the same variants of the general arrangement as the clay plates. There are cups, where the workmen renounced the use of the central medallion to place there a figure or group of figures, but was filled only by a rosette or a series of rosettes.²

Note 1.p.425. Longperier. Musée Napoleon III, Pl. LII.

Note 2.p.425. The same. Pl. LIII.

Note 1.p.426. Elsewhere in another cup much resembling what we have reproduced are heads of birds that are found also on the exterior. (Musée Napoleon III. Pl. LIV, bottom).

Note 2.p.426. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, Figs. 482, 543, 552.

The first Etruscan potters perhaps took from Asian tapestries something other than even the elements of their decoration. One can ask if it was not also those tapestries that might have suggested to them the choice of color adopted on their jars, for the grounds of pictures, that of this coating which is its novelty must be a slightly creamy white, and which by the action of time has taken on the best preserved vases a tint sometimes of amber and sometimes slightly olive in places. The tone of this coating recalls the weakened white of unbleached wool or the brighter white of linen clothes freshly washed. It was on a light ground that as now on the tunics of Albanian or Malacian women, must have been most frequently executed the designs of those embroiderys, which the agile hands of Syrian slaves excelled in tracing, "knowing the beautiful works," whose skill is boasted by Homer.¹ With black or gray threads, the needle mingled the threads that gleamed with the brilliancy of the purple with which they were saturated in the vats of Phoenician dyers. This mixture of dark and of bright colors was imitated by the brush of the painter and obtained on clay

by the use of touches of violet that he laid on the brown or black of his figures, as well as by the reserves arranged on certain places, allowing the white of the ground to appear. The vase that we have reproduced here with the colors of the original (Pl. XIX) must please for the same reasons that caused the Ionians to seek the masterpieces of embroidery, brought to them by the caravans from beyond the Euphrates or by Phoenician ships. This is the same general effect, so far as permitted by the difference in materials. There is on the clay as on the linen the same succession of images, that charm the eye without imposing any effort on the mind, the same juxtaposition of dark and free tones, combined in a happy fashion and in a soft and gay harmony.

Note 3.p.426. Greek. (Odyssey. XV, 418). See *Iliad*, VI, 289.

Yet there came a time when, perhaps under the influence of other foreign models, the ceramic painter allowed himself to repeat always the same outlines that aroused no thought in the mind. From the end of the 5th century, Corinthian vases had begun to appear on all the markets of the Mediterranean, and as the excavations have proved, they even came to Rhodes. Of himself or by virtue of this suggestion, the potter conceived the idea of a decoration with an entirely different principle, in which he would have a subject, whose sense being perceived by the mind should leave there a memory. This new system of ornamentation was tried on vases of the amphora type, and these amphoras represent what we term the second Rhodian style; but in this attempt is all the timidity of a beginning. The theme there is still of extreme simplicity. On one of these amphoras is seen a man with the head of a hare (Fig. 216), and on another a man has the paws and head of a lion (Fig. 217).¹ Both are running. There are perhaps images of genii to whom popular superstition at Rhodes lent these bizarre traits. On another amphora from the same source is a fanciful subject that one meets with, a hunt for a hare (Fig. 218). Finally, as it has been thought, it is proper to attribute the same origin, according to the entire fabrication and the character of the ornamentation, to an amphora of unknown source that belongs to the museum in Altenburg.² If we accept this attribution that seems very probable, the Rhodian painter would have ended by using the human figure to ornament his vases. All around the handle

there in the spacious light field that occupies the middle between a garland of water leaves and a fret is an image of a komos, or one of those foolish dances that follows a festival. Nude young men, with no clothing other than drawers about the loins, bound with gestures of joy around a great dinos placed on a support, near a large basin from which they have taken the drunkenness that transports them. Before this vase is a musician playing the double flute. An oenochoe is placed on the ground. Two dancers hold jugs in the right hand. The others play with the cups that their comrades will soon fill anew. The drawing is far from being correct; but the movements are true and lively. In all those attitudes is a spirit that well gives the impression of a scene of Bacchic delirium.

Note 1.p.428. This amphora did not come from the excavations of Salzmann. Its source is uncertain; but by its shape and ornamentation it strongly resembles the preceding, so that there may be every reason to attribute it to Rhodes.

Note 2.p.428. Böhlau (Aus ionischen, etc. p. 56) places this amphora among what he calls Samian vases. Nearly all that he places in that list are vases of Camiros, according to his own indications, of what we term the second style.

Whether it is an error or not to place this curious vase to the credit of a workshop of Camiros, the amphoras for which that source is certified suffice to show how much the methods then used by the ceramist differ from those to which he was attached at first. On vases of the primary style, the ornamentation is diffuse and continuous, uniformly distributed over the entire surface of the piece. On the contrary, on vases of the second style, however weak may appear the interest of the theme that the artist has chosen, he seeks to call attention to this theme, and he isolates it for that effect. He is sometimes satisfied to arrange a great void on the middle of which the image assumes all its value (Fig. 216). In this free field, at both sides of the genius with the head of a hare are nothing but two ample palmations with volutes, that in spite of their elegance do not hold the eye of the spectator. On another amphora the field is still more empty. The painter has placed there a swan that throws his head back. Under each handle is a palmation with two scrolls joined by a lanceolate leaf (Fig. 220). These plant ornaments occupy a small space on the vase of the

nare chase (Fig. 216); but also they leave bare the entire top of the body, where is seen the dog throwing up the hare.

On all the amphoras, the painter is careful to leave the body bare, but is forbidden to decorate the neck, which in that organism that constitutes the vase, has its separate existence and rule. He is often contented to place a fret there; but on the hunting vase, he has made more complex the ornamentation of the neck. He has drawn there two great eyes with enormous pupils between the eyelids much elevated at their outer ends. This is the sort of ideogram that plays the part of a talisman, like the phallus sculptured at the gates of cities. On all these vases at the junction of the neck and shoulder, the brush has traced a garland of opened flowers or buds, that by the place occupied recall a necklace falling on a woman's neck.

Elsewhere, for example on the amphora of the genius with a lion's head (Fig. 217), the painter has marked even more clearly his desire to provide the image. As on the situals of Daphnae (Fig. 187), this is enclosed in a sort of metope within a compartment, which by its lighter color shows on the very dark tint by which the rest of the vase is covered. In that fashion is obtained the desired result, though at the cost of some durability. The general appearance was a little gloomy.

From the time that he thus understood the decoration, the painter could not continue to encumber the field, to lavish there those linear ornaments there, that swarmed there until then like mushrooms in the forest. So that this field should lend itself to the presentation of the image, he must clear it and remove the bushes, if one may so speak. This is what he has done for his amphoras. Around the principal motive, he has no longer placed only those light palmations, which are placed at a distance and accompany the figure without depriving it of a air. In these conditions, it is not without some surprise that one studies the decoration of the two plates found at Camiros by Salzmann. One of them represents the combat of Hector and Menelaus, who disputed about the corpse of Euphorbus. (Fig. 221), and the other seems to represent Perseus fleeing before the Gorgons (Fig. 222). By the character of the picture by which they are ornamented, these two plates are those most advanced in Rhodian ceramics, which causes to be better foreseen the evolution that the Ionian ceramist prepares to accomplish.

The ceramist to whom we owe these two plates has made a great advance, when to arouse ⁱⁿ his patrons a curiosity that had been so much wearied by so many monotonous replicas, he thought of seeking his subjects in the repertory of those temples, whose whose hymns enlivened the banquets of princes and the religious festivals of the city, in the rich treasure of those myths infinitely diversified by a poetry born on Ionian shores. From this fact, these two paintings belong to the second Rhodian school, to that whose brush no longer limits its ambition to rival the shuttles and needles of the weavers and embroiderers of Asia.

This being fixed, there is difficulty in explaining that the painter had accumulated there around these personages which he took all living from the epic period, those dead ornaments, squares, lozenges, fillets, legacies out of fashion from another age. In the battle scene at first view, this confusion of ornaments embarrasses the eye, it does not seize them and does not follow at once the contours of the three bodies engaged in the action. There is produced a sort of conflict between the thought of a boldly innovating master potter and the habits of a workshop, from which the workman executing the ornamentation could not free himself.

In the entirety of the Rhodian ceramics, these two plates occupy a place too much apart, that there may be reason to describe them in some detail.

A glaze of light yellow is placed on the ground of the vase of Euphorbus.¹ For the personages and the various motives of ornament, that are scattered in the field, three colors have been employed. A darker yellow renders the nude of the members, the greaves, the armor and the bell of one helmet are tinted white. A reddish purple served for two helmets and for the crest of the third. A frank black outlines the org of the shields and that blazon that decorates them. Near the actors in the scene are inscribed their names, and in that of Menelaus is a lambda or a form peculiar to the Argive alphabet. On this weak indication, it has been desired to suppose that the vase in question was executed at Argos; but Argolis has never furnished a single fragment of a ceramics which resembles that of Camiros.¹ Is not the presence of this letter further explained by the fact that the city of Argos had furnished a part of the

Greek colonists, that came to replace the Phoenicians at Rhodes? ² The colony must have retained relations with its metropolis; perhaps for a certain time it had borrowed the alphabet which the latter used in its public acts. In any case, the technique here is similar in all parts to that of the other pottery that has been collected at Camiros. Then there is no reason to separate the plate in question from its congeners.

Note 1.p.433. Homer. *Iliad*. XVII. The idea of a combat fought over the body of Euphorbus between Menelaus and Hector appears to be borrowed from a version of the poem a little different from that which has come to us. In our text, Menelaus indeed slays Euphorbus, who attempted to carry off the corpse of Patroclus (V. 9-30); but when Hector comes to the rescue, Menelaus escapes and returns to the line. (V. 106-107). There is not the single combat between the two heroes concerning the spoils of Euphorbus.

Note 1.p.434. This is attested by Furtwängler, beneath whose eyes had passed fragments of pottery discovered by Waldstein on the site of the Heraeum of Argos. He rejects without hesitation the hypothesis of the Argive origin of the plate in question. (*Berl. phil. woch.* 1895, p. 201).

Note 2.p.434. Thucydides. VII. 57.

The technique is nearly the same on the other of these plates. It is believed that there is reason to recognize Perseus by the dog that accompanies him, by the little wings attached to the lower part of his legs above the laced boots. The little basket that the runner holds in his hand would have been intended to receive the head of Medusa, when the conquering hero had slain the monster. Here and in the other picture the proportions of the figures are slender, the members are rather thin. The line lacks accent. One divines that the painter is not yet accustomed to represent the human body, and is tempted to believe that the two vases came from the same workshop.

As on an amphora represented above, then the drawing here has a character not entirely the same as on the vases of the first group. On the oenocroes it is recommended by that slightly dry precision in which is felt the frank application of the archaic artist. On Vases of the second style the design is freer; but it is a little loose. One feels there the facility of

a hand confident in its skill, that goes a little too fast and does not oversee with rigor.

These vases are also distinguished by other peculiarities. On the jars with files of animals, and on plates where they appear, there is no engraving with the point. Laways by lights arranged in reserve or by touches of white are indicated the internal details of the figure. On the contrary, on the amphoras, incisions serve the painter to draw the articulations of the members and all the muscular system (Figs. 216, 217, 218).

Finally, on vases of the second group, we have more vivid and more varied colorings than on vases of the first group. See the amphora with the genius with a lion's head (Fig. 219). Its entire body is black and about the middle of the body of the vase, there is detached a black figure set in a white panel. See also the two plates of Euphorbus and of Perseus (Fig. 221, 222). On a coating of pale yellow are placed four other tones, a more vivid yellow, a reddish purple, white and black. This is a sort of illumination. It is no longer reserved polychromy of the cenochoes, on which the firmness of the black outlines and their red touches is tempered by the lights in reserve, that allow the reduced white of the coating to reappear.

We believe that this study will justify the proposition that we have made for distinguishing two styles in Rhodian ceramics. The painter of the first style, elevated and inspired by the Syrian and Syro-Indian weavers and embroiderers, is only a decorator. As again today the marvellous workmen to whom is due the Persian rugs, Indian shawls and Japanese silks, he thought only of charming the sight by the capricious grace of the ornament, by the symmetrical arrangement and multiplicity of figures, where they mingle and pass into each other, are combined in different ways, forms borrowed from certain species of animals.

He recalls this animal life by way of illusion rather than pretends to represent it faithfully, in all the diversity of the incidents and of actors that this implies. If he has seized with intelligent accuracy the characteristic traits of certain animals, such as the birds of the marsh and the cervidae, he always shows them as if fixed in the same attitudes. In fact, he does not attribute to them any value other than that of or-

ornaments of a particular kind, ornaments that lend themselves to indefinite repetition. In all these pictures there is no subject. On the contrary, on the vases of the second style is a subject, which to attract attention has a void around it. This subject is sometimes an isolated figure and sometimes a group of combatants or of dancers.

There is a question, which appears of itself before the historian, when he has finished drawing up this inventory. Are the vases of two styles contemporaneous, that we have attempted to define? To explain the differences that distinguish them, does it suffice to assume that there were in the island at a certain time several rival workshops, each of which had its own manner of understanding and executing the decoration of its vases? we do not believe that this hypothesis may be that which best accords with the whole of the facts mentioned by us. Among them are some that may seem to have but a moderate importance, and yet it is proper to take them into account. The vases of the second group are the only ones, on which for the indication of certain details the painter may have preferred to use the graver than the method of reserved lines, or of lines traced with a brush charged with white color. Now there are serious reasons for regarding the Corinthians, accustomed to work in metal, as the inventors of the process of incision applied to the clay of painted vases.¹ We see this process already employed on those of their vases having the most archaic appearance, for example on the pyxis of Chares at the Louvre. On the contrary, no use is made of it on those Ionian vases, which by the simplicity of the data of their ornamentation appear to be the most ancient of all. It thus seems that to learn to handle the graver, the painter in the workshops of Asian Greece awaited the time when the products of the Corinthian manufacture had commenced to be placed on the markets of Ionia. But the Greeks of Ionia having preceded those of Europe in the ways of art and in those of poetry, there was reason to think that the kilns of Miletus and of Rhodes had burned long before those of Corinth were lighted. When at the suggestion of the foreigner, the Rhodian adopted the new process, he already had behind him an entire past, that of a ceramics when the brush could perform its task without calling for the aid of the dry point.

Note 1, p. 436. Pottier in *Monuments et Memoires*. (Foundation Plot. Vol. I, p. 47.

Yet what is still more decisive for the chronological classification of the Rhodian vases is what is called the psychological reason. In the order of the normal development of the faculty of relief, vases on which the decoration is pure ornament are earlier than those on which the ornamentation aims at becoming a picture, a painting whose subject is taken either from a poetic fiction, or from sights offered by the daily life in view of the workman. He would not be put to the trouble of invention, while he was contented to borrow from his oriental models their traditional motives, that he transfers while adapting them to the special conditions of the trade, not without putting into the execution of these images the qualities of design that properly appertain to them. What arouses him to the effort to inaugurate a new system of decoration was the increasing place that poetry and the art which interpreted it took in the life of an intelligent and sensible people, passionately enough charmed with beauty to wish to place it everywhere, even in the smallest objects that the hand of the artisan fashioned for his purposes. It was to respond to this need, to this desire of all, that in Asian as in European Greece the potter was emboldened to take a method whose example had been given to him by none of his predecessors, neither by the indication of Egypt nor by that of the Chaldeans. Of the clay vase, that its material and form appropriated it to all the uses of domestic life, he made it not the rival, at least the complement and the reflection of works of great art, those of the painter of frescos and of the sculptors of the friezes of the temple. Like those artists, in the fields at his disposal he caused to appear the gods adored by his people, and the heroes whose exploits were sung by the poets. He also projected there as in a faithful mirror the image of the scenes, that Grecian life, the public and private life of the city, offered to his curious eyes. The most common vases, the *nyctis* and *amphora*, jar and cup, thus became the supports of many scenes, of which each represented with more or less success a scene from real life or retraced some episode of that ideal and fabulous history, where for long centuries the Greek mind, that had the honor of having created the story, felt itself more at ease

and found more pleasure than even in the plain tales of actual history.

At the same time that he reaches this conception of the decoration, the Rhodian ceramist also modifies the composition of his palette. Two tones, black with its accidental variations and reddish purple had sufficed him while he only had to imitate the tranquil harmony of embroidered fabrics on a light ground; but here he undertakes to place on the clay personages on whom he must distinguish the nude from the parts of the body covered by the drapery and emphasize certain details of the clothing and armor. Then at Rhodes as at Naucratis and elsewhere he feels the need of varying his tones more and of giving them more vigor. He employs yellow beside red, he manages a hard contrast between the frank black and touches of pure white. He preludes that slightly snocking polychromy, that we find in other series, on vases found in Italy and that do not tell us where they were made, but which by their characteristics and their technics still appear to have left some Ionian workshop. If I have insisted so much on Rhodian ceramics, this is because of all Ionian ceramics, it is that known to us by the greater number of monuments of an assumed origin, and of which many are very well preserved. Of the different workshops of European Greece, whose existence we have so far proved or conjectured, that of Rhodes is the only one whose production is represented in the museums, not merely by scattered fragments, but by a notable quantity of entire or nearly entire vases. By that material brought from the cemeteries of Camiros, we have been able to follow the Rhodian ceramist in his entire evolution from the time, when at the signal given by the awakening of the Ionian genius and the aid of oriental models, he disengaged himself from the complications of the geometric style to gradually arrive by a continued progress, to give to the character of the painted vase that narrative character to which Greek ceramics will owe its originality.

If it be according to the vases found in the island itself that we have described and defined Rhodian ceramics, with the two styles that we have distinguished in its production, there is still reason to believe that from the time when the first of these styles flourished, Rhodes exported vases into Sicily and Italy. To make as complete as possible the list of works

from the Rhodian manufactory, that have come to us, there is reason to carry to its credit certain vases that came from Etruscan cemeteries. This is the case for more than one of the vases scattered in the museums, that have been classed as Etruscan or Samian, and particularly for that belonging to the little Saxon duchy, on which we have recognized a representation of the komos (Fig. 219).¹ This can be affirmed on the subject of the so-called Levy vase, of which we have adhered to giving a faithful image, because it appears to us to be the most beautiful example of the type of Rhodian oenochoe, that has reached us. (Fig. 223 and Pl. XIX).

Note 1.p.438. Böhlaus. Aus Samischen etc. p.53-69, notes 3, 6, 29, 30.

This oenochoe is possessed by the Louvre. There is every reason to believe that it was found in Italy, as stated by the dealer that sold it about 1855 to the painter Émile Levy, its first possessor. This was much before the campaign of Salzmann; no one had yet excavated at Rhodes. In its kind, this vase is an admirable work of art. "No other example of this Rhodian series could rival it in the solidity of the coating, the delicacy of the execution, the precision of the drawing or the abundance of ornaments. On the shoulder, a floral motive joins water birds, griffins, a sphynx, deer, etc. The body is divided in three zones of passing animals. Three zones of ibexes alternate with two zones of deer with spotted bodies. The field is everywhere filled by geometric ornaments, rosettes, fylfots, concentric circles and semicircles. In this known decoration are discovered ingenious details, that prove the pleasure taken by the Ionian artist in placing in his paintings the most conventional of traits, which would recall life, the unforeseen and its infinite variety. Thus has he broken the monotony of his files of deer by turning the heads of one file in the other direction. Elsewhere there are swallows perched on the tail of the sphynx. And those ^{of the} griffins, or indeed on the rosettes scattered in the field." ¹

Note 1.p.440. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 524.

5. General Character of Ionian Ceramics from the Vases collected in European Greece.

With the fragments gathered from the mouths of the Nile to the shores of the Hellespont, on all the coasts of the eastern

Mediterranean, especially on the vases of Rhodes, we have surveyed all of Ionian ceramics that has been found in the country of their origin. If one recollects and brings together all facts that he has noted in the course of this research, he could be tempted to define ^{with} a certain precision the characteristics that distinguish Ionian ceramics regarded as a whole, from other Greek ceramics, the Corinthian and the Attic; he could form a just idea of the tendencies and the taste that reigned in the Ionian workshops in the 7th and 6th centuries. It is by the retaining of this definition that we can decide in what measure one is right in referring to the Ionian family certain vases found either in the islands of the Aegean sea or even in Etruscan cemeteries, whether these vases are regarded as made in the same workshop of Asian Greece and carried afar by commerce, or that they are seen as the products of a workshop whose chief had suffered the influence of Ionian art, and had adopted its methods and types. The vases that we have examined so far will serve us as a criterion. These will be so many authentic documents, according to which we shall appreciate the Ionizing vases, which we shall find scattered over other parts of the Mediterranean; we shall thus come to judge of the nature of relationship. This is what paleographers do when they are compared to the manuscript to which they recognize the archetype, as they say, the later manuscripts and those of secondary importance.

Here then are those fundamental characteristics, such as they appear to us to result from the study which we have undertaken. As for the forms, Ionian ceramics has renounced none of those in use in the Mycenaean epoch. Here is no longer found the amphora with stirrup, the goblet with one or two handles, the cup with a tall and slender foot, the horn nor the flagon. Other shapes have been retained, because they responded to certain needs of daily life. Such are the amphora and the aryballos. The amphora was formerly much sagging and very heavy. It is reduced and its sides brought nearer, the foot, shoulders and neck take a contour with more accent; the handles on this clay body are more freely drawn. The handles are now round and are detached from the body. The entire vessel is more becoming more elegant and one feels that the artist has drawn beautiful lines and happy proportions.

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Here then are those fundamental, characteristics, such as they appear to us to result from the study which we have undertaken. As for the forms, Ionian ceramics has renounced some of those in use in the Mycenaean epoch. Here is no longer found the amphora with stirrup, the goblet with one or two handles, the cup with a tall and slender foot, the horn nor the flask. Other shapes have been retained, because they responded to certain needs of daily life. Such are the amphora and the oenocoe. The amphora was formerly much swelled and very heavy.¹ Here it is reduced and its sides brought nearer. The foot, shoulder and neck take a contour with more accent; the articulation of this clay body are more freely drawn. The handles are enlarged and are detached from the body. The entire curve of the body becomes more elegant and one feels that are sketched the beautiful lines and happy proportions of the Attic amphora of the

5th century (Fig. 216). It is the same for the vases which resemble what is vulgarly called the jug. In all the work of the Mycenaean potter, I know only one ewer, that if copied in some piece of goldsmith's work would have an outline truly pleasing to the eye.² Other vases of that kind are of low and squat height, of heavy and slightly awkward shape.³ The Rhodian oenochoe with its trefoil spout, short neck, graceful handle in volute form overhanging the mouth and its wide body, leaves little to desire (Fig. 224). There will suffice slight retouches for this to reach later in this kind a perfect form. A type that is seen to appear here for the first time is that I like the sketch of the lecythe, an elongated flask with two little handles (Fig. 225). Finally, here is a new model that appears to have been especially in favor in the workshops of Rhodes. It is that of those plates with decorated borders and central subjects, many examples of which have been furnished by camiros, and that we have found again at Myrina and Chidos. (Fig. 215). A type that seems to have been much liked at Naucratis is that of the bowl (Fig. 193). There are also cups of small depth that are sometimes very richly ornamented. It suffices to recall that where the head of a woman, modeled in relief, decorates the handles where they are attached to the vase. (Fig. 192).

Note 1.p.441. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VI, Figs.464,466,479,485.

Note 2.p.441. The same. Fig. 486.

Note 3.p.441. The same. Figs. 436, 457, 465, 470.

What characterizes Ionian ceramics more and better than even these innovations in relief is the method taken in the use of colors. Doubtless after a primary and slight firing, extended over the clay a very thin coating of creamy white or of pale yellow, that closed the pores of the clay, and this made smooth surfaces for the painter over which his brush could run. He painted on this coating with two tones, black that gave the entire outline, and a vinous red, which served to mark the details of the muscles, costume and armor. With a poorer palette, this was the same method as for fresco.

The effect of the images on the ground then is here nearly the same as in fresco. If the most ancient potters of Ionia took their floral motives and their files of real or fictitious animals from oriental tapestries, what suggested to them

the idea of a taste for their light coating was perhaps the whiteness of the grounds of the embroidered fabrics; but it is also that of the coating in the edifices of the city from which rose the figures of the pictures of the historical painter.

From various indications, we have believed it possible to conjecture that the colors of mural paintings in Ionia were more vivid and more varied than those of the paintings of the same kind, that were traced about the same time by the brushes of the artists of Corinth and of Sicyon.¹ There was already a reflection of this polychromy and of its charm in the decoration of the Knodian oenochoes, where the brown of the images with its touches of vinous red were detached without violence from the tranquil softness of the ground; but it was doubtless to follow still more closely the examples given by monumental painting, that the ceramist a little later added other tones to his palette, placed yellow there beside red and violet, since he lavished touches of white on the black (Fig. 191). The same tendency manifests itself in the care taken in places to cover by a coating of free black the internal surface of vases, whose exteriors were covered by a light glaze. On this black he projected ornaments executed in red and white. It is divined that he took pleasure in this contrast and this diversity of tints, in this florid appearance offered neither by Corinthian or Attic vases.

Note 1. p. 442. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p. 218-220.

If the glaze gave Ionian vases something of that smiling freshness and brilliancy, and ceramists among other people held to place on all their work, it had a serious fault; it lacked durability. Unlike our faience, this was not an enamel that the fire melted and fixed on the clay. Made of a powdery material, even before firing, this coating had but a feeble adhesion to the clay; under the action of dampness it was easily detached, and in falling it carried with it the colors for which it served as a ground. Greek potters never knew well how to provide against this inconvenience of painting on a white ground. When those of Athens in the 5th century applied this method to their funerary lecythes and to cups, of which some are marvels, they succeeded no better in this undertaking.

By giving the value taken by the least black line on the pale

tint of the field, one understands that the painter may have been inclined to derive from the tracing of those lines all his means of expression. He felt what these had imperfect and ungraceful as images of life, these opaque images like cast shadows, with which the potters of the Dipylon satisfied themselves. They seemed to him to lend themselves badly to render the inflexions of the form, the roundness of the torso and the flexible articulations of the members. He then took the reverse of the mode of copying that had prevailed in Europe after the Dorian invasion, and he freely represented by a simple line drawing either entire figures or parts of figures; this was an example sometimes given to him by Mycenaean artists.¹ Likewise on the Rhodian vases, the head and paws of animals are often only indicated by simple lines, which outline their contours and sometimes fix certain internal details, while a dark tint extends over the entire body (Fig. 213). Even the painter usually has not consented to leave this central mass vaguely indeterminate, by placing nothing there to accent either the varied tints of the clothing or these elongations, shortenings or thickenings of the body, that differentiate the species. See now he succeeds in noting or at least in recalling these distinctive peculiarities of color and of form; in the black that fills the entire interior of the outline, he has arranged voids where the white coating remains uncovered. Those voids are sometimes irregular spots, that represent those that dapple the skins of certain deer; these are further narrow strips cast there like lights, which model the torso or that show the attachments of the members. That is what is called the method of lines in reserve.

Note 1.p.444. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, Plés. 465, 467, 474, 476, 486, 490, 491, 493, 496.

Note 2.p.444. Louvre. Hall A. 311, 321, 330 bis. On a fragment from Naucratis, it is by touches of white and not by reserved lines that is indicated for the lion the joints of the shoulder and thigh. (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1887. Pl. 79, our Fig. 196)

This mode of working has its difficulties. It was only at the cost of a rare certainty of hand, that the painter succeeded in obtaining those reserved whites, whose places and dimensions he must foresee in advance. He also sometimes had recourse to

an expedient which gave me nearly the same effects. On some vases from Naucratis and from Rhodes the artist, to arrange the light notes of which he did not intend to deprive himself, substituted for the reserved lines touches of white placed on the clay.¹ He has elsewhere made particular use of this procedure for the secondary parts of the decoration, for the ornamental motives.

This means was not the only one of which the painter disposed to insert in the field of the outline the internal detail, the accents that rounded the figure. The Ionian ceramist required these accents from the play of the brush; but in other workshops, another mode was taken to obtain them. Men had imitated the procedures of the goldsmith and of the bronze-worker, those employed by them to perfect the decoration of the piece that left the mould or was fashioned by the hammer. The potter had learned to handle the point of the chaser, and just as the former engraved on metal, he now engraved on clay, carrying his cuts across the image. Wherever these removed the color, was caused to reappear the yellow or red of the clay. This is what is called the method of incised lines. It is unknown where the first attempt was made; but what made its success is, that it was more rapid than that of the reserved line. Unlike that, it did not compel the painter to watch his brush without ceasing to avoid irreparable encroachments of the color; it permitted him to allow it to run more freely over the sides of the vase. Once that the image was entirely colored, the workmen removed it, armed with another tool, to place on it more or less chasing at his pleasure.

This convenience of working and its rapidity made the Corinthians hasten to apply this process to all vases that left their kilns. The Corinthians had especially been workers and merchants that held to produce quickly to sell much. As for the Ionians, much more artists in their souls, they loved color too much to admire a method, that tended to exterminate vivacities and lessen contrasts. On the Rhodian oenochoes with bands of animals, there are incised lines nowhere; there are no more of them in the series of plates of the same origin and of the same style, no more than on the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes, even on those appearing to be most recent. This procedure was repugnant to Ionian taste. If the practice of the workshops e

ended in admitting these in Ionia, it was only after commerce had introduced into that country the products of Corinthian fabrication; those are represented in the excavations of Camiros by many vases, small and great. The Ionian workmen gradually allowed themselves to be tempted by the facilities offered them by this mode of execution, but the use that they made of it usually remained very cautious. Thus on the fragments of plates in the Rhodian style found at Larissa, the bodies of the animals are modeled by white reserves, while there are lines incised in the black rectangles that ornament the border. (Fig. 206).¹ On an oenochoe of Rhodian origin are two superposed bands of passing animals. In the upper one the decoration is by opaque images and incised lines; in the lower one, it is by reserved lines.² At length it occurred that the Ionian ceramist employed together on the same piece all the procedures, examples of which he found on the very varied types brought under his eyes by the ever increasing activity of commerce. This is the case for a plate from Naucratis.

Note 1. p. 448. Böhlau. Aus Ionischen, etc. p. 86-87.

Note 2. p. 448. C. Smith. Early paintings of Asia Minor. p. 185-187. Fig. 3. (Jour. Hell. Stud. 1885. Furtwängler. Jahrb. d. deut. Inst. 1886. p. 139, no. 2939. Pottier has published a cratera of the Louvre on which the decoration shows the same mixture of the two procedures (Cratere grec de style Corinthien et Rhodien. Monuments Piot. Vol. I, p. 43-46, Pl. IV), but that vase was discovered in Italy. Pottier believes it to be of Corinthian fabrication; Furtwängler regards it rather as the issue of an Ionian workshop.

"This plate bears on the inside the figure of a sphynx with body in opaque black, with head and paws in black outline on the ground of the white covering. The masses of hair, the scales on the chest and some small muscular details of the paws are incised; others are reserved. Finally the eggs of the circumference and certain lines of the wing are detached in white. Four or five technics represent the attempts accumulated during several centuries. (Black image, black line on light ground, white line on black ground, reserved lines, incised lines. This sort of incoherence and complication shows that it was time to adopt a single and simple method."³ The Corinthians first and then the Athenians supplied it.

Note 3.p.448. Pottier. Catalogue. p.502-503. Some juxtaposition of white lines laid on black and incised lines on a dinosapode of the Louvre. (Pottier: B.C.R.189 . p.423-426).Fig. 1.

If the pleasure taken by the eye in Ionia by the contrasts and the harmonies of color, there led the painter to make only a feeble and late use of the incised line, on the other hand from the beginning, he counted much for the general effect of his decoration on those retouches of Vinous red, that combine equally well with the black figures and the yellow of the coating. These reds were not laid on the black, they filled spaces prepared to receive them. This is a variant of the method of reserved lines.

If one passes from the study of the procedures of execution and of coloring to that of the choice and distribution of the motives, this is the impression made at first; this ceramics, particularly that of the Rhodian oenocnoes and of the great plates that accompany them doubtless offers much not yet seen by one on first leaving a museum hall, filled by the pottery of Cnossos and of Mycenae; but still there are between it and the Cretan or Mycenaean ceramic, resemblances that cannot be the effect of a simple accident. By the role that the ancient and traditional elements play in this decoration, one divines that there was there a transmission of certain forms, and a direct affiliation of one art to the other, but one that left sufficient liberty to the mind of the artist, so that he could make a large part of invention and progress. In the pottery of Rhodes, Naucratis and Daphnae, as in the pottery termed Mycenaean, the human figure only appears exceptionally. On the superposed zones of ewers, on the tops of plates and on the sides of amphoras, are rarely seen more than figures of quadrupeds and birds. It seems that this may be given there as an assemblage of all the favorites of the Mycenaean artist. There is the lion, the stag and deer, the ibexes with long recurved horns. All these domestic animals and wild beasts are those that the sculptor of the Achaean age has represented under the most varied aspects on his ivories and intaglios. There is especially the ducks, swans and wild birds, which must then feed on the vast marshes and in the estuaries of the rivers. These web-footed birds here have the same poses as in these first attempts in ceramic painting; their bodies have the same curvature and a

very simplified contour, but where the general character of the form is seized with much accuracy. Yet one difference is to be mentioned. One does not find again here that flora and marine fauna, which give to the work of the Mycenaean decorator and notably to that of the ceramist such a singular appearance.¹ No alges attached to the rock and curved by the waves.² No cephalopod mollusks extending in all directions the membranes, which serve them as nippers, fins and sails. Nowhere is the octopus, cuttlefish or the nautilus.³ In the paintings of Ionian vases is no more than the fish to represent all the inhabitants of the sea. On a plate from Camiros is thought to be recognized the swordfish (fig. 213).⁴

Note 1.p.447. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI. Figs. 444, 489, 491, 498.

Note 1.p.448. The same. §.922-934.

Note 2.p.448. The same. Figs. 436, 485-487.

Note 3.p.448. The same. Figs. 430, 413, 484-489, 491-492.

Note 4.p.448. Longperier. Musée Napoleon III. Text and Pl. 53.

Ionian art then no longer has the same predilection as its predecessor for the lower forms of animal life, for those submarine landscapes which recall those presented by our aquariums. Between the time when flourished Achaean civilization and the time when that of Ionia took such a bold flight, certain images had passed out of fashion; but if by a natural evolution of his taste, the artist had come to concentrate his effort on the study and imitation of more noble forms, then were those of cryptograms and mollusks, he no less faithfully retained an entire part of the legacy of his predecessor. He loved to distribute on the field between the figures ornaments of smaller dimensions, some derived by systematic adaptation from plant forms, most borrowed from those combinations of lines which pleased the geometric style. As an example of those survivals, it will suffice to cite the garlands of leaves that extend on the body or are scrolled around the attachments of the handles, as well as the palmatum in the form of a straight racket or fern, the rosettes of all sorts, and the stars recall more or less nearly the flowers, roses, radiates or cruciferous, that suggested the first idea of them. In the order of purely linear arrangements, the crockets with hooks, cut triangles or with opposed vertices, lozenges, concentric circles, more or less complex spirals, frets, fylfots, a heart shaped ornament

of two opposed volutes, which at Mycenae are found both in mural paintings and on many objects of gold and ivory,⁵ finally imbrication that imitates the regular arrangement of scales, which cover the bodies of fishes or of reptiles.

Note 5. p. 448. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI. Figs. 222-22.

Certain of these last motives are also found in the repertory of the ornamentists of the intermediate period, of that which we have defined by the rigour with which was imposed on the graver and the brush, in all eastern Europe during two or three centuries, a style that appeared so strongly to please itself by the play of points and straight and curved lines, that it forgot the world of life. Yet a distinction is to be made. On Mycenaean vases, these linear motives are far from having the same importance as on works of all kinds resulting from the so-called geometric style. At Rhodes as at Mycenae, instead of parading as masters and occupying the entire space, they served only to fill the voids. While on the sides of the vases of the Dipylon their innate stiffness affects even the living forms that appear in those paintings, here the contrary effect is produced. In Ionian as in Mycenaean ceramics is a certain motive, in which an eye not warned could see at the first look only a variation made or an abstract theme, when a more attentive observation divines there a generating principle of the image, an organic type, the mollusk, the flower or green branch, but the branch, the flower and the mollusk simplified, arranged and made regular by the hand of the ornamentist.

It is not alone in the series of these secondary ornaments, for filling, that is perceived the bond that connects Ionian ceramics to all the art of the Achaean age. In the figures themselves, there are significant details which attest the use of a model that one is compelled to follow even in its peculiarities. For example, this is the case for the sphynx. From the 12th or the 11th centuries B.C., the coastal tribes of the Aegean sea had already borrowed this factitious type from the oriental world; but in taking it for themselves, they had modified it. In the face that they had feminized, they had suppressed the chin beard, which with the uraeus placed on the brow gave to this composite form among the Egyptians the character of an image of the king.¹ On the other hand, they had added there a pair of wings to the flanks, wings raised like

fans above the back. Here is further a trait by which the sphynx of ivories, jewels and of the Mycenaean vases is distinguished from the Egyptian original as well as from its Chaldean, Assyrian and Phoenician derivatives: it has on its head a sort of cap or very low tiara, surmounted by a long and thin streamer, detached to float behind.¹ Now there is nothing in the primary conception of the sphynx to explain this odd coiffure, in which can only be seen an invention of the Mycenaean decorator. This arrangement survived the art which made it the fashion. When the European Greek ceramist and the goldsmith attempted to introduce again the sphynx in their decoration, it showed itself as thus adorned.²

Note 1.p.449. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I. p.731-732.

Note 2.p.449. The winged sphynx is very rare in Egypt. When found there, the very long wings cover the rear part of the body of the animal and hang behind it. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, p. 129, Fig. 74).

Note 1.p.450. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI.p.833-834, Figs. 416, 417, 418.

Note 2.p.450. The same. Vol. VII, p. 222, 246; Fig. 96.

It was the same in Asian Greece, when the same renaissance movement was produced there sooner and with more splendor, than on the western shores of the Aegean sea.³ Naturalized in Greece during several centuries, the sphynx in advance by its marked place in the repertory of the Ionian ceramist; it reappeared in his works with the mark by which it had endowed the art of Achaean Greece. It is found covered in that fashion on some vases of Naucratis, that have a very frankly archaic character (Fig. 226).⁴ Men further did not delay to feel that this ornament had not a very happy effect and renounced it there. The head of the sphynx is only ornamented by long hair that encloses the face, and falls in a thick mass on the nape. (Fig. 212).

Note 3.p.450. If we do not bring into line the fragment published by Schliemann, Ilios, Fig. 1587, this is because it seems to us to come rather from a Mycenaean than an Ionian vase. No white coating in the clay; the painting is black on a red ground. The sphynx does not have the appearance of those of Rhodian vases.

Note 4.p.450. Also see Naucratis; Part II, Pl. VII, Fig. 2,

and an amphora found at Caere, but certainly of Ionian make in *Inst. Arch. Röm. Mitt.* 1887. Pl. VIII. E. Gardner attests that among the fragments of Naucratic pottery possessed by the British Museum, there are several on which the sphynx presents this trait. (*Jour. Hell. Studies.* 1887 p. 121).

The Ionian ceramic painter then has not failed to profit by the Mycenaean tradition to form a repertory for himself, and which still existed when he set himself to work; but at that time other models presented themselves to him, that contributed in larger measure to the formation of his taste and his style. Those models were furnished to him by the arts of the ancient civilizations of the Orient, Egyptian and Phoenician, Assyrian and Lydian. At Miletus, Ephesus and Smyrna, in all the cities where caravans and merchant ships came in rivalry to throw in the bazaars all of the fineness that was produced by foreign industries, the native artisan was inspired by the themes and forms that these exotic works offered to his intelligent curiosity.¹ In attempting to imitate those that he saw, he felt his imagination aroused. To assure one's self that this was so, it suffices to glance at the Etruscan vases. We recognize everywhere their motives rendered familiar to us by the turnings of the long route by which we reach Greece from the banks of the Nile to those of the Euphrates and the Tigris, then across the plateaus of western Asia.

Note 1. p. 451. To properly comprehend what a large part must be given, in the relations of the oriental civilizations and in the influence that was exerted on the Ionians, to the overland commerce, which by the intermediary of the Cappadocians, Phrygians and Lydians placed the coastal peoples of the Egean sea in connection with Mesopotamia, one would do well to read a little book very rich in facts skilfully summarized and ideas presented in interesting fashion, which has the title: *Ionians and the East*, six lectures before the University of London by D. Hogarth (1895). The entire 4th chapter is devoted to the study of the routes by which occurred these exchanges between peoples separated by such a vast extent of lands.

Everywhere is the lotus with its large expanded flowers and its closed buds. (Fig. 189, 203, 209, 212). There is the palmetum, whose first idea was suggested by the fern-like leaf of various species of palm, and that in Phoenicia and Assyria lent

itself to such varied arrangements (Figs. 189, 216, 218). There are the cuneiform characters of Assyrian writing that the painter has employed to fill the borders, in the same fashion that in our medieval churches, the artists of the West utilized the characters of Arab writing, those called the Cufic characters (Figs. 205, 218). As a girdle of the necks of vases is the plait with a point in each bend, of which the Assyrian ornamentist made very frequent use for dividing or enclosing his pictures (Figs. 213, 224).¹

Note 1.p.452. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, Pls.XIII, XIV, Fig. 1.

The impression is the same for the figures of animals. The lion often appears in this painting, either isolated (Figs. 201, 211), or associated with other wild beasts (Figs. 193, 197). Now at that epoch, if the lion perhaps still existed in the higher and less peopled parts of the plateaus of Asia Minor, he no longer ravaged the plains of Ionia. The image of him then given in Greece by the chisel and the brush, even where most successful as on the fragment from Naucratis, always retains a conventional character that betrays its origin; sculptors and painters repeat it to satiety just as shown to them by the art works that came from countries like Egypt and Assyria, where the artist daily had opportunity to study from life the shapes and movements of the great carnivora. Same observation for the spotted panther, sometimes substituted for the lion in these paintings. As for the other animals whose files fill the bands of aiguières and amphoras, deer and stags, goats, ibexes and wild goats, bulls and rams, we have already found them with the same attitude of slow and processional march in the reliefs of Egyptian tombs,² on Assyrian vases,³ on those metla cups that Phoenician goldsmiths retailed and distributed over all the coasts of the Mediterranean.⁴ With these inhabitants of the thickets of the mountain and of the pastures of the plain are mixed in some places hybrid beings like the siren, griffin and sphynx. Now these are all children of the imagination of oriental artists. Phoenician imagery had long since spread and made common the types; but there is reason to recognize the direct imitation of Egypt in the odd combinations of forms, where an animal's head is placed on a human body, as on that amphora of Camiros, where is seen a man with a hare's head in the attitude of running.(Fig. 216).¹

Note 2.p.452. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I, Figs.22,29,458.

Note 3.p.4-2. The same. Vol.II, Figs. 378, 378.

Note 4.p.452. The same. Vol. II.Figs.407; III, Figs.543,552.

Note 1.p.453. The same. Vol.I. p. 59-61.

The Greek painter has added not much to this series of exotic monsters. Scarcely the honor of more than a single original creation can be given to him, that of the Chimera. The head of the goat rises above the back of the lion, that has a serpent as a tail (Fig. 213).

The mouth of the lion and the head of the serpent emit flames. These different forms here are much less well joined together than in the sphynx and griffin; they have not produced the illusion of a living entirety.

Among all the products of the industries of the Orient that converged to the markets of Ionia were none, in which the Greek artisan could not distinguish some motive by which he could not make his profit; but especially in the tapestries decorated by the play of the shuttle or by the needle of the embroidress and in the ornamented metal cups, that the Ionian ceramist found the principle of the system of ornamentation, that he applied to his vases. This principle is that of the division of the field into a certain number of zones enclosing a central medallion. By their great length and small width, these bands lend themselves better to the development of a procession than to the representation of a single scene. The central motive on the contrary, could be composed of a single figure or comprise several engaged in a common action. From the tapestries and the metal cups, the potter of Rhodes took for his aiguires the different bands of their enclosure and superposed them above each other. For his plates, he borrowed ^{from} these same models the medallion with its round form and with the importance attributed to the image that filled its field. As for the narrow bands in the works of the Phoenician goldsmith, that surrounded the principal subject, this corresponds on the plates of Rhodes and of Naucratis to the concentric circles that serve as a border. In the widest of these circles, the design is sometimes purely ornamental; it only admits purely geometric motives, between which are inserted palm-trees and heads of animals (Fig. 215); but elsewhere are seen repeated the pursuing their uninterrupted march, the wild beasts and monsters that

that seem to have a right to this place.(Fig. 192).

Particularly on the plates of Naucratis and of Rhodes, one likewise appreciates and measures the importance of the borrowings, that the first Ionian potters made from their oriental models. The imitator is there taken in the act. A happy chance has preserved a sufficient number of examples of Phoenician metal cups by which these potters were inspired. If these clay be placed opposite the Syrian cups of silver and bronze, one can judge of the spirit in which the copyist used the model; one takes account of what intelligence and personal initiative he put into the part which he derived from it; but the case is not the same for other products of Asian industry, from whose decoration our ceramist has perhaps drawn still more largely, than from works of jewelry. We speak of those tapestries and embroidered fabrics that the workmen and workwomen of Chaldaea and of Syria exported to the markets of the coasts, where those masterpieces of the shuttle and needle were much sought by those Ionians, who have been described to us by their poets as so charmed by the luxury of furniture and of dress. Of those rich tissues in which noble Ionians draped themselves with long folds and decorated their dwellings, not a shred has remained to us; but for the appearance that they presented, the character of the arrangement of the motives that formed their decoration, one can form an idea by the copies that sculpture has left to us and by some texts of the authors. Of these tunics and mantles charged with embroideries, we have their faithful images in the fine carvings of Assyrian reliefs, in the minute rendering of the costume assigned to the king and his great officers.¹ There are found arrangements analogous to those of the cups. In the middle of the piece of fabric, in a circular or oval medallion is the king in adoration before the sacred tree, with gods and genii. All around in the borders that enclose that medallion are processions of winged personages, combats and files of real or fictitious animals; then beside are chevrons, cones and plaits, plant ornaments, such as rosettes, sheaves or garlands of flowers and buds, fruits resembling pomegranates.

Note 1. p. 454. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, Figs. 305, 443-448.

Those were the current motives that traditions frequently secular placed in a way at the fingers' ends of all art workers

employed in working or ornamenting fabrics or wood, ivory or metal, from the valley of the Euphrates to that of the Nile, from the slopes of Lebanon to those of Taurus. From one to another of the States that divided among themselves that vast extent of lands, these motives varied only within very narrow limits. What could and must differ from one country to another were the effigies of the deities, the groups of a symbolical character, the types that expressed the special religious conceptions of a certain people; but whatever this was in Egypt, Assyria or Lydia, these divine images and these symbols had nearly the same enclosure of ornaments everywhere. As for the Phoenician artisan, he inserted in his skilful imitations all these figures of the gods and of genii, all these groups with a mystical sense, without caring longer for their significance; he attributed to them no value other than that of ornamental elements.

All these peoples of western Africa that were elder than the Greeks then had the same grammar of ornament, if one can so speak. Elaborated by the combined efforts of collaborators not all of the same race and by the successive labors of many generations, this grammar had grouped and classified the terms of this language of forms. It had stated and defined the inflexions of the words of this common language. This grammar also had its syntax. By practice it had regulated the relations that such varied forms must sustain between them. To each of these forms it had assigned the place best suited to it in the entirety of the decoration, the place in which it assumed all its value of expression. Established in Asia Minor, the Ionians were first of all Greeks to enter into constant relations with the heirs of the old civilizations of the Orient, to be affected by their prestige and to draw from the treasure of forms created by them. These forms that they borrowed thus to adapt them to the expression of their own ideas, they did not take separately, isolated and detached from the context. They borrowed them as the model offered them, together with those that accompanied them in the model. In inserting them in their own works, they were very naturally led to assign them a portion corresponding to that occupied by these motives in the originals that inspired them, see how on the Rhodian plates we find

again the arrangements of the Phoenician cups, and on the oenochoes those of Chaldean and Syrian tapestries.

The ceramist must have found still more to take from those exotic fabrics than from the cups chased by the goldsmith. These were articles of value, concealed by the rich in their houses with the jewels of their women. On the contrary, Babylonian tapestries were exposed to the eyes of passers, they served as portieres before the doors of noble dwellings. On the agora and in the festivals of the city were seen men and women decorated in fabrics ornamented by the needles of those Phrygians, to whom Pliny attributes the invention of the art of embroidery.¹

The idea of these fabrics given by the texts corresponds in every part to that which could be formed from the Assyrian reliefs. Herodotus describes a cuirass of linen, that of the king of Egypt, Amasis, presented to the Lacedaemonians. "On the fabric were incorporated many figures of animals."² The gift was intercepted by the Samians. Hence this cuirass was found at Samos, but the historian adds:— "Another entirely similar was offered by Amasis to the Lidian Athena," in the island of Rhodes. The potters whose works were found at Onidos could admire it at Rhodes, and there see detached on the whiteness of the linen those lines of birds and ibexes, which they transferred to the sides of their jars. Likewise Philostratus in describing a real or fictitious painting, that represented Themistocles exiled and speaking before the king of Persia, boasted of the art with which the painter had represented in all its splendor the historical truth, the costume of the monarch. Philostratus did not fail to note that the artist, curious in the local color, had placed on the royal robe "the fantastic animals of all sorts, that the barbarians embroidered on their fabrics."³

Note 1.p.456. Pliny. H.N. VIII, 74.

Note 2.p.456. Herodotus. III, 47.

Note 3.p.456. Philostratus. Imagines. II, 31.

Philostratus and the paintings that he describes are later than the vases of Camiros by several centuries; but it is known with what obstinate persistence the industries of a domestic and familiar character, are attached to repeating the same mo-

motives almost without change for centuries. This will always be the case for the embroidery and lacemaking. They from infancy learn from their mothers to execute the designs that their mother had learned from her own, a docile heiress of the practice of the grandmother. It was the same for the weaver until the day, when in the West the introduction of machines profoundly modified the course of that industry; but it is doubtful that even today the effects of this revolution make themselves felt in the Orient. Until yesterday the present was always tinged by the past in this domain of industries that concern art, allowing everywhere to arise and reappear like the flower from the ground, the habits and forms created by the past. On the rugs still made at Ispahan is believed to be found abridged and modified a motive borrowed from the type of the capital of Persepolis, that with the two busts of bulls back to back.¹ What is certain is that on the beautiful carpets woven in Persia for Shah Abbas in the 17th century, there are readily found in the borders, motives shown in the same place on the hangings intended to furnish the palace of Assurbanipal or of Croesus, the combat of the lion and the bull, hinds and birds, enclosed by scrolls of leaves and flowers. The difference is, that on the arid plains of Iran, the pheasants of the forests of the Elburz mountains have replaced on these borders the ducks, geese and swans placed there by the borderers of the Euphrates and those of the rivers with marshy outlets flowing into the Mediterranean.²

Note 1. p. 457. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. V, p. 867, Fig. 521.

Note 2. p. 457. Gustav Mendel. *L'exposition des arts musulmans à Munich*. (*Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*. Vol. 28. 1910. p. 253-268).

Pupils and imitators of oriental artisans, Greek weavers and embroiderers, even after they had begun to represent on their fabrics of luxury scenes drawn from Hellenic myths, still enclosed within borders borrowed from exotic tapestries, and did not lose sight of the origin of the images that filled those bands. Thus is seen by the description, that the author of a compilation placed under the name of Aristotle gives of the animation that Alkimanos of Sybaris consecrated in the temple of the Lacinian Hera, where it caused the admiration of pilgrims. In the middle of the great fabric, the weaver had placed

the effigies of six principal deities of Greece. On one side, he had represented Alkimenēs the giver, and on the other was the city of Sybaris; but it is difficult to determine from the text as printed, what the workmen placed at the top and bottom in the border. If there be accepted an ingenious interpretation recently proposed, there were lilies on one part, i.e., lotuses, on the other being persons in oriental costumes.¹

Note 1.p.458. (Greek). Longperier proposes to translate this, and his translation has been frequently reproduced: - "The top represented the sacred animals of the Susians, and the lower those of the Persians;" but for this translation to be acceptable, it is necessary for the text to give *Sousianois* and *Pesikois*. *Sousios* cannot be an adjective. Dugas proposes to remove the capital and to see *sousois* the Greek transcription of a Semitic word signifying lily. With this sense, the word *souson* is so found in no Greek author; but its derivative *sousinos* is used in the neuter (*to sousinon*) to designate in scientific language linseed oil, and a text of Athenaeus proves that the Semitic word in the Grecized form *souson* was not unknown to the Greeks; but it was only current in the technical language of weavers and embroiderers, which would explain why no literary text has preserved it to us. It is further not seen from what author the pseudo Aristotle borrowed his description, based to establish a distinction between the sacred animals of the Susians and those of the Persians. The correction proposed by Dugas, if that can be termed a correction, seems to us to offer a high degree of probability. (Dugas on the imitation of Alkimenēs of Sybaris (Bull. Hell. Corr. 1910.p.118-121).

If among the Greeks, the decorator of fabrics did not think of freeing himself from this imitation, even to fill the spacious fields at his disposal, he had the brilliant and varied themes supplied to him by the fictions of the national poetry, why was not the ceramist with resources much more limited, impressed to profit by the models that lend themselves to an almost literal transcription? If he carried into the execution of the figures the qualities of designer personal to him, besides the motives themselves of his ornamentation, he takes from the foreign workman which that workman adopted for the arrangement of those motives. The long bands that extend from one border to the other of the piece of linen, all flowery with the

lotus or peopled by animals, he transferred to the sides of his jar and superposed them in stories.

Particularly from metal cups, the plates of Camiros borrowed the plan and sometimes even certain motives of their ornamentation. In a silver cup found in Etruria, but which is certainly of Phoenician fabrication, the central medallion represents a cow suckling her calf: this is a theme that the Syrian goldsmith borrowed from Egypt, as one is informed by the presence of the supple lotus stems, that form the ground on which is profiled the image of an animal. - Now in the same place on a plate of Camiros, the painter has placed a bull: aroused by a sudden noise, he raises his tail and turns his head to look backward. The movement is the same as that of the cow and is natural (Fig. 214). The similarity is sometimes carried farther still. On the wide border of a pinax of Camiros and between symmetrical groups of nails, three busts of swans alternate with ample rosettes (Fig. 215). Now that we have already seen those long necks and fine beaks of birds rise around a silver patera.²

Note 1.p.459. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, Fig. 553.

Note 2.p.459. The same. Vol. III. Fig. 554.

The arrangement on the patera is not entirely the same as on the plate from Camiros. The swans and heads are turned toward the centre and not the periphery of the disk; they are grouped in pairs, back to back; but with these differences, this is the same motive in both employed for the same purpose.

By these comparisons it is seen that it is not one of the great nations of the old Orient, that has furnished its contingent to the repertory, which the Ionian artist aspired to create for himself; but of all those civilizations, that which must make on the mind of that artist the most profound impression, was the civilization of Egypt. What the Ionians received from Egypt came to them only by the intermediary of the interposed peoples. The sole direct transfer that their artists appear to have made from the equipment of Chaldeo-Assyrian civilization is that of nails, quite similar to those forming the element composing the cuneiform writing, which they have used for filling the voids in the borders of their plates (Fig. 215). In the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., the princes of Nineveh and those of Babylon had with the kings of Lydia, Gyges and

Croesus, relations sufficiently continuous that documents written in cuneiform characters could have reached even the Ionian coast. It is also possible that legends written in those letters may have appeared on Chaldean tapestries or on other objects of luxury, which had reached the markets of Ephesus and of Miletus. As for the Phoenicians, relations between them and the Asian Greeks were frequent and direct; but they were only business relations. They met on the quays and ports and in the galleries of bazaars in which the two navies and the two industries disputed with each other the patronage; but they neither like nor impressed each other. Between the two races was a mistrust and a jealousy that frequently resulted in acts of hostility. Egypt inspired the Ionians with quite different sentiments, when in the first half of the 7th century it opened for them, so that as mercenary soldiers and curious visitors they even passed to the first cataract, and established themselves in the delta as merchants, courtiers and artisans. They were dazzled by the sights that Egypt presented to them; they admired with an ingenuous confidence into which entered some naivety. That their architecture and sculpture must have owed to the grand appearance of the Egyptian edifices, to the splendor of their ornamentation and the secrets of the trade, which Greek artists could steal from the workshops of Sais and of Memphis, we have elsewhere stated.¹ If there were in Egypt something that could not fail to strike at first sight the eyes of the traveler, this was the rich decoration of the tombs and temples. To all that handled the brush, it gave a very suggestive example. It is difficult to admit that the painter of Ionian frescos remained insensible to that magic of color, and what induced him to think that he had been seduced by it, was the very marked pleasure that his humble pupil, the ceramic painter seemed to take in the vivacity of the tones and their variety.

Note 1. p. 460. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 371-372, 654, 656, 661; VIII, p. 704-719.

Here is another character of this ceramics, in which we are also inclined to see the effect of the study of Egyptian models; this is the part that the decorator there draws from the plant kingdom and the spirit in which he treats the motives, that he borrows from it. It is known how important is the role that t

the plant plays in the entire ornamentation of Egyptian art.

Considered with love, rendered with intelligent fidelity, the plant appears everywhere in the most diverse creations of this sculpture, in ascending bundles of bouquets, on the capitals of shafts of columns,² under the appearance of deep thickets in hunting and fishing scenes, that are frequently represented on the walls of tombs,³ in flexible sheaves in scenes of offerings to the deity,⁴ stuck in the hair or held in the hands of mortals and of goddesses,¹ as ornaments of the prows of boats, of furniture like wooden spoons, plates of glazed faience.²

Note 2.p.460. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I. Chap. VI, sect.5.

Note 3.p.460. The same. Vol. I, Figs. 8, 26, 539.

Note 4.p.460. The same. Pl. III, Figs. 176, 187, 257.

Note 1.p.461. The same. Pl. III, Figs. 164, 194, 480, 514, 524.

Note 2.p.461. The same. Figs. 159, 551, 585, 586.

Particularly at the school of those masters the Ionian painter, already disposed to seize these lessons: what he had retained of Mycenaean traditions, learned to interpret the leaf, flower and fruit with a very free ease and an intelligent fidelity. He borrowed from Egypt the garlands that he loved to place around the necks or feet of his vases, those where the buds of the lotus alternate with its expanded flowers. It is true that this motive has been very frequently employed in other ceramics; but let one place beside a Rhodian oenochoe some amphora of Corinth or of Athens, on which is also found this ornament, that he will be struck by the difference. He will feel that the ceramist of Rhodes or of Samos was nearer than his rivals to the plant, whose memory is evoked by this continuous series of influences. Doubtless he has not himself seen the lotus spot with white, blue and rose the surface of its native waters; but between him and the artist to whom it was given to admire it in place, there is no intermediary. This direct vision of it, he has had as a first reflection. In those of his works on which the brush has scattered the flowers of the lotus, this rises with a supple and bold movement separately on the sides of the vase, just as in the canals of the Delta, borne on long stems inclined by the force of the current, they rise from the bottom to expand on the liquid sheet.³ Entirely otherwise is the appearance presented where this motive

was borrowed by the workshops of European Greece from the decorators of Asian Greece. Because of those passing from hand to hand, it is not a manner congealed in the vulgarity of a routine practice. It then has in the drawing of the flowers and buds of the lotus, all rising straight in the field, a monotonous regularity that is again accented by the very clear incised lines (Fig. 227).

Note 3.p.461. See Naucratis. I. Pl. VII, 1,7,8,9; for Daphnae, Tantis II, pl. 26.

It is not only in the rendering of these garlands that the Italian painter shows the pleasure, that he takes in introducing the plant in his decoration without causing it to lose the appearance that it has in nature. On the body of an amphora from Camiros, above a bird of the order of Grallae, two flowers in bell form face each other, attached to a wavy stem that seems to bend under this light load (Fig. 228).¹ They are of the family of the pretty blue campanulas, that he formerly saw springing there in thousands from the belfts of the rock on Lycabettus or on Acrocorinth. On the other side of the same vases a bell shaped flower occupies the middle of the field. at right and left, are two bouquets in which we see; to recognize the slender and divergent petals of the honeysuckle flower as well as the elegant curves of the tendrils that aid this snrup to attach itself to the bushes that it clasps (Fig. 218).² It is well known how the brush of Italian ceramic painters was pleased about the 14 th century by scattering everywhere on its pottery the ornament derived from that plant form, but as said today, while conventionalizing it yet more. Elsewhere¹⁸ a chaplet of pomegranates that surrounds the shoulder of the vase. (Fig. 220).

Note 1.p.462. Likewise at Daphnae. (Tantis. Pl.31. 10).

Note 2.p.462. Same motive on several fragments from Naucratis. (Naucratis. I. Pl. VI,3, XIII,2,5 XII, pl. VII, 5,.

In the representations of animals is found, in spite of what the general data has of the conventional, is this same love of the true. Doubtless on the Rhodian oenochoes, the drawing has in places something stiff and angular, that denotes also a certain inexperience; the bodies of quadrupeds are too thin; but the movement is singularly accurate. Swans and ducks indeed have there the slow and grave step, which their great palmatic

feet cause; by the elongation of their necks and the thrust of their beaks is divined the avidity with which they search the vase to seek their food. These birds, waders and palmates, the inhabitants of the Ionian coast have always under their eyes. They see them light and rise in flocks, hover and feed in the marshes in which the Cypster, Hermos and Meander cast themselves into the sea. This spectacle struck the epic poet, to whom it suggested a comparison that Virgil expressed. It could not escape the attentive eyes of the painter who walked on those shores.³

Note 3.p.462. Homer. Iliad. II, 459-461. Virgil. Georgics.I. 382-386.

Deer and ibexes are no less nappily seized in the pose in which with head bent forward, they crop the grass of the meadow. (Figs. 189, 192, 19, 200, 205, 212). Dogs running on a cup of Naucratis have a fine dash (Fig. 192). Factitious animals like the sphynx and griffin, that mix in these files are not out of place there in the midst of types that the painter has borrowed from the real world; they almost blend with them, due to their natural poses. There are not found those binary and symmetrical groups, two wild beasts fighting with each other, or a wild beast struggling against a monster, two monsters in combat, a man assailed by a lion, that continually return in the decoration of Corinthian pottery and give it a sort of realized vulgarity. Even in caprice, one is here nearer truth to life.

The ceramics with white coating from Camiros and the Ionian agencies of Egypt is yet at the time when from the painter is required only images, that without presenting a definite meaning, amuse the eye of the spectators. The human figure is almost absent from its decoration. At least in what remains to us of its work, we find but very few vases on which is placed one of those scenes taken from the national myths, that will soon furnish to ceramists their favorite themes. We have at Rhodes the pinax of Camiros on which is represented the duel of Menelaus and Hector, who dispute the corpse of Euphorbos, and that of Perseus fleeing before the Gorgons. (Figs. 221, 222). Elsewhere on fragments found at Clazomenes is thought to be recognized two episodes of the Iliad, the flight of Troilus before Achilles and Achilles dragging behind his chariot the corpse

of Hector (Figs. 197, 198). At Kyme are satyrs dancing around a cratera, men fleeing before lions (Fig. 199). There is at Myrina the bust of a man among geometric ornaments (Fig. 0.). There is on a vase of unknown origin but believed to be Rhodian, a representation of the komos (Fig. 219). At Naucratis¹ is a goddess mounting on her chariot (Fig. 191), and horsemen armed with spears that they throw at each other.

Note 1. p. 463. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1905. Pl. v.

There are also from Naucratis some images of negroes (Fig. 195). Heads of them have a grotesque appearance certainly not desired by the painter; it comes from the effort that he, more sincere than skilful, has thought must be imposed on him to very frankly accent the particular character of the traits that distinguish that variety of the species. For the warriors of the Rhodian pinax, the face is concealed by the visor, nose-piece, the sides and chin-piece of the helmet; only the eye is uncovered. On the other hand, the body entirely presents itself to view, engaged in a violent movement. Taking the entirety of the pose, that is well seized; but the drawing remains soft and without accent. Of the torso nothing appears, being enveloped by the cuirass and tunic that it covers. As for the shoulders and arms, the thighs and knees which are nude, the brush has not even attempted to indicate the projection of the muscles and the play of the joints. The members are almost thin; one does not feel manifested there the exceptional strength, that the poet of the Iliad gives to his heroes. As of conscious of this defect and to give value to his figures, the artist has given them very slender proportions; but this expedient badly conceals what he lacks in experience. These are his beginnings in the drawing of the male form. He has still but a very summary idea of this form. One should note in this sort of sketch a peculiarity that merits attention: this is the method taken by the painter in drawing the eye. On the head of the negro as on those of Hector, Menelaus and Euphorbos, this is represented by an oval, at the middle of which a black round marks the place of the iris. We find this oval more or less elongated in the paintings of all vases, that it is believed right to attribute to Ionian workshops, whatever the sex of the person. Now it is not the same on the Corinthian and Chalcidian vases nor on Attic vases of the ancient style. Everywhere

there it is only in the faces of women that the eye has this oval form; on men's heads it is represented by an incised circle or by two little concentric circles with a line or little triangle attached at each side (Fig. 229). The Ionian art never cared to make a difference there, no more than it appeared to have found pleasure in another refinement of the same kind, perhaps a little more arbitrary, it has never sought to distinguish the sexes as done elsewhere by reserving black for male flesh, while white was used for the flesh of women. If in the workshops of Ionia men were not informed of these conventions, this is perhaps that they were diverted from them by a secret instinct, by this feeling for nature and taste for truth, which to us appears appears to manifest itself in the rendering of the flower and that of the animal.

A last trait is to be mentioned in this first Ionian ceramics; we have found there nowhere on vases the inscriptions found in such great numbers in the other Greek ceramics. Not one signature of a potter or a painter. A single example of the inscriptions that give the names of the actors in the scene represented, the legends on a Rhodian plate on which is represented the combat of Hector and Menelaus (Fig. 222). This absence of explanatory legends is surprising. There was no need on vases which had no decoration other than files of animals and of monsters. The activity of these workshops also allowed a too limited place for subjects taken from myths and poetry, so that henceforth the habit was established of aiding the mind of the patron by the addition of those legends. The use of them will be imposed later, when the paintings of clay will have taken the character of a sort of current illustration of the national epic poetry.

To explain this absence of inscriptions, it will perhaps be proper to recall that many of these Ionian vases possibly date from the time when there was little written in Greece, although writing was already known there. In such a matter it is difficult to fix or even to indicate dates; but Asian Greece having always been in advance of European Greece, we should be quite disposed to carry back to the last years of the 8th century the vases of the first Rhodian style, whose decoration is entirely borrowed from oriental models. These first products of Ionian workshops would be earlier by about a century than the

first works of Corinthian workshops. The Attic vases of the Dipyrron, that can claim the same antiquity as the most ancient Ionian vases, also have something slightly barbaric. The Ionian potters first gave the Greeks a ceramics that has an art character. However limited may be the means of expression at the disposal of the painter, this ceramics owes a certain beauty to the harmony of its vivid colorings, to the happy arrangement of the motives employed, and to the rather singular elegance of those motives.

6. Vases of the Cyclades.

All examples of Ionian ceramics so far studied have been collected either on the site of the agencies of Ionian merchants founded in the Delta of Egypt, on the coast of Asian Greece, among the ruins of the cities of Ionia or of cities, that by their origins adhered to the Eolian or Dorian sources, had been subjected more or less to the ascendant of Ionian genius; but we have further learned more of the tendencies and originality of those works by the material from the cemeteries of the island of Rhodes. Although the latter recognized Armos as its metropolis, there is revealed to us by the entire character of its art as well as by the place that it had taken in the amphictyon of Naucratis, as an annex of Ionia. To pursue that investigation farther, it remains to seek where and in what measure it made itself felt toward the West in the rest of the Hellenic world. We have followed the sculptors of Chios and of Samos to Naxos, Paros and Delos, even to Athens, where they initiated the Attic workmen in working marble.¹ Is there not a chance that on the same routes, we should find the trace of Ionian ceramists, of the style and taste of which they gave to the first models in their workshops on the coast of Asia and in the adjacent islands?

Note 1. p. 466. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. Chap. X and p. 667-684.

In very remote times the Cyclades had an entirely primitive civilization, that by its origin was connected with that of Hissarlik, the first establishment of Tiryns and the villages buried at Thera beneath pumice stone and ashes, while by the execution of those of its works appearing least ancient, it is joined to the Mycenaean civilization.¹ After the fall of that civilization, the potters of the Cyclades, docile survivors of

what was then done in European Greece, practised with much diligence the style called geometric. Fragments of vases of this style were found in great numbers at Delos; but it was especially the excavations at Thera, which have proved that the island potters carried as far as those of the continent the search for the happiest combinations, that this style could give, and which have led to such complicated arrangements. (Fig. 230).²

Note 1.p.467. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, p. 170-172. To the relation of the excavations mentioned in note 2 on p. 180 add a later memoir full of curious facts. Tsoundas, *Kykladika in Ephemeris*. 1898. p. 137-212. Pls. VIII-XII.

Note 2.p.467. Thera. *Unternehmungen, Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1895-1902*. Vol. II. *Theraische Gräber*. Chap. IV. *die archaischen Tongefässe von Thera*.

The Ionians were stimulated by the multiple suggestions that came as if by effluvia from all the work of the old civilizations of the Orient, were the first to abandon the cold repetitions of the geometric style and to desire to reintroduce in art the image of life. Like the works of their statuaries and modelers, the vases of their potters must be distributed in it in the Cyclades and cause there the local workshops to have the birth of a new style, and that which inspired the goldsmiths, the works of the tapestries of the Orient; but the imitation was at first very awkward. One can imagine nothing more barbarous than the decoration of an amphora discovered at Thera (Fig. 231). These are the animals and monsters that we know by the vases of Knodes; but here the contour is thick and heavy; the poses are formal and stiff.

It would be easy to find at Thera in the rich series of vases called orientalizing, several fragments which attest that the decorator, when inspired by these models, has not always been so unskilful.¹ This is the case of a skyphos on which the brush has placed between frames filled by geometric motives, two birds that have the pose of a partridge (Fig. 232). But there is no place for delay to survey the series of these attempts. What is more interesting is to find in this group of islands, the works of potters prompt to follow the example that the Ionian ceramists give them when they extend their repertory, attack the human figure, and commence to seek the theme of their painting in the myths of the national religion and in the tales of the

epic poets.

Note 1.p.468. Ducks and a very correct design decorate the amphora.(pragendorff. Therapsche Gräber. p. 211. Fig. 418.

The vases that attest this evolution in taste appear all to come from Melos; but while in that same island there has been explored in ditch after ditch, that old cemetery of Pylacopi, whose poor funerary equipment has permitted the forming of some idea of an entirely rudimentary civilization, we have no information on the tombs from which came the archaic Greek pottery. Yet there is no reason to call in question the accuracy of the indication furnished by Conze, when in 1862 he published the first vases of this type brought to the curiosity of archaeologists.²

Note 2.p.468. A. Conze. Melische Thongefässe. 1862. The vases that Conze studied at Athens were not acquired from one of those dealers that have no interest in making known the site from which they obtained the objects that they sell. Two of these amphoras were found in the palace; they ran doubtless have been sent to the king as gifts. The third was kept in the cabinet of Pittakis, conservator of antiquities, at the ministry of public instruction. He certified to Conze that the amphora was sent to him from Melos. For the two amphoras kept at the chateau and to which was attributed the same source, his statement was confirmed by M. Holzmänn, an officer attached to the royal house. The English School of Athens also possesses an amphora entirely similar in form and decoration to the amphoras published by Conze. Now this vase was purchased at Melos itself by M. C. Smith during the course of the excavations, that the members of the School made at Pylacopi. He was even shown the place where the fragments of it had been exhumed.(Jour. Hell. Studies. 1902. p.68).

These three vases and those compared to them since in attributing to them the same source are so similar to each other in all respects, that one would be tempted to believe that all came from the same workshop. These are amphoras of a very peculiar form. The neck opens very high and the body is very wide. The handles are small, the foot is a truncated cone and has all the appearance of the support of a cratera (Fig. 233). Same resemblances in the execution of the decoration. After turning, the vases were plunged first in a bath of very fine clay of a

reddish brown dissolved in water. On the first glaze, the workman has spread with the brush a coating of pale yellow, on which he painted in black and red the ornaments and figures. In these the nudes of the flesh and many details of the muscles and clothing are indicated by the method of reserved lights, which allow the color of the ground to appear. The drawing of these figures has the same character everywhere, and all around them the field is encumbered by the same linear ornaments, posts, rosettes, triangles, lozenges, chevrons, particularly palmations and volutes. The painter aims to couple those volutes, to unite them in pairs or fours, and between the divergent branches of the motive so formed, he inserted palmations. To separate the bands, he employs the garland of lotus buds and flowers.

We shall limit ourselves to mentioning an amphora, whose decoration from top to bottom is composed of scrolls and palmations. At the middle of the body are placed a pair of horses facing each other.¹ On another amphora, the neck is divided by vertical bands into several parts on which are superposed palmations faced by volutes, and where are developed scrolls of the kind of those liked by the Mycenaean ornamentatist (Fig. 233). Below is a band filled by lotus flowers turned alternately up and down, then the principal band that corresponds to the most convex part of the vase. There are seen on one side two horsemen, perhaps the Dioscures, each holding two horses by his hands. On the other side of the vase are two free horses. Below are scrolls with spirals, triangles with opposed bases, frets, chevrons and sawteeth.

Note 1.p.470. Gonze. *Nelische Thongefässe*. On title page).

On a third amphora, the figures take much greater importance. On the neck are two hoplites attacking each other with spears near a trophy of arms. On each side and beyond a vertical band, two women are present at the combat and make gestures of astonishment. Perhaps the painter desired to show there the duel of Achilles and Memnon, which had as witnesses their goddess mothers, Thetis and Eos (Fig. 234). On the principal side of the body and below a band occupied by a file of brown ducks, three persons stand on a chariot drawn by two winged horses (Fig. 235). In the first is recognized Apollo by the lyre with 7 strings that he holds before him. He has a short pointed beard. Greek art had not yet fixed the traits that it gave to the god of

music and poetry. Behind Apollo are two richly clothed women, the heads bound by the stephanos of goddesses, that can only be two muses. Before the chariot and turned toward it is Artemis, bow and quiver on her shoulder, an arrow in the left hand. With the right she seizes the stag by the horns, her ordinary companion. The horses of the chariot are drawn without any care for nature, entirely from the decorative point of view; but their contour is traced with a very firm hand; there is some nobility in the appearance of these chimerical coursers. The inexperience of the artist is even more apparent in the representation of the four deities. The noses are pointed and enormous as on the personages of the vases of the Dipylon. The eyes are placed obliquely and are flush with the line of the forehead. The chins recede. The necks are out of proportion and so are the feet of Artemis.

The painters of Melos seem to have had a marked predilection for this theme of winged horses drawing a chariot that bears deities. This theme is found on another vase acquired by the museum of Athens.¹ A young woman stands in the chariot (Fig. 236). Behind her is a person recognized as Hercules by the lion's skin cast on his shoulders and the club held in the hand. He has one foot on the ground and the other is already placed on the floor of the chariot. At right and left of that group are a woman and an old man, both standing on the ground. The meaning of the image is given by the pose of Hercules and the gestures of the two secondary persons.

note 1. p. 472. (Greek).

There is anger in the attitude of Hercules. The hero seems to respond by a threat to the reproaches or prayers that the old man addresses to him with hands extended toward him. Same expression of sorrow and complaint in the extension of the arms of the woman standing before the chariot and against the rump of the horse. This signifies an abduction. Hercules carries off the young woman that his left arm holds. She alone appears tranquil. In her is felt the passive resignation of the Briseis of the epic poems, of the Termessis of the Attic drama. According to all appearance, this is Iole, daughter of the king of Oechalia between her father Eurytos and her mother Antiope, who vainly endeavor to affect and stop the ravisher.

On the neck of the amphora, above the scene of the abduction

of Iole are two persons within the space formed by two vertical bars (Fig. 237). One is a woman with tresses hanging on her back. She is richly clad in a tunic ornamented by designs in checks and by a shawl that envelops all the upper part of the body. Facing her is Hermes with hair encircled by a band, recognized by the wings attached to his necks. He is dressed in a short tunic stopping at his hips and a narrow himation thrown over his shoulders. Nothing indicates the name properly given to the woman opposite Hermes. It is perhaps his mother Maia. Nor is there any reason to establish any connection between this image and that of the body of the vase. Yet one can recall that in a number of paintings, Hermes figures near Hercules as an aid, who comes to assist him in leaving as conqueror his adventurous undertakings.

Art is here a little more advanced than on the vase of Apollo. If the horses are also nearly as conventional, the faces in the figures of the man and woman have an execution less awkward. The eye is better placed. The noses are smaller and the chins are less receding. Progress is even more marked on a later vase of the same form and style.¹ On its body is no mythological subject. On one side are two he-goats walking to the right, and on the other is a sphynx, bearing on the head an ornament in the form of a plume, whose Mycenaean origin we have recalled. A motive familiar to Ionian painters are the great eyes here painted below the handles. In the field is the same swarm of accessories as on the other vases. In all that we find the practices of taste of the Melian workshop; but there is on the neck a woman's head, which from its regularity, and one might almost say by the elegance of its profile, attests that the painter already had under his eyes models in which the drawing was freer (Fig. 138).²

Note 1. p. 474. Böhlau. Eine metrische Amphora. (Jahrb. 1887. p. 211-215, and Pl. XII).

Note 2. p. 474. A sixth amphora of the same type, purchased at Melos, belongs to the English School at Athens (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1902. p. 68-72, Fig. 1 and Pl. V). It has suffered much and can be restored but partially. The composition of the decoration seems to have been nearly the same as on the vase of Hercules. On the neck stand two figures facing each other, one female and the other male, holding a cantharus. The last might

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be a Dionysos. There are but slight remains of the image on the body. Yet the remains of the chariot may be distinguished.

With their exceptional dimensions, these great amphoras with heights sometimes exceeding 3.28 feet must have had a special purpose.³ We freely believe that like those of the Dipylon at Athens, they were made to surmount tombs in cemeteries;⁴ but in these workshops must have been made many other vases of less height and varied forms, that correspond to other needs. The secondary products of this manufacture scarcely attracted attention till the day, when in a recent excavation were brought to light numerous specimens. But after 13 years had elapsed, the author of the discovery has yet made no use of it.

Note 3.p.474. The amphora on which appeared the abduction of Iole is 40.35 ins. high. That possessed by the English School is 42.13 ins.

The excavation alluded to here is that executed by M. Stavropoulos, epnor of antiquities, in 1898 for the account of the Archaeological Society of Athens in the island of Rheneia, separated from Delos only by a narrow arm of the sea. It is known that the Athenians in 425 at the instigation of the pious Nicias resolved to purify the sacred isle of Delos, which then belonged to them in full ownership. They undertook to remove all traces of ancient burials. It was decided at the same time that no more interments should be made at Delos. All the dead of Delos were carried away and interred on Rheneia..¹ The rule established by the Athenians seems to have been respected even after Delos had ceased to depend on Athens. When on the occasion of the excavations long since undertaken at Delos by the French School of Athens, Rheneia was visited, it was easily perceived that interments had been made everywhere on the island. This having been deserted for long centuries, a rich booty was expected. From the first soundings made at various points, M. Stavropoulos found that there were tombs of all ages, the most recent in great number being of the Roman epoch. Many of them had already been opened, when in the east of the island on that shore looking toward Delos was made a most interesting find. He found a square enclosure bounded by an earthen levee, whose side was about 1640 ft. long. All the interior of the space so limited was filled by bones mingled with fragments of painted vases and clay figurines, as well as other remains of the

ordinary equipment of tombs. There was no more doubt; there must be recognized the remains left by the operation that Nicias caused to be executed at Delos in 425.¹

Note 1.p.476. Thucydides. I, 8, III, 104.

Note 1.p.478. See the two brief reports of M. Stavroupoulos. (Praktika. 1898, p. 100-104; 1899, p. 85-89. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1902.p.47-48).

A rapid examination of the pottery found in the excavations confirms these conjectures. In the fragments gathered by basketfuls, nothing appeared later than the date indicated by Thucydides. The most recent came from those Attic vases with red figures and a free style, which chronographers refer to the second half of the 5th century.

M. Stavroupoulos collated all these fragments and took them to Mykonos. Then he occupied himself in classifying them in order of style and date, then in each of the lots thus formed, in finding and putting together the fragments that seemed to belong to the same vase. By the assistance of skilful workmen sent him from Athens, he could recompose entirely or nearly so a certain number of vases. Thanks are due him for the zeal and care taken in fulfilling this part of his task; but why did he not make known by an exact and complete inventory the precious collection thus formed? Why has he not also described and represented a single one of the vases, that he so laboriously restored? Why is it always necessary to await the publication, that he promised long since and whose cost would certainly have been defrayed by the Society archaologique, if he declared himself ready to undertake it? ¹

Note 1.p.478. See the last Note.

By the courtesy of M. Stavroupoulos, I was able in 1907 to survey for two hours those vases of the collection, that had been more or less completely restored, as well as many fragments grouped in a series. I could verify that there were remains of vases from the most diverse sources. The remains of vases of the geometric style were in great quantity. Those of the so-called protocorinthian and Corinthian vases were in very small number. Attic vases with black figures and red figures were represented in many more fragments. Some pieces seemed to recall the pottery of Naucratis and that of Rhodes; but what

seemed to me to occupy most space was a pottery, that by the light tone of its coating, by the forms that it took and the style of its decoration, was connected with that of Melos. The vases presenting this character were either hydrias or amphoras. Several of these vases have already lent themselves to a nearly complete restoration, and others will do so when it is desired. So far as it ^{was} possible for me to judge at first sight, the execution of the ornament and figures was less careful and firm on these amphoras from Rheneia, than on some of those that came from Melos. The themes otherwise appear to be of the same sort; but it is proper to delay the comparison till the time when photographs and drawings of these vases and fragments will permit a more serious examination of the pieces furnished by the excavations of Rheneia.¹

Note 1.p.479. M. Hopkinson, who likewise subjected the collection to a rapid examination several years before me, recognized there the various series that I have just enumerated. (New evidence on the Melian amphoras; Jour. Hell. Studies. 1902, p.46-75.

By these excavations as by the text of Thucydides, it was demonstrated that Delos was despoiled for the benefit of the neighboring island, of funerary deposits that had been accumulated there by the generations, that succeeded each other there from prehistoric times until about the end of the 5th century. All that one could hope to collect at Delos from the equipment of the abandoned cemeteries was then some small remains that fell on the ground at the time of the removal of the skeletons and the ashes. Perhaps there were also some tombs, that were too deeply sunk or placed in a distant corner, which escaped the search of the workmen charged with that task by Nicias. In those conditions the French School of Athens knew in advance that nothing could be found in its territory of Delos, that would resemble the contributions of Rheneia. The harvest had been made at Rheneia. At Delos could only be gleaned some forgotten gleanings. The young pensioners of our School however did not allow themselves to be discouraged by the unfavorable situation thus made for them. They were only more scrupulously attached, particularly in those last years, to gather even the smallest fragment of the painted pottery found in the rubbish of their trenches. All those fragments were grouped and classified in the glass cases of the museum of Delos, and two pens-

pensioners of the School, MM.F. Poulsen and E. Dugas, especially devoted themselves to the study of these remains.² What resulted from their work is, that there was every reason to expect, that the ceramics whose remains have been found at Delos in various places and especially in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Apollo and of Artemis are the same as those, whose presence has been proved at Rheneia. We are assured that to the works already mentioned it is necessary to add those of the Dipylon, of Cyprus, Beotia and Euboea.

Note 2.p.479. F. Poulsen. Fragment d'un vase funeraire decouvert a Delos. (*Monuments et memoires*. Vol. XVI, p. 19-37, Pl."9). M. Dugas has described the entire collection in a memoir entitled: - La ceramique a Delos, de l'epoque mycenienne au cinquieme siecle. From this memoir submitted to the judgement of the Academy of Inscriptions, we have borrowed the little that we say of the finds of Delos. It is to be desired that this catalogue should soon be published. It was drawn up with the greatest care, it is the work of a ceramographer already very well informed and very competent. M. Dugas does not fail to indicate, that for the preparation of his memoir, he profited by the notes that M. Poulsen made on what can be termed Delian ceramics. Numerous photographs have been added to the memoir.

Another peculiarity is indicated that distinguishes the two collections. Both contain in notable quantity the fragments of vases that must have been entirely similar to those termed vases of Melos. At Rheneia the fragments of that sort appear to nearly all come from vases, hydrias or amphoras, that were of medium or small dimensions. At Delos on the contrary, were found many that by the thickness of their walls and by the proportion divined between their fragments and other parts of the whole, announce themselves as the remains of vases whose height was nearly that of the tall Melian amphoras, that we believe were placed on tombs. What can be deduced from these observations is, that the workmen of Nicias were only charged with the skeletons and the more or less broken vases of ordinary form which they found in the interiors of the tombs, to transport them to Rheneia. As for the great amphoras that formerly served as marks of interments, they were doubtless already broken in the 5th century, when the transfer commenced, and the fragments were lying on the ground, too heavy for them to desire

to trouble themselves with these.¹

Note 1.p.480. Dugas. La ceramique a Delos, etc. p.88.

To one of those vases that formerly surmounted tombs appear to have belonged one of the most important fragments furnished by the excavations of Delos. (Fig. 240). This is the remnant of the body of an amphora. The surface of the body was divided into several compartments limited by vertical bands. In one of those panels is seen a lion walking. That is a purely decorative image; but what reveals the true character of the vases is the figure contained in the adjacent panel. Unfortunately we have only the top; but what remains suffices to show a bearded man to whom is given that attitude of funereal lamentation, in which we know from the vases of the Dipylon.¹ Both arms were bent, one behind and the other before the head, on which the hands meet, making the gesture of tearing the hair. Was the person seated or standing? One cannot say.

Note 1.p.481. Histoire de l'art. Vol.VII, Figs. 5, 6.

According to all appearance, if this vase had the same purpose as the amphoras of Melos, it came from a workshop sensibly more ancient. The figures were placed on the same coating of light yellow as on the fragment from Delos; but their drawing is much more summary and awkward than at Melos. On the lion as on what remains of the courner, the members are like threads. They are indicated only by doubling the line that by itself makes the entire image. To mark that the body of the lion has its thickness, the painter has scattered black dots on the interior of the figure. To simplify his task, he has represented only a single paw behind and before. Here as with the amphora of Thera, of which we gave a partial reproduction (Fig. 231), one feels as on a frontier. The painter has attempted to represent the man and the animal; but it is divined, that all his training was made in the school of the geometric style.

The execution was more advanced on another vase, of which remains only a head and the bust of a woman that with the left hand raises a crown (Fig. 241). The face is drawn in line on a white ground; but the tunic that envelops the bust is painted in opaque form. What especially forms the interest of the fragment is the coiffure and the ornamentation of the woman. Behind the head float two long tresses of hair, that by their movement recall the plume of the Mycenaean sphynx. At the ear

is a large round disk from which hangs a thread that must serve to support a metal ball or some other small jewel. All trace of that jewel has disappeared.

We shall borrow no more from the fragments so patiently collected and described. This was not a useless trouble taken by these young archaeologistss, who applied themselves to this task. The series established by them inform us on what can be termed the power of the export of the different products of the archaic age. They cause us to know from whence was supplied the market of Delos, and they show us as flowing to it at a certain time pottery, that by its material and decoration recalls very closely that of Melos; but it is unnecessary to ask from the dust of these remains what it cannot give. It is not from that which we can learn where the ceramics of the Cyclades had its principal centres of production, under what influences were formed its style and its evolution was accomplished.

It seems that in this respect more hope could be based on Thera, where the vases were preserved in the tomb; but if there the cemeteries have shown themselves very rich in vases of the geometric style, they have given scarcely anything for the succeeding period, for the time when the ceramist, after having varied his repertory by introducing in it motives offered to him by oriental fabrics, desired to project on the clay of his vases the images of gods and heroes, men and women of his people, and to succeed better in it, employed more boldly contrasts of color. Thera has furnished but a single vase that shows this change and this progress of taste. While this vase presents certain traits that authorize its comparison to the pottery found at Delos and Melos, it shows peculiarities that make it a monument unique in its kind.

This piece is a round plate 9.84 ins. in diameter (Fig. 242).¹ It presents on the exterior 4 rectangular projections that aid holding it. At the top of the disk and over the heads of the persons are two holes in which could be inserted a little cord or metal wire, which gives reason to assume that this plate formed a part of a table vessel. It had been fashioned to be suspended against the wall of an edifice. It had the same purpose as those votive plaques of Corinth, of which we have given more than one specimen;² it came from some sanctuary. What tends to confirm this conjecture is the theme of the decoration. In

the medallion that is formed by a band of sawteeth, two women with legs cut off at the ankles stand facing each other. They appear to be speaking. One of them carries the left hand to the chin of her companion. Her lowered right hand holds a crown. The other woman allows her left hand to fall, its fingers also holding a crown.

Note 1.p.483. Dragendorff. *Therakische Gräber*. p. 222-225, Pl. II (Vol. II of the *Thera Mäller von Gärtingen*. 1884).

Note 2.p.483. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, Figs. 99-113.

The only face of the plate exposed to view presents a rich and varied coloring, of which only very feeble traces now remain. No coating here. The colors were placed on the clay itself, a gray clay which resembles that of the so-called protocorinthian vases. There were three of these, a light violet, a reddish brown and white. The violet gave a ground on which the figures were detached, whose flesh and clothing were white. The women are clothed in long tunics held at the waist by a belt. Over this tunic is cast a short mantle, that falls in a point at the back between the shoulders. The tunic was ornamented by a broad vertical band colored red. There was also red on the border of the mantle. There was some on the band that served to enclose the painting. It is probably that the brush had laid some touches of red on the lips and the eyes; but except the violet of the ground, the colors have scaled and the whole has assumed a very dull tint. It is now very difficult to take account of the appearance that this painting presented when new.

The principle of the decoration was not the same here as on the amphoras of Melos and those of Delos. On Melian pottery the figures rise in dark on a light ground. Here is the opposite effect: the field is darker than the images. This is already almost the result of the Attic vases with red figures on a black ground. The island potter certainly had not a suspicion of the fortune reserved by the future for this new mode of presentation. It was with him only a fancy without future, an attempt whose idea was suggested to him by the desire that he experienced on some fine day to diversify the products of his workshop; but it is no less interesting to see announced afar by an isolated attempt, one of those changes of taste and of method, that of one may so speak, are in the air long before

the hour sounds when they become facts.¹

Note 1.p.484. In the Annual of the British School at Athens, Vol. X. 1903-4. Hopkinson published in colors a fragment of a pinax discovered at Praesos in Crete. There is seen on one side a man that struggles against a marine monster, on the other being a horseman. If we do not place this fragment in line, this is because the vase from which it came does not seem to us to be connected with the ceramics of the Cyclades. No light coating. The figures are placed on a chamois colored ground and they are black, where the drawing appears firmer and more advanced than on the amphoras of Melos. This vase is neither from the same workshop nor of the same time as the amphoras. The field is here free from all parasitic ornament.

Entirely exceptional as may be the mode decided on there by the painter, there are analogies between this unique piece and the vases found in the other Cyclades, that prove a sufficiently near relationship. As the potter to whom is due the amphoras found at Melos and Delos, that of Thera takes pleasure in the play and contrast of colors. Although the tones may not be distributed there in the same fashion as on its rivals, its polychromy is no less lively and varied. As for the drawing, it has the same character in all parts. It errs less by inaccuracy than by a certain softness. Everywhere there are thin members, and nothing indicates either the muscles or the joints. These are further merely general resemblances; but one can indicate some traits, and attest closer relations. Let one recall the fragment of a Delian amphora, on which is seen the bust and head of the image of a woman (Fig. 241). Where we do not have the lower part of the body here, but it rests on the fragment with one hand raised to the height of the head, and as on the plate of Thera, this hand holds a crown. Another similarity; the three female heads have the same ear pendant, a disk of metal in which is inserted a gem of vivid color. If other bits of the Delian amphora were gathered, and if the painting were restored, perhaps would be found there a group that would be nearly similar to that of the vase of Thera. The two painters have represented the same rite, that of votive or funerary offering. They have given their persons the same pose and the same decoration.

Then between these vases collected in the Cyclades are very apparent affinities, for those dating in the reign of the geometric style, for those that feel the influence of oriental models, and for those which especially interest us here, for the pottery that shows us Ionian art at its full development. The insular ceramics of that last period is particularly represented by the amphoras of Melos in the actual state of our knowledge, and it will be thus until the day, perhaps still distant, when we shall know what to decide on the finds of Rheneia. Without awaiting that time, after having glanced at the collection formed at Mykonos and after having studied the fragments gathered at Delos, it may be stated that at Delos were many fragments which came from amphoras very similar to those of Melos. Men start from that fact to ask if it was only at Delos that Melian vases were made.¹ One is inclined to believe, that this was in the workshops grouped around the temple of Apollo and of Artemis, that pilgrims who came to be present at the religious festivals of Delos purchased these vases, then to carry them away into the different islands that they inhabited. If the amphoras in question are found in greater number and better preserved at Melos than elsewhere, this would be the result of one of those chances with which it is always necessary to count, when he attempts to tear from the earth the secrets of extinct civilizations.

Note 1.p.486. Hopkinson leans toward this hypothesis in his study entitled: - New evidence on the Melian amphoras. (Jour. Hell. Studies, 1902, p. 38), and according to a letter written to me, M. Dugas would freely be of the same opinion.

Unfortunately, there is nothing in either the literary texts or the epigraphic texts, which confirms this conjecture, and the excavations in our knowledge have not revealed at Delos the existence of a Ceramicos, a quarter in which were grouped those workshops to which it is desired to attribute so much activity. All that is known of Delos does not seem favorable to the hypothesis of the Delian origin. Delos was long the great emporium of the maritime commerce in the Egean sea, an advantage that it owed to the place itself that it occupied in the middle of the Archipelago on the routes of all ships, and to the shelter that these found there ^{from} almost all winds in the channel that separates Delos from Rheneia; but nothing gives

reason to think that Delos ever was an industrial centre of some importance. Men lived there by business, by the transit of merchandize which came to be piled on the quays; but it was necessary to bring there from outside everything consumed there, both to provide for the primary needs of life, and to embellish that life with some luxury. The island was too small and its soil was too poor, that it could feed its inhabitants. This soil was composed of elements too little varied to supply to artisans the primary materials that they had to employ. The neighboring islands sent to the Delians grains, vegetables and fruits; they likewise furnished them with wood and charcoal. An inscription has preserved for us the text of the regulation to which was subject the importation of these provisions.¹ Marble was employed in all its forms and was everywhere in the island. Lime-burners have exploited it for centuries, since Delos became a deserted island, to make lime which was sold to masons in the entire Archipelago. Yet it is known that marble remains at Delos, where fragments of that rock strew the soil everywhere; but nearly all this marble came from Paros and Naxos, where in workyards that never rested, stonecutters and sculptors cut it into blocks ready to go into buildings, into thin slabs on which were inscribed decrees and accounts, into reliefs and statues, that came to take their places in edifices for which they were intended.

Note 1. p. 487. Schulhof and Huvelin. Loi réglant la vente du bois et du charbon à Delos. (Bull. Hell. Corr. 1907. p. 48-93).

Condemned even by its situation to pay this tribute to its neighbors, Delos could also borrow from some other island of the Cyclades the painted vases that it buried in the tombs of its inhabitants. Even today Myconos, that lacks plastic clay, the nearest island brings from Siphnos all the pottery that it employs in the various uses of life.² There is neither at Delos clay that lends itself to making of pottery.³ Now nothing prevents admitting that about the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., the ceramic industry may have been particularly flourishing in this island of Melos, where have been found such curious examples of it. The earths of Melos are very varied in composition according to geologists. They mention large beds of clay interposed between beds of tufa pumice.¹ The potter then had there

at the works the primary material. Doubtless he fashioned it and decorated vases in the other islands of the Archipelago. Proof is made for Thera, which like Melos presented a great diversity of earthenware; but the workshops of Melos were perhaps the most active and best utilized, that were possessed by this little world of the Cyclades, which early had its original civilization and that long retained its separate life, until the formation of the maritime empire of Athens. In the fine season, all these islands are separated from each other only by some hours of navigation. Barks go from one to another without risk, loaded with passengers and merchandise. The attraction of religious festivals and the needs of commerce must cause those barks in great number to converge at Delos, the common meeting place of all these islanders. They found themselves at Delos among relatives and friends to talk, exchange news and ideas. They were certain to place their merchandise there, to bring back in return what they had found to purchase in the retired island, that was inhabited for the rest of the time.

Note 2.p.487. Hopkinson.(Jour.Hell.Studies. 1902.p.58).

Note 3.p.487. This is what M. Cayeux, Professor at the Ecole des Mines, has courteously informed me, who made a very careful study of the subsoil of Delos. I reproduce here the letter that he had the courtesy to write me on this subject:- There is not and never was true plastic clay at Delos. It is very certain that all or nearly all the primary material utilized for the fabrication of Delian pottery was imported, if it be admitted, which is entirely improbable, that the vases were made at Delos. I say nearly all, because a granite rock of the island has produced in decomposing at the surface, a small quantity of argillaceous earth of light gray color, forming a plastic paste with water. I brought home in 1906 a sufficient quantity of this substance to proceed to experiments. Under my eyes, there were made of it some little vases that were fired with specimens of plastic clay to serve as checks. I obtained an extremely fragile pottery of a very light gray color, completely deprived of iron, analogous in appearance to some Delian pottery, but absolutely different from the hard pottery containing iron, that abounds at Delos."

My conclusion is that there existed in that island a small quantity of clay of very bad quality, which was perhaps utilized

by the ancients, but which was certainly not the source of the primary material employed for making the innumerable pottery of a paste containing iron, whose remains abound at Delos." (Jan. 25. 1911).

Note 1.b.488. Sauvage. Description géologique de Melos. (Annales de Mines. 4th series. Vol. X.p.89-100).p.74.

Whatever may be the role and the importance that we believe should be attributed to the workshops of Melos, what is certain is that about the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries, the Cyclades had a ceramics that from one island to another reproduced the same types, and that these ceramics was connected with the great family of Ionian ceramics.

The potter of Melos was inspired by the examples and the traditions of the Ionian potter. Like him, before taking up his brush, he lays on the clay a coating, whose white has turned to yellow by the effect of time. On this coating he placed figures and ornaments that dominate in a frank black, and on which he laid in places touches of red that accent certain details and enliven the appearance of the painting. He designs the heads and members in outlines on that light ground, while he represents the bodies in opaque forms.

In the whole the processes of execution here are nearly the same that we defined when we were studying in Ionia the work of Ionian ceramists; but the analogies do not stop there. The linear ornaments scattered in the field are the same as on many vases of Naucratis and of Rhodes; but there is no reason to insist much on these resemblances. A legacy of the past, these filling ornaments are found nearly similar on proattic vases. What is more significant is the role played on the Melian vases by certain motives borrowed from the animal and plant realms. If one motive be dear to the Ionian painter, this is indeed that of a procession of marsh birds. On his most ancient works, on the Rhodian oenoches, this painter has alternated files of bucks and of deer, those of sphynxes and of griffins. A little later, he also reserved a space for them on vases, when the painting is no longer pure decoration imitated from that of oriental fabrics. It is the same at Melos. Above the painting in which are the two great deities of Delos, Apollo and Artemis facing each other, extends a band dotted by rosettes, where ducks are passing in a file (Fig. 235). In the Cyclades as at

Naucratis and Rhodes, the potter likes to insert a lotus garland between the different bands of his decoration. He renders in the same fashion this flower of the lotus borrowed from Egypt. He summarizes the abundance of petals in three points that he encloses between the longer sepals of the calyx. This is a convention peculiar to Ionian decorators. Among the Corinthians and Athenians the petals are usually represented only by a single point at the separation of the sepals (Fig. 227).

Finally, in the more important of the paintings of Melian ceramics is a trait, that evidences a taste already mentioned in the Ionian potter, the taste for one of those details with no object other than to amuse the eye of the spectator by their unexpectedness. One recalls the fine swallows, that on the Levy vase are perched on the tails of the lions and hop on the Rosettes (Fig. 223). Now on the manes of the winged horses of the chariot of Apollo the painter has placed a little bird, that turns his head toward the god (Fig. 235); but what a difference in the execution! The Melian bird is heavy and its species is unknown, while on the vase of Rhodes by the forked tail is recognized at once the swallow.

If the workman in the Cyclades is thus a pupil and imitator of Ionian ceramists, he is far from having their skill and lightness of hand. Doubtless his ambitions are higher than those of the first Rhodian potters inspired by tapestries and metal cups. He livishes the human figure on his vases, shown in bust and on foot. He represents those deities of Olympus most devotedly adored in the region inhabited by him. He places in the scene heroes opposed, like Hercules the abductor of Iole, in some of those adventures that diverted the popular imagination; but the execution leaves much to be desired. The form that he has given to his amphoras is not happy (Fig. 233). The handles are narrow. Too small, they hardly allow room for the hand. The neck is too wide and is not frankly detached from the body; but what is especially bad in effect is the foot like a truncated cone, that does not seem suited to support the weight of a very ample body. At the junction of the body of the vase and this conical foot is a sort of reduction not pleasing to the eye.

As for the drawing, it has defects that we have mentioned in even the most advanced paintings of Naucratis, Dapnae and Rhodes. It lacks accent in the rendering of nude members. On the

other hand in the profiles of heads, it exaggerates and deforms the lines. Here is found that eye too large, nose too pointed and a long chin, that we have already met on certain fragments of Ionian pottery (Fig. 23.); but at Melos the movements have less suppleness and the attitudes are less natural than in some paintings that have passed under our eyes. Apollo and the muses in their chariot, Artemis behind the deer that she holds by the horns have very stiff poses. There is only the deer raised on a hind leg, whose movement is well seized. The winged horses that draw the quadriga are all of entirely pattern design. Yet in spite of these weaknesses that do not strike at first sight, the entirety of the composition does not fail to have a grand air, and as much can be said of the scene representing Hercules carrying off Iole (Fig. 236). In the inexperience of the artist that traced these images is felt a sincere effort, that promises and which cannot fail to end in a brief delay.

What still injures the general effect here is, that when the decorator has undertaken to place on his amphoras scenes that may speak to the mind, that he has not known the mode of clearing the field, of detaching his figures. Like the painter of the Rhodian plate of Hector and Menelaus, he has scattered everywhere a profusion of linear ornaments that were transmitted to him by earlier styles. He has particularly abused the spiral, one of those motives. He has lavished it in all parts of the field, in horizontal scrolls that extend around the body and in groups formed of four conjugate volutes. On that of these amphoras which we have reproduced entire, he has given it such importance as to first attract the entire sight (Fig. 233). At the first moment, it diverts the attention, almost prevents the perception that the two horsemen there facing each other, are of very free design and well placed on their mounts.

Altogether, if this insular ceramics has its originality, if it merits being studied even in its smallest remains, it cannot rival in variety or elegance that of Naucratis and of Rhodes. To consider it in its entirety, it truly has something slightly provincial, in even its most careful works. Thus is it explained that the vases, whose best types have been furnished to us by Melos, are found nowhere else than in that of the neighboring islands. No trace has been found in Asian Greece of its

colonial annexes, in European Greece, nor in Italy for a stronger reason. These island workshops have not been equipped for exportation. They have not produced sufficient, or at least their works have not seemed beautiful enough, that the foreign buyer should seek them and purchase them. At Thera, Melos and Delos, if as desired, kilns were lighted at Delos, the potter worked only for the local market. All these islands were well peopled and prosperous, ensuring it a patronage that sufficed to remunerate it for its pains.

7. Cups of Cyrene.

In the course of the research that we have undertaken, we have not left Ionia, in spite of the length of the journey necessary to follow all the turns. These Miletan agencies of Dapnae and of Naucratis, that have long retained us in the slow waters of the mouths of the canals of the Nile, were extensions of Ionia and like districts that some artifice had detached from the mother country. Rhodes was an annex to Ionia, almost of the same degree as Samos and Chios. As for the Cyclades, it is true that their population was very mixed. At first, the Greek tribes were represented there; but certain of these islands, like the two largest, Paros and Naxos, the two most fertile and the richest of the Cyclades, were Ionian by race and language; they maintained intimate relations with Miletus. Other islands like Melos and Thera had received Dorian colonists; but even there, these had perhaps merely superposed themselves as a sort of aristocracy on a primary layer of Ionian elements. In any case, whatever the branch of the Greek nation to which they belonged, these islanders of the Cyclades all gravitated around Delos, a market of exchanges that they found profit in frequenting, the scene of religious ceremonies with a pomp seducing their imaginations. At this epoch, what particularly ensured to Delos a privileged situation was the prestige of its cult of Apollo and of Artemis. The two children of Leto were especially the great Ionian deities, who had presided over the migrations and the conquests of the ancestors, and whose tutelary goodwill guaranteed to new generations the peaceful enjoyment of the property acquired.

If the Artemis of Delos was perhaps less popular and was surrounded by a less fearful veneration than the powerful Artemis of Ephesus, the Apollo of Delos was no less devotedly ad-

honored by the Ionians than the Apollo Phileaios of Miletus, and he had over him the advantage that the god passed as having been born at Delos, that there was shown at Delos the palm against which Latona leaned to give birth to Apollo and his sister. Even the Greeks not of Ionian blood were sensible of the charm of these memories. They were pleased to associate at the assemblies, where by the gymnastic games, the songs, music and dancing, the Ionians celebrated the benefits from their divine patron and solicited their continuance. They mingled with that multitude, where Ionian feeling was exalted in the community of religious emotions and patriotic memories. The living echo of this feeling is heard in the beautiful verses of the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, which has come to us under the name of Homer.¹ Gathered around the sanctuary with their wives and children, all clothed in long tunics, the Ionians admired themselves in the splendor of their costumes and in the magnificence of their festivals. Hear the poet express their transports:- "He that sees the Ionians when they are assembled would take them for immortals that escape there the attacks of age. He would be touched by their grace, and would rejoice when he regards the men, the women with beautiful girdles, the swift snips all loaded with riches." Since the Delian girls, servants of the god, after having celebrated Apollo, Latona and Artemis, mistress of arrows, sang "the hymn of the men and women of former times and thus charmed every soul." Doubtless they repeated those epic tales in which were established the genealogies and related the stories of the heroes and heroines of the Italian race. Even those present that were not of the family were not free from the enchantment. When they left the eulogy to return home, they recalled the beauty of the scene, the songs and rhapsodies of Chios and of the Delian virgins; they remained subject to the ascendant of the Ionian genius. The Cyclades from Ceos and Syros to Melos and Thera and always Ionia.

This Ionia, cradle of the poetry and of the arts of Greece, that we must now leave to seek beyond the sea works on which they exerted at that distance the influence of the types of Ionian ceramics and of its procedures of execution.

There have been gathered in small quantity at Naucratis, in

much greater number in the results of the excavations in Tuscany, painted vases with Greek legends and subjects, which in spite of the variety of their dimensions and their forms, seem to have a common origin. All concurs in giving that impression. There is first among all those pieces a certain similarity of fabrication. This is the very frequent use that the painter made there of an ornament composed of pomegranates suspended from a thread enclosing the necks of vases, or running around the border of the cup. The pomegranates are recognized not only by their form but also by the pistils shown at the top of the fruit (Fig. 242). Everywhere there, on the crateras and hydrias as well as on the cups, a white glaze was applied on all or on a part of the surfaces of the piece. Where the glaze seems to be lacking, this is often that being too fragile it has not held its place; a more careful examination discovers it sometimes. There are very few vases of which one can affirm that they received no coating. ¹

Note 1.p.492. Homer. Hymns. I. V. 145-164.

Note 1.p.494. The most recent study devoted to this group of vases is the *Essai sur les vases de style cyrénéen* by C. Dugas and R. Laurent. (*Revue arch.* 1907¹. p. 377- 09; 1907², p. 38-58). There will be found defined with precision the characters common to all the vases that compose this group whatever the forms found there, processes of fabrication, and notably the coating, then also the choice of themes and of motives of ornament. The Memoir ends in a catalogue, that is the most complete given of the vases, which can be attributed to the so-called Cyrenean fabrication.

Since these have been compared together to form a homogeneous group, the vases marked by ^{these} peculiarities, there has been much discussed the question of knowing where it is necessary to seek their native land. Many conjectures have been expressed on this subject, none of which has appeared to merit being taken into serious consideration, until the time when the name of Cyrene was pronounced.² What suggested this hypothesis is the celebrated cup known under the name of the cup of Arcesilas, found at Vulci in Etruria (Pl. XX).³ It represents a prince of the dynasty of the Eattiades, very probably Arcesilas II, contemporary of Amasis, presiding over the weighing of the

silpium. The prince doubtless reserved the sale and export of this precious product, a monopoly worth to him a very great revenue. The juice extracted from the stem and the root of this plant, *Thapsia silpium* of Linnaeus, mixed with flour passed as a true panacea among all the coastal peoples of the Mediterranean: it was brought ^{from} ~~xx~~ Cyrene at a very high price. Servants bring it and go to place it in a storehouse under the eyes of the king, the stems of the plant packed in bales. The king is clad in a long tunic over which is cast the himation, whose ends are coiled around his arms, and is seated under a tent, of which is seen only the ropes that raise the draperies. He is bearded and wears the petasus with recurved edges, terminated by a top like a lotus flower, laced boots with recurved points, a sceptre in the left hand. His hair is very long and hangs on his back. Before him hastens and runs the crowd of servants, occupied by their task; one of them is a sort of commissary, and stands before the master and receives orders or renders accounts. Under the folding seat of Arcesilas, a seat without back that the Greeks called okkladias, crouches a little panther and a lizard ascends the wall behind. Two birds of also a small ape are placed on the great beam from which is suspended the balance. In the field are flying two other birds, one with a very long beak that appears to be the African stork, the marabout.

Note 2.p.494. Löschke first gave a general study of these vases (*De basi quadam prope Spartam reperta*. Dorpat program. 1877); but he attributes them to a Dorian workshop, such as Sicyon or Sparta. Soon afterwards, Puchstein proposed to refer them to the workshops that had been established at Cyrene (*Kyrenaische Vasen in Arch. Zeit.* 1880. p. 185-186, 188. p. 215-250); but the indications which he noted did not carry conviction. Klein (*Euphronios*, 2nd Edit., p. 87) and Milchöfer (*Die Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 171-183) also again speak, one of Laconia and the other of Grete. Pottier in 1885 did not yet dare to decide (*Les ceramiques de la Grece propre*, p. 293-313).

Note 3.p.494. This image has very frequently been published. The best copy is that given in color by Babelon in *La cabinet des antiques a la Bibliotheque nationale* (1887-1888. Pl.XII).

Note 4.p.49. Pliny. H.N.XIX, 15.

We have some difficulty in comprehending what one was formerly

advised to see in this painting, the idea of turning into derision the tyrants of Cyrene and their mercantile habits.¹ Archaic art has none of this derisive fancies. Among the Greek ceramicists of the 6th century as among our image-makers of the middle ages and the Italian painters of the quattrocento, they applied themselves to copy nature conscientiously, and since their skill is far from corresponding to their intelligence, it was not without some awkwardness that they came to reproduce certain traits and movements. To cause the sense to be seized, they accented and exaggerated. As this exaggeration of the drawing is the favorite procedure of the caricaturist, before having sufficiently studied the primitives, one could attribute to these artists intentions which they never had. What the painter here proposed is to render as faithfully as possible the appearance presented by the court of the palace, or a corner of the port where the prince proceeded to receive the bales of silphium. The artist wished to take an instantaneous view of the scene, as would be said today. So he has tried to omit nothing of the details of the costume and of the accessory traits, such as the presence here of all these exotic animals, that localize the image and give it a striking character of reality. Thus understood, with the singularity of this painting, with the inscriptions read near each person that define his part, it was well made to amuse those foreign patrons for whom the maker of the vases destined them. To the foreigner, the purchases of this cup, it gave the sort of pleasure, that we obtain today from a photograph either brought from a bazaar of Damascus or Cairo, or from some port of the extreme Orient. One must buy it for curiosity, just as he purchases today the illustrated postal cards, that bring so many monuments under our eyes, as well as landscapes of distant lands.

Note 1. p. 495. Welcker. *Alte Denkmäler*. Vol. III, p. 494.

At the first glance at this cup, the European Greek or Etruscan felt himself led to seek in very different surroundings from those in which he lived, the scene of the action figured here. This tame panther, that sleeps under the feet of its master like a cat, this familiar ape that enjoys himself in the structures of the royal warehouses, all this is scarcely seen at Corinth, at Miletus, still less in the valley of the Arno. It is divined that this painting was executed by an artist who

worked near Egypt, in a Greek city in which the influence of Egypt made itself felt, and its customs and art, even its language. By its entire arrangement, this painting recalls the reliefs of the tombs of Memphis, where the chief of the family is seated or standing at one extremity of the field, before him being all his slaves occupied in bringing him the fruits of his domains. As in the reliefs, here is a very sensible difference in height between the master and his slaves. The form of the seat of Arcesilas and its feet with lions' paws is that of the seats represented in the Egyptian paintings of the ancient and new empires.¹ Several slaves, like the fellahs of the banks of the Nile, have no clothing other than short drawers fastened around the loins. The official that supervises the weighing is termed *silphnomachos*. Now the most probable explanation proposed for that title is that recognizing in the first part of the word the name of the *silphium* under its indigenous form, which the Greeks had slightly modified for convenience of pronunciation, and in the two final syllables the Egyptian word *macha*, "the balance."²

Note 1.p.496. Studniczka. *Kyrene, eine altgriechische Galtin.* (Leipzig. 1890). p. 9, Figs. 4 to 6.

Note 2.p.496. Buchstein. *Arch. Zeit.* 1886. p.186, note 15.

The official title of this person would have been that of the weigher of *silphium*. The creation of this composite hybrid attests the relations that Cyrene entertained with the commercial places of the Delta, relations whose intimacy we divine from some of the facts mentioned by Herodotus.¹ Amasis had contracted with Cyrene an offensive and defensive alliance. He had taken a wife from Cyrene. Besides his portrait painted on a cedar board, he had sent there statues of Hathor and of Neith.

Note 1.p.497. Herodotus. II. 181-182.

Doubtless the conditions would have been nearly the same at Naucratis and Daphnae as at Cyrene, for a Greek painter; but neither Daphnae nor Naucratis produced *silphium* and in either of the two cities, why should any one have had the idea of taking as the theme for the decoration of the pottery, this episode of the official life of the tyrants of Cyrene? On the contrary, nothing would be more natural at Cyrene. The subject imposed itself by the advantages that it assured to the country of its sovereigns, *silphium* played such a part in the economic

life of the city, that from the time of its kings as after it had recognized its liberty, it had never ceased to place on its coins the stem and fruits of that shrub (Pl. VII, 22). Cyrene had adopted this image as its traditional blazon like the canting arms.

The so-called cup of Arcesilas was then made at Cyrene, that cannot be doubted. Marvellously preserved, it furnishes us with a sort of archetypal that arouses suggestive comparisons. It permits the same origin to be attributed to all vases of the same quality of clay, on which we find the same light coating, the same garlands made of buds, flowers and fruits of the pomegranate. Another piece on which the technique is entirely similar also comes to confirm this hypothesis. This concerns a cup that unfortunately is very mutilated; scarcely half of it has been found (Fig. 243). In spite of the extent of the gaps, the general sense of the subject is seized. The same free and decided charm as on the cup of Arcesilas; the same taste in movement and amusing detail. Birds fly across the space or are perched on the border of the field and on the branches of a tree. Poses and gestures are expressive and varied. The principal person was a woman of great height, that stands in the middle of the field. In her is recognized Kyrene, the eponymous goddess and mystic founder of the colony. In one hand, of which there is some trace on the original, she holds a branch of silphium, represented as it is on the coins; doubtless the other hand balanced a little higher what seems to be a pomegranate branch. Before and behind Kyrene hover winged geniuses with arms extended toward her in the attitude of homage and prayer. Some are masculine and others feminine. The first are perhaps the Boreades, representatives of the North wind that after having crossed the Mediterranean cast vivifying waves on the plateaus of Cyrenaica. As for female geniuses, they would be the nymphs of the Hesperides. The famous gardens of which they were guardians, passed as being somewhere in the interior of the territory of the colony, and they are also represented on the coins with their tree with apples of gold. It is believed that the thought of the artist is seized; what he desired to recall and represent by this comparison is the richness and fertility of the Cyrenaic region; the action and play of beneficent forces make the soil fruitful.

The two cups described present an exceptional interest by their decoration. They permit assigning almost an assured origin to the entire series of vases, that until very recent times had greatly embarrassed archaeologists; but the ceramic painters of Cyrene have always taken their subjects in the sights presented to them by the life of their natal city, or even in local myths. The vases in which are recognized the products of that manufacture present a very great diversity. Their authors have largely drawn from the treasury of the entire Greek nation. At the Vatican on the cup called that of Sisyphus or of Tantalus, there is the most ancient representation of nades that exists in the works of Greek art.¹ A cup of the cabinet of antiques of Paris bears a scene of the adventure of Ulysses with Polyphemus (Fig. 244). The Louvre is very rich in vases of this kind. Some are of great capacity, cups (Fig. 245), hydrias and crateras of various forms. On most of the great vases is nothing but one or two bands of passing animals placed between bands composed of geometric or plant ornaments. On one of them without handles called a demos, above the frieze of animals, eagles, lions and sirens in a higher zone, there are three distinct subjects, that succeed each other without any separation established between them by the painter, the combat of Hercules and the Centaurs, Achilles in ambuscade to take Troilos, and a festal scene (Fig. 246).¹

Note 1.p.500. Gerhard. Auserlesene Vasen.Vol.II, Pl. 86.

Note 1.p.501. Puchstein. Arch. Zeit. 1881. In Pl. XII of Puchstein the three scenes are reproduced in line drawing.

On another cup is the chase of the hare, a theme that Greek decorators seem to have borrowed very early from oriental models.² Here is the sphynx,³ then a horseman followed by a flying bird and preceded by a little flying winged figure.⁴ Two cups merit being mentioned. On one is seen Zeus seated on a seat without a back. The eagle with expanded wings flies toward him as if to come to rest on the knees of the god (Fig. 247).¹ This is one of the most ancient representations of this deity, that has come to us. A no less curious painting is that, where Cadmus is covered by the armor of a Greek hoplite with a helmet and lofty plume, attacks at Thebes a serpent, that seems to forbid his access to a little temple with triangular pediment (Fig. 248). Below is a hare between two rosettes.²The image of

the temple is of a nature to interest the architect. The pediment terminates at top in a disk, which recalls the great piece of terra cotta found at Olympia, the acroteria of the great temple of Hera.³ By the manner in which the entablature is drawn is divined open carpentry.⁴ The column has a flat and round base that causes one to think of the Mycenaean columns;⁵ but the shaft does not have the entasis of those; Its diameter is much greater at bottom than at the upper part. As for the capital composed of three annulets, it belongs to no known order. The support that served as a model for the painter must have been of wood. One can also cite the cups on which are represented Hercules struggling with the Cretan bull,⁶ a banquet scene,⁷ the chase of the wild boar of Calydon,⁸ and on a fragment are Asian warriors or running Amazons.⁹ On the remains of a cup from Naucratis, a woman holds a pomegranate in the hand and stands before a seated personage; one is inclined to recognize there Apollo and Kyrene.¹⁰

Note 2.p.501. Louvre. Hall E, 663. See Pottier. Cat. p.389.

Note 3.p.501. Hall E, 664.

Note 4.p.501. Hall E, 665.

Note 1.p.502. Hall E, 668. On this painting, see Studniczka. Kyrene, p. 14.

Note 2.p.502. Hall E, 669. Studniczka, Kyrene, p.33-34.

Note 3.p.502. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VII, p.543, Pl.XLVI.

Note 4.p.502. Beudorff has made use of this image in his study. Ueber den Ursprung der Giebelakroterien (Jahrb.Kais. Inst. In Wien. Vol. II, p.1-51), p. 14.

Note 5.p.502. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VI, p.518, Fig. 200.

Note 6.p.502. Hall E, 666.

Note 7.p. 502. Hall E, 667

Note 8.p.502. Hall E, 670.

Note 9.p.502. Hall E, 671.

Note 10, p.502. Studniczka. Kyrene. p.22-23, Fig. 18.

On all these vases for which we do honor to the workshops of Cyrene, white retouches are very rare. It is understood why this is so. Particularly on pottery with a red clay or dark yellow ground that they have their marked place. With violet retouches, they add to the effect; but where the natural tone of the clay is marked by a coating of light color, they have no role other than to act as reserved lines, which on the primary

Ionian pottery served to mark certain details of ornament and costume. Here the ceramist has preferred to use incised lines for that purpose. The metal point was charged with all that complementary work. By this change of method, it is divined that these potters had under their eyes Corinthian and Attic vases, on which this mode of engraving was in current use. We are thus informed, that in its entirety the ceramics of Cyrene is later than that of the second Rhodian style.

One cannot be surprised by this. It is agreed to place the founding of Cyrene about 624. But it became important and prospered only under its third king, Battos II, when by the aid of that Pythia was willing to lend that prince, this city whose existence had been precarious till then, had received a new addition of colonists recruited in all Greece about the year 579.¹ Only after this second founding of the city must have been lighted in number those kilns for firing amphoras, to which relates a Delphic oracle whose text has been preserved by Herodotus.² Only then could Cyrene have its gangs of potters and its school of ceramic painters. The most ancient Cyrenaean vases could not be much earlier than the middle of the 6th century. Thus it appears as one of the secondary developments of an industry whose origins are elsewhere. By the inspiration of models that had been furnished to them by the Ionian workshops of Asian Greece, the potters of Cyrene have created the types which we have described. From them have they taken the procedure of the white coating; in their works have they found the first elements of a repertoire, that they could soon greatly enrich and singularly diversify. They took from them the radial tongues around the foot of the vase, the chaplets of lotus buds and flowers, palmations in fan shape, and finally this network with great knots that encloses the neck of most vases of the second Rhodian style. It decorates the exterior of the cup of Arcesilas (Vignette at end of Chapter).³ This last borrowing is particularly significant. Ionian ceramics appears to be the only one that has admitted this ornament. For the general arrangement of the decoration is the same observation. On the crateras and hydrias, the field is divided in horizontal zones filled by passing animals as on the ewers of Camiros (Fig. 249); only those zones are here in smaller number. The circular bottom of some cups presents that division

into two unequal segments, which is almost the rule for Rhodian plates (Figs. 244, 248). In the larger segment is a scene taken from some myth, while in the smaller segment the painter has placed only images without any significance, a running hare, birds, lions facing each other, a fish, palmatium, etc.⁴ Certain traits transmitted to Ionian art by Mycenaean tradition do not persist here. Rosettes are frequently scattered on the field (Fig. 247); but what is still more significant is, that one sometimes finds here on the head of the sphynx that appendage in the form of a floating plume, with which the Mycenaean painters and ivory-workers loved to ornament it.¹

Note 1.p.504. Herodotus. IV. 159.

Note 2.p.504. The same. IV. 188.

Note 3.p.504. The same design is on another cup that came from Caere. (Puchstein. Arch. Zeit. 1881. Pl. X, 3, 3^b).

Note 4.p.504. Puchstein. Kyrenische Vasen. Pl. XII, 2; XIII, 2, 4, 3.

Note 1.p.505. It is thus on a cup in the Louvre, Hall E, 884. On that appendage, see above, p. 449-450.

If the monuments permit no doubt that the pottery of Cyrene is connected by a bond of filiation with that of the principal industrial centres, one does not fail to experience at first some surprise in proving that undeniable fact. Cyrene was not an Ionian city, and there was neither spoken or written an Ionian dialect; but from the little known of its history, it results that many Greek cities had aided in peopling it, especially from the appeal that Battos II addressed to all Hellenes. This very mixed foundation must have yielded without resistance to the ascendancy of Ionian genius. From there came the Minyans that founded Cyrene. Then by the study of archaic sculpture and ceramics, we have recognized that since Rhodes, Thera and its neighbor Melos were dependances and like vassals of Ionia in all that concerns art.¹ Even the situation of Cyrene predestined it to suffer that influence. The Greek city that was nearest, the only one that its vessels could reach in all seasons without risking themselves in the open sea, was that Naucratis where reigned the gods and arts of Ionia.

Note 1.p.506. From Naucratis or perhaps from Miletus, Samos or Phocaea, Ionians certainly came to establish themselves at Cyrene, attracted by the rapid increase of its prosperity.

Their industry was favored and stimulated by the rise of a maritime commerce, that advantageously placed its products in the markets of Etruria. There is explained the vogue that these pretty cups enjoyed among the Etruscans. By their general form, they cause one to think of certain "Cyrenian cups,"² but the proportion is here happier between the foot of the vase and the vessel. That is less deep with more breadth, and spreads in a more beautiful curve. There is more elegance in the design and in the attachment of the handles. One must subscribe to a judgement given on the pieces of this series by a refined connoisseur. "In a general way can one say that these Cyrenean cups, by the perfection of their technics, the polish of the clay and its admirable lightness, the minute incisions and the splendor of the colors, the importance and the number of the historical and mythological subjects, represent the climax of Ionian fabrication. These are masterpieces of the school of archaic painting on a white ground." ³

Note 1.p.506. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 318-320.

Note 2.p.506. The same. Vol. VI. Pls. 476, 492.

Note 3.p. 0.. Pottier. *Catalogue*, p. 530. See by the same, *Documents ceramiques du musee du Louvre* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 225-240).

By recent discoveries in Laconia, men have been able to contest with the workshops of Cyrene the merit of having produced these pretty cups and of having made them the fashion among Italian patrons of Greek ceramists. What caused the proposition thus made to dispossess the Cyreneans, and that has seemed to some archaeologists to justify this, is one of the most curious results produced by the excavations that the English School of Athens has undertaken on the site of Sparta, and which for several years it has pursued there with much perseverance, method and success.¹ In several campaigns it has explored the entire precinct of Artemis Orthia, where two temples succeeded each other, one being destroyed about the year 600 to be replaced by a more important edifice.

Note 1.p.507. *Annual of British School*. Vols. XII, XIII, XIV.

From trenches dug at that point have been taken shovelfuls of clay fragments, which there as at Naucratis represent the fragments of painted vases, which during several centuries the piety of the faithful had consecrated in the sanctuary. Reduced

into bits as were these vases, which were broken in the holes in which they were buried, when it was necessary to find space for the new offerings. There were pieces sufficiently large in the number, that the motive of the decoration could be recovered. They even came to restore some little vases and also one or two cups. What the examination and combination of these fragments revealed is a pottery, which strongly resembles that which we have credited to Cyrene.² There are found some of the traits which the ceramographs have mentioned as the distinctive characteristics of the species, in the vases that do honor to Cyrenean fabrication. As in those, in all vases whose fragments have been gathered at Sparta, at least in all that appear to date in the archaic age, the decoration was applied on a coating of white or of a yellowish tone. On all parts, the black of ornaments or figures are the same retouches of a purplish red, frequently of a very vivid tone. Finally at Sparta is found one of those motives of ornament most frequently employed by the workman, that we have believed Cyrenean, that garland in which are connected by a slight thread the pomegranates, which are surmounted by this little line in fan shape, that recalls the pistils of the flower (Fig. 242).³ Other motives are common to the two series. Such are the lotus buds and flowers, the palmations, whose design is nearly the same in the two ceramics, and finally such are the sigmas with three or four branches, the triangular tongues that radiate around the foot of the vases, or from the centre to circumference on the cups. Finally, such is the band of lozenges with great knots at the intersection of the cords, but aside from the pomegranates in strings, all these motives have appeared or will appear to us in the work of most workshops, whose products seem to us to bear the impress of the taste and style of the Ionian potters.

Note 2.p.507. Annual. Vol. XIV, p. 30-47. J. P. Droop. Pottery.

Note 3.p.507. The same. Vol. XIV. Pl. IV.

Yet the analogy is not contestable, and English archaeologists have noted and insisted on it; but perhaps they were too much in a hurry to conclude that the vases heretofore attributed to Cyrene came from Laconian workshops, that had exported them into Egypt and Etruria.¹

Note 1.p.508. Droop. Dates of the vases called Cyrenaic. (Jour. Hell. Studies. Vol. XXX. pl.1-84).

Before accepting these conclusions, it would seem that a first hypothesis is to be considered. Did not Laconia obtain its painted pottery from the market of Cyrene?

Crete and Africa look on the ports of Laconia. We have had occasion to indicate how by ^{way the} influence of Egyptian models could make themselves most felt by the most ancient sculptors of the Peloponessus;² but for ceramics there is no reason to stop with this conjecture. The explorers of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, in gathering the fragments that they found arranged in the earth in stratified layers, had the feeling that each of those layers corresponded to one of the phases of an organic evolution, of the gradual development of a local ceramics. This first impression did not deceive those who said they had proved it. What attests it is the remarkable unity of appearance that characterizes the products of this ceramics. From the most ancient of the fragments collected on this field to those, which from the position they occupied in the earth as according to the taste of their decoration, seemed to be most recent, all these fragments evidence the persistence of the same traditions of the workshop, traditions that ascend very early and scarcely disappear with the industry of the painted vase. At least from the 7th century, from the time that plant ornament and the living figure commence to claim a place in the geometric style, that reigns everywhere else in Greece, the Laconian potter was accustomed to cover his clay with a light coating, and even when the examples of Corinthians and Attics had tended to cause him to abandon this practice, he remained obstinately faithful to it; he renounced it only at the last extremity. In this production that had such a long duration, that it is thought possible to distinguish even four periods; but the transitions from one to another are nearly insensible, and even those that have desired to establish those divisions are often embarrassed to assign a certain vase to one rather than to another of these classes. There is nothing there not easily explained, if in the remains of this ceramics is recognized the product of the workshops of the country, where the recipes and secrets of the trade are transmitted from father to son; but the residue of those offerings thus brought to

the temple during several consecutive centuries would have presented an entirely different appearance, if the Laconians had brought from outside the vases which they gave to the patroness of the city. In this case, there would not have been found this uniformity of fabrication verified by the observers, and these fragments would not be ready to allow themselves to be grouped in a series based on the chronological order. What men had attempted to form, according to the indications of the ground, more than one break would cut. In the collection made of these fragments, one was unable to note incongruities, by which would be betrayed the intrusion of vases, which at various times had been brought by the devotees of Artemis from foreign workshops, each of which had its special technics.

Note 2.p.508. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 428.

We believe that one cannot avoid the necessity of entering at least partly into the views which the result of the excavations of Sparta have suggested to English archaeologists. It seems demonstrated by these excavations that Sparta had very early and retained very late a ceramic industry sufficiently active, perhaps of itself alone, for the needs of local supply. There is a fact which is not surprising to us. When the moderns began to study the history of Greece and attempted to write it, they have sometimes represented Sparta as almost a barbarous city, which by a difference from the other Greek cities continued foreign to the last and to the sentiment of art. There was a prejudice that has not resisted a more attentive study of the texts and the discovery of sculptured monuments of every kind, that since commenced the era of excavations have left the soil of Laconia in great numbers. As after Pausanias have been attested by the slight remains of some of the edifices mentioned in his third book, the Spartans loved beautiful architecture. If none of the illustrious masters of statuary of the 5th and 4th centuries was a native of Sparta, yet Sparta had in the 6th century sculptors, pupils of the Cretans Dipoinos and Skyllis, that in their time enjoyed a certain fame.¹ Cut in Laconian marble, the reliefs of many funerary steles have allowed us to form an idea of what must have been the style of the works attributed to those sculptors, Hegylos and Theocles, Dontas and Daykleidas.² In such conditions, now had men supposed that alone of all the Greeks, the Spartans

could be indifferent to the charm of painting, when everywhere around them an inventive and rapid brush was laid on the clay of which were made the ordinary vases, thus hiding the poverty of the material beneath the ornamentation of a rich and varied decoration? It was then right, even before being able to furnish proof, to affirm that Sparta must have had, like its native sculptors that wrought the rocks of Paumon or Taygetus, i its potters that fashioned and worked the clay of the valley of the Eurotas. The proof is now made by the excavations of the English School.

Note 1.p.510. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 433.

Note 2.p.510. The same. pp. 438-440; Figs. 213-223.

The historian could not be surprised then to see those excavations prove to him the existence of a Laconian ceramics, and inform him that the activity of that fabrication was continued for many years; but he could not prevent himself from experiencing some surprise at first sight, when he must verify that this ceramics, although born in Dorian lands and had there accomplished its entire evolution, was connected in its general character to the family of Ionian ceramics. He also recovered from that surprise very quickly, however little it recalled all the occasions that he had for showing what had been the expansive force of Ionian genius, during the entire duration of what can be termed the infancy and youth of Greece, how then this genius radiated in all directions, much beyond the limits of the territory inhabited by the sons of the Ionian race, how it made felt the ascendant of its precocious maturity, of its thought, its language and its art, not only by its nearest neighbors, but even by the group of cities that an entire extent of the sea separated from Ionia proper.

To speak here only of Laconia, we know that a famous Ionian sculptor, Bathycles of Magnesia, came about the middle of the 6th century to establish himself at Sparta for several years, so as to work there on the construction and decoration of the throne of Apollo of Amyclea.³ He was accompanied by the choice of his practitioners, of those who cut the marble, that cast bronze, and those who raised and chased metal. Potters with their painter assistants could join that art colony. While Bathycles and his apprentices initiated the Peloponessians in the refinements of an already wise sculpture and goldsmith's work, those

Miletan or Rhodian potters had set up their wheels at Sparta; they had taught the artisans of the country to treat and decorate clay by the methods that had made the success of the workshops of eastern Greece.

Note 3.p.510. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VIII, p.396-398.

It is of little importance now the processes and motives familiar to Ionian ceramists were introduced and acclimated then in Laconia, on the occasion of the call addressed to Bathycles, or whether they came earlier by some other way. What remains certain is, that the Laconian ceramics, restored to us by the remains of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, took its models from the types created by the potters of Asian Greece, and that the ceramics to which is attached the name of Cyrene was inspired by the same examples and took the same types; but has one a reason to infer from that parity of origin that these two ceramics formed but one? For our own part, we do not believe it. Very serious reasons appear to us to reject the hypothesis, according to which it was Laconian workshops which supplied to foreign patrons all those light cups with a white coating, that have been grouped under the name of Cyrenean.

A primary reason is, that at least one and perhaps two of these cups are decorated by paintings whose theme confirms the hypothesis generally accepted. One can discuss the ingenious interpretation proposed on the subject of a cup, unfortunately incomplete, of the British Museum, on which it is believed has been recognized Battos the founder and the nymph Kyrene.¹ This interpretation seems to us very plausible; but in any case there is the so-called cup of Arcesilas. The peculiarity of the painting that decorates the interior seems to us a true work of the workshop, one of those marks that frequently on faïences or modern porcelains give the name of the city, where is found the workshop from which came the piece.

Note 1.p.511. See above, p. 498-499.

Indeed one does not see how there could have come to the mind of the Laconian potter the strange idea of seeking the theme of his painting in one of the royal ceremonies, which on certain days of the year called and amused the multitude of loafers on the quays of the great African port. If by the impossible, he had taken a fancy to imagine that scene from a tale told him by some sailor, there would surely not have been included

in the version presented to him many accessories, such as the panther beneath the throne of the king and the ape climbing the rigging that give the impression of details seized at the place by the curious and experienced eye of a witness, whom his profession had taught to fix a rapid sketch of the image of every action and of every group, which he hoped to use to give to his pottery the attraction of the unexpected and of variety. Further, who but an inhabitant of Cyrene could know the calls that echoed, the words pronounced in the mole at the time of handling the sacks of silphium, of terms where at least one, that of *silpnomachos* was foreign to the Greek language by one of its elements, would it have been understood outside a city that maintained close relations with the ports of the Egyptian Delta? If this painting were executed at Cyrene, nothing is more natural; but it would always remain difficult to explain, now at another centre of fabrication, a painter could have imagined choosing this theme, and if by chance he was informed of it, how he could be able in a measure to treat it like the author of the painting in question.

The argument furnished by the existence of the cup of Arceilas appears to us sufficient to solve the question of origin for the vases of various forms, that by their mode of fabrication announce themselves as the products of the group of workshops from which came the cup, which seems to us to furnish the solution of the problem; but there is no less interest in presenting here certain accessory considerations, that come to the support of the conclusions that we have made. What makes the result of the English excavations out of doubt is, that Laconia very early had a ceramic industry, whose activity was prolonged until the time that the painted vases passed out of fashion; but what nothing indicates to us and that we refuse to believe before the proof of it is made, is that this Laconian workshop labored for export, and that it sent its products on the one hand to Naucratis, and on the other to Etruria. If like so many Greeks of pure blood, the Spartans like all other sons of the same race, had a taste for the arts of design as well as for poetry and music, Sparta, where all energies of the State tended to military effort and the power that it procured, was never an industrial and commercial city. At certain

times it had a war navy, which had at Gythium its harbor and arsenal; but in the ancient authors is not found an allusion to a commerce of importance, carried on by this means. To reach or to leave Gythium, barks had to double cape Taenarum that was feared by navigators in all seasons for the violent wind squalls, that from the summits of Taygetus beat down on the sea. Now it is important not to forget, that by sea alone could be transported vases.

Until the Roman conquest, Greece had only bad mule paths for crossing the tops of the mountains, which separated its various States from each other. Fifty years since, when I made my first journey in Peloponessus, the condition of the roads there scarcely differed from what it must have been in antiquity, before the Latin engineer set himself to work. I remember the trouble that we had in the first days of spring in passing from Arcadia, still white with snow, by the defiles of Menate, into the plain of Sparta, which began to be covered by violets and narcissuses. On several occasions, our horses slipped on the narrow trails that the winter rains had cut in places, and our baggage rolled down the slopes of ravines. Can you see light clay cups exposed to those accidents? painted vases did not allow themselves to be loaded on pack-saddles like grain or olives; they would not have reached their destination. On the contrary, with a little skill, one could stow them in straw in the holds of the galleys. Several of these votive plaques, of which we have given specimens, represent Corinthian barks loaded with vessels made in the workshops of the isthmus (Fig. 107). Draw up a list of Greek cities that have had a truly flourishing industry, and that enriched themselves by sending to a distance the products of their kilns; you will find only maritime cities to inscribe there. These will first be the cities of the Ionian coast and of the neighboring islands. They will be Chalcis, Corinth and Athens. With the movement of a port from which went in all directions the bales of silphium and other wares drawn from the African interior, Cyrene was in the best condition that its artisans could find profit in making elegant vases, which could be taken to the quay and carefully packed by the captains whose ships served the markets of Italy. We further have by another order of monuments the proof that Cyrene practised in all times with activity and success the

figurines of terra cotta, which count among the most elegant that Greek coroplasts modeled. The Louvre possesses an excellent series of these statuettes that came to it from Cyrenaica. Sparta has yielded nothing similar.

For all these motives, we refuse to accept the theory of English archaeologists; but we at least owe them to record their discovery and to mention the ceramics, unknown till then, which they had opportunity to exume and that they have described. In the state in which both hands and pressure has pulverized them, it could not appear to merit much attention, for we know nothing of the themes that it treated, and we are ignorant how the figure was drawn; but what is particularly interesting in this ceramics is, that again we take into account the act that virtue always in action, that conquering energy of Ionian intelligence, which subjects to its ascendancy even many of those, that it seems must remove from it the entirety of their atavistic traditions. The Dorians of Sparta caused their epæbes to learn and sing, accompanied by the Phrygian flute, the elegies of Tyrteus, the imitator of Callinos of Ephesus, those elegies where all, metre and language, had an Ionian coloring. The phiales and oenochoes employed in offering the libation to their Artemis Orthia reproduced the forms, tones and decorations of the vases used for the same purpose in Ionia by the worshippers of Artemis of Ephesus and of Apollo of Miletus.

8. Ionian Vases of unknown origin and found in Italy.

If the hypothesis that we have joined be accepted, it is necessary to place the workshops of Cyrene on the list, too brief in our opinion, of Ionian workshops known to us by the result of excavations. The workshops of Cyrene take their place there after those of Daphnae, Naucratis, Rhodes and the Cyclades. They represent there an art which especially by the nature of the subjects treated there by the ceramist painter, is more advanced than even that of Rhodes and of Melos.

The cups that we have attributed to Cyrene were all collected outside Cyrenaica, some at Naucratis and most in Italy. If we have believed it possible to assign them a country, this is because on two or three of them, the choice of the theme of the decoration has seemed to us equivalent to a certificate of origin. There has been gathered in the cemeteries of Etruria and of Campania a number of other vases, which the most competent

judges agree to recognize as also the work of Ionian ceramists, or at least that of artisans who learned the trade at the school of the master potters of Ionia, which have suffered the influence of their taste and have applied themselves to imitate their technics. On many of these vases the Ionian character of the painting is no less frankly marked than on the cups of Cyrene; but there is a difference; in the paintings that decorate these hydrias, these amphoras and cups, we find no indication that orientates the historian, which authorizes him to pronounce the name of a workshop to which he thinks could be attributed by conjecture the paternity of a certain group of vases in question. In these conditions, all that can be proposed is to distinguish and to define these different groups of vases like Ionian, is to seek thusemost strongly tinged by Ionism, and in what measure everywhere the potter, while remaining faithful on the whole, to the spirit and traditions of Asian Greece, yet has made certain borrowings from other workshops.

The Ionian vases found in Italy all date, with very few exceptions, from the last period of the development of the school to which they belong. This explains the borrowings that we have mentioned. If at a certain time the Ionian potter without dropping his originality has undertaken to introduce certain changes in his processes of execution, he so decided under the stimulus of competition. From the end of the 7th century, the vases that he executed for the markets in Greece and abroad had to dispute there the favor of the patron with those that the active industry of Corinth produced by thousands, and that its powerful navy retailed in the entire Mediterranean; it was also necessary for them to count with those vases with black figures by which the Attic potters, already very firm designers and skilful in arranging great compositions, preluded the masterpieces that they produced a little later under the reign of the colored figure.

Not to desert the contest, they applied themselves then to profit by the examples given to them by their enterprising rivals; they resolved to steal from them some of the trade secrets which had made their success. Perhaps they were struck by admiration aroused by works such as the cratera of Ergotimos and of Clitias (Francois vase), where the multiplicity of the scenes and persons strongly interested the spectator, in whom

it revived the memory, in a long series of pictures, all those beautiful tales of the poets, that had enchanted the youth of Greece, and which commenced to amuse foreigners themselves, when they took the trouble to translate them into images, at least living on the border of the Hellenic world, and whose curiosity was exercised in seizing the sense of all these figures, which they saw scattered in profusion on the objects of luxury, that they demanded from the art industries of Greece. For sale, it was important to be able to promise and to procure for the purchaser the pleasure that the Etruscan like the Greek found in this sort of representations, in this picturesque illustration of the myth. This was understood by the ceramists of Ionia, who held to retain for their part the fine profits, which they had from this infatuation that had seized the Tuscan princes and nobles for the painted pottery of Greece. For this purpose they also undertook to treat what may be termed great subjects. On many hydrias and inside some cups, they placed paintings with themes taken from the fabulous history of gods and of heroes, comprising as many persons as there were on the average in the paintings on the Attic vases.

On vases from Corinth and those of Athens, in those paintings with mythological subjects, the painter usually took the precaution to add to the figures legends that gave the names of the principal actors in the scene. Many Greeks whose infancy had been amused by these fables, could rigorously have omitted these legends; but they were very often very welcome to strangers, that had only a very vague knowledge of the attributes by which the Greek gods were distinguished from each other, and who did not know by heart the adventures that local traditions and the epic songs gave to so many heroines and heroes. While the Ionians were left to their own inspirations, they had not felt the need of those explanatory legends; but they ended by adopting their use, so as not to allow their competitors to take any advantage over them. Among so many vases, complete or fragmentary, that have been furnished to us by the ruins of the cities of Asian Greece and of the islands, we have in all recognized but a single one, a Rhodian plate, on which the persons are designated by their names (Fig. 221). It is entirely otherwise for vases assumed to be Rhodian that came from the cemeteries of Italy. Doubtless they do not present to

us all the legends of that kind; but these are not rare. We have already found them in number on the cup of Arcesilas (Pl. XX). We shall find them on one of the most curious monuments of this art, on the cup of Pninus and on other vases of different types.

Further, if the Ionian ceramists have conformed to the taste of the day, as to the choice of themes and the mode of presentation, the shape itself of their vases has not suffered the least change. If there was a procedure to which they appeared attached by long practice, this was indeed the use of that light coating on which was applied their decoration. We have seen the potters of Cyrene and of Sparta still remain faithful to this technics; but the potter had renounced it in the workshops from which came the vases of which it remains to us to speak. The effect produced by the white coating had a vivid charm; but in using them it was necessary to remember that these coatings adhered badly to the clay and easily scaled off. This inconvenience must have become still more apparent from the day when the potter no longer worked only in view of the local market. Condemned to long journeys that exposed them to much friction, the vases risked losing on the route a part of the light coating, whose freshness made its charm. They had the defect of those fabrics, whose vivid but very fleeting colors pass away too quickly. The patrons whom it was necessary to obtain had perhaps allowed it to be seen by a decrease of orders, that to this too rapidly fading charm they preferred the stability of the tones of those Attic vases, whose beautiful black detached itself so well and was so firm on the red ground of lustrous clay.

Etruscan tombs have furnished many of these vases, which by the absence of all coating, for whose color is substituted that of the clay passed through the kiln, depend on the technics of the Corinthian and Attic workshops, but on which the decoration no less retained a frankly Ionian character. Of all these vases, the most interesting are those called the hydrias of Caere, because these hydriae have all been collected in the cemetery of that city. About twenty of them are counted, which present sufficient common traits, that one is believed able to regard them as having come from the same workshop. One or two will suffice to show what distinguishes them and what makes their

originality.¹

Note 1.p.518. The list drawn up by Pottier in 1892, the last given as far as I know, comprises 18 numbers (*Les sarcophages de Clazomenes et les hydrias de Caere*, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* v Vol. XVI, p. 241-262). This Article gives the entire preceding bibliography.

Among other hydrias of this kind, the Louvre possesses one whose decoration is especially curious. The ornamental motives there are made familiar to us by the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes and the entire Ionian ceramics (Fig. 250). This is a fret on the lip, on the neck being a great star with 6 rays, on the shoulder a garland of leaves and of ivy berries, with divergent tongues around the attachment of the handles. Toward the foot of the vase is a band on which alternate palmatiums and lotus flowers, then below are radiating points that rise with the vase and lanceolate leaves which descend to the ground.² On the body are two subjects; on one side is an ephebe on horseback who pursues two spotted deer (Fig. 251), on the other are two winged bulls running (Fig. 252). With touches of white placed on the ground or on the black are executed the nude parts of the figures, the spots on the skins of the deer and a band on the wings of the bulls.

Note 2.p.518. On this ornament, so frequently employed in this place by Ionian painters, see Note on the origin of double rays as an ornament. (Appendix II to Notes on Amasia by Karo in *Jour. Hell. Studies.* 1889. p.163-164.

Where did the painter take this hunting scene so presented? I know nothing in epic and lyric poetry, nor in the historians, that gives reason to think that this kind of sport was in the habits, either of the Achaian kings of the heroic age or of their descendants, the chiefs of the nobles of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Further, neither European nor Asian Greece, both entirely of mountains and narrow valleys, had the wide plains which alone could lend themselves to those long and foolish rides. These assume the vast uniform areas that border the Euphrates and Tigris. There the kings of Chaldea and of Assyria were invited by nature itself to the ground to seek these diversions; mounted on a chariot, near the driver who held the reins, or galloping on a horse, they pushed forward and pierced with arrows the wild beasts that swarmed in the s

spiny thickets of the desert or in the rose gardens of the inundated mountains.

Note 1.p. 19. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, Figs. 5, 264, 270, 318, 321.

From royal hunts represented in the palaces of Babylon and Nineveh, as perhaps also certain Hittite reliefs, by which the Ionian painter must have been inspired, when he traced on the clay scenes of that kind, he did not have opportunity to be present in Ionia at such hunts. What announces that borrowing even better than the painting of the hydria is the painting of a hunt, that forms a part of the decoration of one of the most beautiful sarcophaguses of Clazomenes (Fig. 127). There are seen three deer, whose coats are spotted with white as on the hydria. They flee before the hunters at their greatest speed. They are two in number. He that presses nearest the game stands on a chariot drawn by two horses. He holds the reins in the left hand, while he brandishes a long spear in the right. Behind him is a horseman, that as if he feared to pass the chariot, seems to hold back strongly to retain the spirit of his half rearing mount. A dog runs beneath the team. When complete, there was one of the favorite themes of Assyrian sculpture. On the hydria, where the painter had at his disposal only a more restricted ground, there is a beast and a hunter less, but although simplified, it is again the theme whose exotic source we have indicated.

Same mark of origin in the group that decorates the opposite side. These two winged bulls came in a direct line from western Asia in which we find them everywhere, in the ornamentation of fabrics and on engraved stones.¹

Note 1.p. 20. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, Pl. XIV; Figs. 139, 141, 277, 331, 448, 449.

One would have difficulty to explain why ceramists working in Asian or even in European Greece should have made such borrowings from the repertory of Chaldeo-Assyrian artists; but all difficulty disappears, if he admits that the vases described above are the work of an Ionian potter, although discovered in Etruria. In refusing to admit that Chaldeo-Assyrian sculpture furnished models to the growing Greek sculpture, and that it exerted a sensible influence on the formation of the style, we have stated by what multiple ways came to the markets of

Ionian the products of the industrial arts of western Asia, metal cups, carved ivories, cones and cylinders, tapestries and embroidered fabrics. We have indicated how all these richly ornamented objects must have furnished to the Ionian decorator more than one motive, more than one type, of which he could not fail to make use.² On the bronze or silver cups that particularly Phoenicia supplied are frequently represented these horsemen and chariots, that with bow or lance in hand pursue the stag or attack the lion.³ It may be said on every one is found winged monsters, geniuses, sphynxes, griffins, etc.⁴ In the chasings of this imagery of metal the Ionian painter could find all the elements of the decoration of his hydria.⁵

Note 2.p.320. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p.621-724.

Note 3.p.520. The same. Vol. III, Figs. 543, 544.

Note 4.p.520. The same. Vol. III. Figs. 546, 547, 548, 550, 552.

Note 5.p.520. As examples of motives borrowed from Asian art by painters of vases of this series may be cited the following:- Two eagles each seizing a hare (Louvre, Hall E, 698. See *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, Fig. 409).

If the workshops from which came the so-called hydrias of Caere, men were ^{not} ignorant of the types created by the art of Asia, other pieces of the same series prove that they had a more intimate and familiar knowledge of Egypt, its customs and costumes, and of the character of the traits of its people. What particularly gives that impression is the hydria called the vase of Busiris (Fig. 253).

The tale is known, doubtless born in the Ionian world and later developed at Athens by the satiric drama, that is connected with the name of that legendary Pharaoh.¹ Busiris was said to be a king of Egypt, who by order of an oracle sacrificed to his gods all strangers that tempests cast on the shores of the Delta. He continued those massacres until the time when Hercules, conducted into Africa by the order that he received to go and gather the golden apples of the Hesperides, was seized by the guards of the king. They led him to death when he broke his bonds and slew Busiris. This scene is represented in the circular field of the body between two enclosing bands. Hercules occupies nearly the middle of the principal face. (Pl. XXI). With his short and curly hair he has a thick beard. His form is heavy and robust. In the first rush of his reconquered lib-

liberty, he has strangled the king, who lies on the steps of the altar, his members contracted by agony. Now he casts down the priests that have attempted to bar his passage. By himself alone, he has put six out of the fight. Those not fallen under his blows feel that all resistance is useless. One of them flees with a gesture of terror. Another is on his knees on the platform of the altar and extends his hands asking quarter. A third conceals himself behind the same altar. On the other side divided by the attachment of the handle run five Ethiopian soldiers armed with great clubs, ending in a crosspiece; but like the police in the comedy, they arrive too late (Fig. 254).

Note 1.p.522. All the ancient texts that have treated the myth of Busiris have been collected and commented on by Helbig at the beginning of his Article:— *Vasi di Busiri* (Annali. 1869. p. 296-306. Pls. XVI and XVII of Vol. VIII of Monumenti Tavole d'acciunta P. Q). From the list of all the studies devoted to this vase, see Masner:— *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K. K. Oest. Museum. Vienna. 1892. No. 217, p. 22.* The most faithful copy that has been given of this curious painting is that which Furtwängler and Reichhold have given in their great work, *Griechischen Vasenmalerei. I. series, Pl. LI.* From this plate has been executed our Plate XXI, that reproduces the most important of the two plates of the decoration of the body.

If there are faults in the drawing of most figures of this painting, if the group about Hercules is a little confused, the entirety of the scene shows a real harmony of the composition. The persons are well distributed there; their movements are correct and expressive; but what interests us here is less the merits or defects of execution, than the effort attempted by the painter to put into his work what we term local color. He has seen Egypt. He knows what coiffures and clothes are worn there; certain ethnic types have struck him there. The royal dignity is indicated for Busiris by the uraeus that rises on his brow. The priests are clothed in those long linen tunics called calasiris, that as Herodotus noted were bordered by fringes;¹ now those fringes are very apparent here. As for the guards on the reverse, they are recognized as negro slaves. Like all people of low condition in the valley of the Nile, they have no clothing but drawers about the loins. They brandish

clubs; in Egypt the dead on their steles, the superintendents and fellans in the reliefs of the tombs almost always have a stick in the hand on which they lean, with which they menace the naked shoulders of their inferiors, or that they use to drive animals to plough or to pasture.

Note 1.p.524. Herodotus. II. 181.

In the chase of the wild boar represented on the lower band are not found the same qualities of spirit and freedom as in the principal subject; but there will be noted the garland that decorates the shoulder of the nydria. It is made of two branches that bend over and unite at their top. Among the leaves of olive or laurel gleam openings painted white (Fig. 255). In the design of all these branches is much flexibility and elegance, as well as a happy contrast between the dark tint of the leaves and the light tone of the fruits.

On some other vases can be found many memories of Egypt and of the African fauna. On a hydria of the Louvre is represented the hunt of the wild boar of Calydon, where the men have an exotic type recalling the Egyptian.² Their hanging tunic swells between the legs like a kind of drawers. On the neck is a water bird resembling the flamingo, that inhabitant of the marsh of the Delta. Under the right handle an ape recalls that of the cup of Arcesilas.

Note 2.p.524. The vase was published in Mon. ined. Vols.VI, VII, Pl. 77, as an example of vases whose decoration seems inspired by Egyptian objects may be cited a little lecythe with black figures, that represents three kneeling figures before what appears to be a mummy case (Am. Jour. of Arch. 1909.p.498).

Some themes found in this series and many details of the kind of those just shown then give reason to think, that the painters of these vases had light from western Asia and Egypt, that they loved to seek there motives, that by a certain exotic flavor aroused the attention of their ordinary public; but it no less from the national myths of Greece that is taken the theme of the decoration on all those vases. In the painting of the murder of Eusiris, on the banks of the Nile is placed the scene of the action and the artist desired to give the image something of the appearance of an Egyptian painting; but the subject treated no less remains purely Greek, by the role of Hercules; this is an episode of the most popular history of the

Greek heroes. On the other hydrias of this group, the images have the same character. To speak here only of the vases of the Louvre, so is the chase of the wild boar of Calydon and the abduction of Europa.¹ Also the combat of the Centaurs and the Lapithae.² This is Hercules bringing Cerberus to Eurysthenes, who is seized by terror at the sight of the monster, and conceals himself in a pithos (Fig. 256).¹ Then the little Hermes, that after having stolen the oxen of his brother Apollo and concealed them in another thicket of burnwood, has lain down in his cradle and pretends to sleep, while around him is an animated discussion and asku who might be the thief (Fig. 257).² Achilles makes an ambuscade for Troilos in the plain of Troy, who seizes him and slays him in his flight.³

Note 1.p.25. Louvre. Hall E, 696.

Note 2.p.525. Louvre. Hall E, 700.

Note 1.p.526. Louvre. Hall E, 701.

Note 2.p.526. Louvre. Hall E, 702.

Note 3.p.526. Louvre. Hall E, 703.

One cannot doubt that these hydrias are later than the pottery that we have presented as the most ancient and authentic types of Ionian ceramics. Between the Oenochoes or the plates of Camiros and the hydrias of Caere are the efforts of two or three generations of painters; there is also the rapid flight of poetry, which with a marvellous wealth of imagination does not cease to invent myths and diversify them infinitely. Those myths have been related by the rhapsodists in the elegies and around the festal table. Men loved to find them shown in the paintings that decorate public and private edifices as well as vases of metal or clay, that ornament the houses and then form the equipment of the tomb. They are no longer satisfied by floral ornaments, by those processions of animals, that formerly had no aim in the decoration of familiar objects, except to amuse for the moment the eye of the spectator. Now they prefer to see represented an action in which the mind can be instructed. On those hydrias of Caere where is not represented an adventure of the gods or heroes, there are at least chariot teams, hunts of stags or lions.⁴ Thus on a hydria acquired at Caere itself for the museum in Berlin, there is on one side a driver mounting a chariot drawn by two horses, on the other side being a lion hunt (Figs. 258, 259). In the first painting and behind

the horses as a person that seems to speak to the driver, and appears to be a woman. On the other side, with the lion springing on the rump of the horse doubtless offered as a bait, there is nothing but a norseman armed with a long spear, who attacks the lion from behind. The painter does not lack skill. One notes the method that he has taken to lower the head of the second horse and the very correct drawing of that head, as in the other scene is the movement of the lion and the broad rendering of his muzzle.¹

Note 4. p. 526. Louvre. Hall E. 697, 698.

Note 1.p. 27. Hartwig, who wrote the joint note added to Pl. 28 of Vol. II of *Antike Denkmäler*, states that this is there the first hydria of Caere, whose decoration is represented in the colors of the original.

The hydrias of Caere are then of a sensibly more recent date than the Rhodian oenocroes, and there is even reason to believe that in their entirety are less ancient than the cups of Cyrene. On them the potter still had the technique of the white coating. He has entirely renounced it here; but he is still more in the Ionian tradition by the pleasure that he takes to vary the tones and to seek contrasts. With their yellow ground, their retouches of profile and of white laid on the black, these vases in their first freshness presented a rich and gay coloring. Unfortunately the white being very fragile, has often fallen off; sometimes only the trace of it is scarcely visible.² As at Cyrene, the painter of these hydrias currently employs the process of engraving that was unknown to the first Ionian potters. This is with the point and a neat and firm line, that on the clay hardened by a first passage through the kiln, he has drawn the sketch of his composition. He has then filled these contours with black with which he charged his brush; on it he has placed white and red in spots; then he has resumed the point to indicate the interiors of the figures and details of the costume and the modeling of the body.

Note 2.p. 528. The whites have remained very visible on the Buxtris vase and on the hydria of our Figs. 251, 252. On that reproduced in our Figs. 259, 259, according to Hartwig the publisher of the vase, the second horse and the flesh of the men were tinted white; but this white was laid on black. It has fallen off, and there remains only slight traces of it which

give to the nudes the appearance of a washed black, and which would make believed an attempt at modeling, which is an illusion.

So much for what concerns the general arrangement of the decoration and the interest of the themes as for the execution of the figures, these hydrias represent a very advanced state of Ionian ceramics, and one would like to know in what city they were made; but for these vases one does not have the same resources as for those attributed to the workshops of Cyrene. In the subjects of the paintings, here are no myths that properly belong to one city rather than another, no scene that like the weighing of silphium, has a local character. Phocaea has been thought of, recalling its enterprising spirit and the outlets of which it was assured on a number of markets, in the western basin of the Mediterranean; it has been said that it would be possible, that after the events of 544 and the voluntary exile then imposed on the Greeks, who had not desired to become Persian subjects, that Phocæan ceramists went to establish themselves in Etruria. Nothing requires the rejection of the hypotheses as improbable; but one could no more invoke in its favor the slightest indication, that authorizes giving the honor to these vases to Phocæa rather than to any other of the important cities of the same country.¹

Note 1. p. 529. On the reasons that one could have to attribute these hydrias to Naucratis or at least to an Ionian city that had maintained constant relations with Egypt, see Dümmler in *Römische Mittheilungen*. 1888. p. 171 et seq. Winter also occupied himself with the hydrias of Caere. (*Studien zur älteren griechischen Kunst*, in *Jarb.* 1900, p. 83-92). Before describing the Busiris vase, Furtwängler had already stated his ideas on this subject. (*Die antike Gemmen*. Vol. III. p. 89-90).

We have described the principal species of Ionian ceramics, those which are represented in our galleries by numbers of examples in beautiful preservation, that further allow themselves to be defined by very particular traits, for each of them gives the measure and the tinge of the taste that reigned at a certain time in a certain workshop of Ionia or of its foreign dependencies. That ^{we} cannot without risking losing ourselves in details, insist as much on many secondary varieties, that all refer to the same methods, yet present less distinct character-

characteristics. We can only mention a series of vases that it has been proposed to call Pontic, because on one of them it is thought is recognized Scythian by their costume and mode of combat.¹ It has been said that these vases were made in some one of those Ionian colonies of the Euxine sea when the Greeks were in contact with those barbarians. It does not seem that there is reason to decide for this conjecture. There is only one of these vases on which appear Scythian horsemen, crowned by the pointed caps and turning about to loose their arrows at the enemy, before whom they seem to flee. Now we have already met with this type, that excited the curiosity of Greek observers, on the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes;² we shall find it again on Attic vases. Finally it is from the cemeteries of Etruria that came all the vases to which may be attributed this origin. Is it probable that the Ionian merchants who trafficked with the West went so far to seek the pottery that they supplied to their Italian patrons, when they could find it at Samos or at Phocæa? Or—indeed will there be supposed, which is still more difficult to admit, direct relations between the ports of southern Russia and those of the coast of Tuscany?

Note 1. p. 530. F. Dümmler. Ueber eine Classe griechischen Vasen mit schwarzen Figuren (Jahrb. 1837. p. 171-182, Pl. 8-9).

Note 2. p. 530. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p. 269, Fig. 123.

These vases are mostly amphoras. There are a certain number of amphoras which strongly resemble the hydrias of Caere. (Fig. 269). "This is the same heave style, the same use of white, the same fashion of drawing the Silenes and Centaurs, frequently the same ornaments and subjects."³ One of the most curious of those amphoras is the vase of the museum of Munich, that represents the judgment of Paris. White is largely employed there; but what seems especially to betary Ionian taste are certain realistic and picturesque details, such as in the representation of the flock of Paris is the dog with his tongue out, the bull resting his head on the rump of his neighbor, the bird perched on the back of one of the oxen. One of the women wears a sort of pointed cap called tutulus by the Romans, and which was the ordinary coiffure of Etruscan women, from which one could infer that the vase was made in Etruria (Figs. 264, 262). There are also a certain number of oenochoes on which

the decoration is entirely similar.

Although many cups could be cited, which by their forms and lightness recall the cups of Cyrene, but which are distinguished from them by the absence of the light coating. There is recognized the hand of the Ionian worker by a warm polychromy, by certain details of the decoration, by the manner in which are traced there the garlands of ivy and of lotus flowers and particularly lotus buds, capriciously scattered over the field where they rise from a simple stem. Such are the beautiful cups discovered at Siana, probably the ancient town of Mnasyrion near Camiros.¹ Such are also two cups found in Etruria, that entered the Louvre with the collection Campana.² There is reason to attribute the same origin to the crateras that are also due to Tuscan cemeteries, and some of which are at least in part covered by a white glaze. Such an image, for example that of two deer with mottled skins arouse the memory of types often reproduced by Ionian painters (Fig. 127).³ One of those crateras presents a very rare peculiarity, that completes the demonstration of relationship with Asian products, such as the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes: this is the use of white lines laid on the black, and concurrently with the incised lines serving to indicate the details of the muscles or the folds of the vestments.⁴ Among the different vases that it may be believed right to place to the credit of Ionian workshops, we again mention an amphora from an Etruscan source, on which is seen on a band, two cocks facing each other in a fighting attitude. (Fig. 263). It is believed that there is found a copy of a frieze of Xanthus, so striking is the resemblance between the painted and sculptured motives.² Further, what forms the special interest of this vase is its form." With its elongated curve, its slender and slightly concave neck, its flat and quite detached handles, its superposed zones of subjects, it recalls the well known series of small amphoras signed by Nicosthenes.³ "It has already been proposed to see in Nicosthenes an Ionian potter, that after the misfortunes of Ionia came to found at Athens that well frequented workshop, whose products were distributed in the entire Greek world. The amphora represented above confirms this hypothesis. By its entire proportions and by the design of its handles, which are slightly dry and thin, it however differs from the amphoras of Nicosthenes. It would

be called a first attempt, a sort of sketch, that being later revised and perfected would have given the classic type that we know."⁴ It will suffice to mention for memory the very small pitnoi, decorated by zones of animals with garlands of leaves, pomegranates, lanceolate leaves and other Ionian motives.⁵ A great number of them have been found at Samos.⁶

Note 1.p. 32. C. Smith. Four archaic vases from Rhodes. (Jour. Hell. Studies. 188. p. 220-240. Pl. 40-43). Without adhering much to that name, C. Smith ranges these vases in the category of Chalidian vases, yet quite badly defined. With Pottier (Catalogue, p. 495), I should rather connect them with Ionian ceramics.

Note 2.p.532. Pottier. Catalogue, p.531. Louvre. Hall E, 675-676.

Note 3.p.532. Louvre. Hall E, 677. Pottier. Vases antiques du Louvre. Pl. LII).

Note 4.p.532. Pottier in B.C.H. 1893. p. 425. See on the subject of these vases the entire Article:- Documents ceramiques du musee du Louvre. p.423-424.

Note 1.p.534. B. C. Hell. 1893. p.431-433. Louvre. Hall E, 70.

Note 2.p.534. Collignon. Histoire de la sculpture. I. p.238, Fig. 121. Brunn-Brückmann. Denkmäler. Pl. 105.

Note 3.p.534. B. C. Hell. 1893. p.433.

Note 4.p.534. The same. p. 433.

Note 5.p.534. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 541-542. Louvre. Hall E, 709-716.

Note 6.p.534. Böhlau. Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen. p.145, Figs. 68, 69.

On all the vases that we have so far studied, while not failing to borrow some things from the practices of the potters of Corinth and of Athens, the Ionian potter has remained faithful to what may be termed his principle, that of decoration by zones. What announces the approaching triumph of the schools of European Greece is the mode introduced at a certain time in the Asian workshops, for placing the figures after the example of the Attic painters in a panel reserved on the body. This panel is something analogous to the metope of the friezes of Doric architecture. It furnishes a convenient means of isolating the figures and of giving them more value by increasing their height. One of the most ancient examples of the application of the new methods would be an amphora with black coating supposed to have been found at Laere, and which with all reser-

reserves, we have classed among Rhodian vases (Fig. 217).

There is the same tendency that is obeyed even more decidedly by the potters to whom are due certain vases that are scarcely longer distinguished from Attic amphoras of the classic type with black figures. Such is the case for an amphora in the Louvre from an Italian source, on which is reproduced a gigantomachy.¹ It would be attributed without hesitation to an Attic workshop, if the alphabet did not have a very marked Ionian character. If the eye in the male figures sometimes has here the round form as in the paintings of European Greece, and sometimes the oval shape affected by Ionian designers, an indication of Ionianism can be seen in the fact that the flesh of the two goddesses taking part in the combat, Hera and Athena, instead of being painted white as usually on Attic vases, are colored black as well as the men.² It is very possible that being driven from that country by the Persian conquest, Ionian potters came to seek an asylum and work at Athens. They would have executed there this vase and other similar ones, for example such as the amphora of the Louvre on which is represented Hercules fighting the Amazons, then introduced into Olympus by Athena.³ There may also be cited as belonging to the same group several *deinos apodes* of the museum of the Louvre, one of which represents the scene of Komos (Vignette at end of Additions and Corrections). It has been proposed to call these vases Attico-Ionian.⁴ This is in the same category with which is also connected the beautiful cup of Etruscan source, on which are represented the myth of the divine blind Phineus, whose repast has been devoured by Harpies, to whom the sons of Boreas then gave chase; then on the other half of the circumference are scenes of Dionysiac orgies (Fig. 264). On the reverse of the cup are groups, satyrs struggling with bacchantes. In the centre of the basin is the mask of a man with long hair seen in front view (Fig. 265). This vase was found at Vulci; it now belongs to the museum in Würzburg. The diameter of the cup is 15.36 ins.⁵

Note 1. p. 538. Louvre. Hall E. 732. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 544-545; Vases antiques du Louvre, p. 68. General view in Pl. 54. The image given with an Article of O. Jahn in *Monumenti*. Vol. VI-VII, Pl. 78, is not perfectly correct.

Note 2. p. 538. The plate of *Monumenti* erroneously gives white

flesh to Athena. There is no longer a trace of white in the original, on the face and arms of Athena than on those of Hera.

Note 3.p.536. Hall E, 733. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 545. Vases antiques. p. 69. General view on Pl. 54.

Note 4.p.536. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 545; Bull. Corr Hell. 1893. Vases du type ionien. L'Ionisme en Attique. p. 428-444. Our vignette is reproduced there on p. 427.

Note 5.p.536. Furtwängler first rendered justice to the cup of Phineus, that had already attracted attention, but whose original merit had not been seized in a time when the study of painted vases was less advanced than it is today. He gave a detailed description, and due to the conscience and the talent of his collaborator, Reichhold, a faithful reproduction. (Griechische Vasenmalerei. I. series of text. p. 208-241 and Pl. XLI as well as the figures inserted in the text for the reproduction of the paintings on the outside of the cup). We have only had to summarize his observations.

Almost at the middle of the circle, Phineus lies on a bed and extends his uncertain hands toward the table, that seek in vain the food that has just been carried off by the wicked thieves. The gesture is expressive; with the drawing of the closed eyes, it gives the impression of truth. Around Phineus stand three women clothed in the long Ionian tunics. One is behind and the other two in front of the bed. The first is Egletho, and is doubtless the wife of Phineus. The two women that walk forward are divine personages. What remains of a scarcely visible legend, Hora, defines them as the Hours (Fig. 266). Then come two Boreades, that with sword in hand give chase to two Harpies. The four male and female demons have great wings on their shoulders and smaller wings on their feet. Before the Harpies is a black mass, whose upper edge is notched and represents the waves of the sea, over which flee the stealers of the food, to escape the ardent pursuit. One of them still holds in hand one of the plates that she has taken from the table. At this side the scene is closed by a wall that presents the appearance of a black and white chessboard (Fig. 267). Behind the wife of Phineus it is limited by bunches of ivy, among which is seen the mask of a lion as the outlet of a fountain. It is necessary to supplement in thought the surface of the rock, from which spouts the spring and the rippling water. Near this

spring is a palm tree. What closes the scene at the right is the wall toward which flee the Harpies. On the side of this wall toward Dionysos and his companions is another lion's mask, that is supposed to spout a stream of water. This wall then represents a monumental fountain.

Note 1.p.538. The figures opposite give at a very reduced scale a general view of the cup, which allows one to seize at a glance the series of different scenes in four sections. The exigencies of our page has compelled the omission of one of the Boreades to avoid reducing the figures too much, which would have changed their character.

The scene found thus between the ivy branches and the fountain is divided in two parts, like its pendant. At the left are three women, nymphs that the heat of the day has led to the cool water flowing from the spring concealed in the mass of ivy. To enjoy this coolness, they have removed their clothing, which is suspended on projections of the rock, and with hair hanging on their shoulders, they cause the water to run over their nude limbs (Fig. 268). Two of them seem to be entirely occupied in washing themselves. The delights of the bath prevent them from thinking of what passes in the vicinity; but the third has heard a noise, and turns her head. Her anxiety is justified. Behind a second palm tree two nude silenuses advance toward the group of women, walking carefully to silence the noise of their steps, hoping to surprise the bathers. Their faces are impressed by brutal desire, expressed by other traits that we cannot think of reproducing here.

Behind these silenuses, Dionysos stands on his chariot near his spouse Ariana. He holds in his hands the reins and whip. To his chariot are harnessed a lion and a panther, then two stags with great horns (Fig. 269). Placed on the tongue of the chariot and sustaining himself with one hand on the horns of the two stags, a blind Silenus capers with his head in the direction of the passing of the chariot. He does not show his face to the god, his master. A last Silenus is placed before the chariot of Dionysos and seems to watch the movement of the team.

In the entirety of this painting is an energy and warmth that makes it a work of exceptional value, in which is recognized

the hand of a true artist. All gestures are expressive, from that of Phineus holding his hands blindly toward the empty table to those silenuses, that show the transports of a lewdness foreign to all shame. The calm attitude of the Hours standing before Phineus contrasts in the naippiest manner with the violence of the pursuit in which are engaged Eoreades and Harpies. In the other scene is the same opposition between the grave dignity of the divine pair standing in their chariot and the violent movements of the silenuses.

All here bears the mark of Ionian taste. This is recognized in the effort made to clearly locate the scene by the addition of significant accessories, such as these two fountains, one of which is concealed by the abundant ivy, like the two palms that seem drawn from nature. This same taste makes its influence felt in the picturesque group of this strange team, that unites to the same tongue animals so different in fur and in appearance, and which is dominated by the great entangled horns of the two stags. The costumes of the men and women are Ionian. It is also a characteristic of the drawing of Ionian painters, the method taken here to indicate the contours of the body under the tunic. On the Chalcidian and Attic vases, these and not suspected. The body is as if concealed within a sack that causes nothing to be divined. It is again a type familiar to Ionian painters, the silenuses furnished with tails and horses' nocks.

I do not know if there be not some subtilty in the explanation proposed for the selection of the scenes; that the decorator has here brought together in the decoration of his cup. It is said that the general theme would be the representation of the expansion of life on the surface of the earth. The Hours are the divinities that by the change of seasons preside over the development of vegetation. On the other half of the cup, with Dionysos who pours out the juice of the vine and with the silenuses inflamed by lust, we have the expression of animal life in its overflow into sensuality. I doubt that the artist even vaguely had the idea of that synthetics. What seems natural to him is, that an Ionian potter should think of reserving a place for Phineus in one of his works. Phineus was a diviner that passed as having aided the Argonauts to struggle against the strong currents of the Eosphorus and to undertake the stormy

waves of the Euxine. There must have been there for the sailors of Miletus, when they attempted their first voyage to the north-east, many difficulties to conquer, many emotions to brave, perils whose memory was preserved in the myth of Phineus and in the aid given by this personage to the explorers of those hitherto unknown coasts.

However this vase is distinguished in certain respects from those like the hydrias of Caere, that it is proposed to attribute to a workshop of Asian Greece. No polychromy here. Nothing but black figures placed directly on the clay.¹ A careful analysis has revealed in the execution many traits, that recall the fabrication of the vases of Chalcis and of Athens. The refined connoisseur that first brought to light the singular merits of this vase was inclined to see in it the work of an Ionian workshop, but of one situated in the vicinity of Attica and of Euboea, that would have in a certain measure suffered the influence of the works of these two countries.

Note 1. p. 543. On an Ionian school that executed vases with black figures, see B. Gräff. Arch. Anz. 1893. p. 18. This school is much represented in the fragments scattered among the rubbish, that came from the sack of the Acropolis by the Persians).

According to Furtwängler, the native land of this cup should be sought in the Cyclades and particularly in that island of Naxos, that as attested by its coins was placed under the protection of Dionysos, and rendered a hereditary worship to him. About the end of the 6th century, there would have been in the Cyclades a school of ceramists, that had commenced to produce remarkable works, but whose activity was very soon arrested. Athenian manufacture, by its progress and by the success found everywhere by the products of its kilns, slew the rivals that merited to live, but were not sufficiently equipped to sustain the struggle.

Without stopping to discuss this hypothesis in favor of which can be invoked only very slight indications, we have believed that we must call attention to this cup, that wherever it was made and decorated, is one of the most curious and most interesting that can be placed to the credit of Ionian ceramics.

One can also compare the cup of Phineus to those cups at the Louvre and two hydrias¹ as well as to several crateras that

belong to the same museum.²

Note 1.p.544. Louvre. Hall E, 740-742.

Note 2.p.544. Louvre. Hall E, 734-739.

Finally, there is reason to pass to the credit of the workshops whose work on little vases we have studied here, a very careful work that at the first moment was termed Corinthian or protocorinthian for lack of knowing where to place it, although it had no reason to appear in those lists. I speak of those known to cosmographers under the names of the Macmillan lecythe and the Chigi vase.

The Macmillan lecythe was so-called from the name of the distinguished amateur that gave it to the British Museum, and is an aryballic lecythe purchased at Thebes.¹ It is only 2.68 ins. high. Surmounted by a lion's head very broadly modeled with open jaws, it is decorated by two zones of figures. All their contours are drawn in finely incised lines. As colors employed, there is a black whose tone has passed to brown in places, and some light touches of purple. The nude of the flesh is indicated by a reddish gray, that on the original is very well distinguished from the dead black, that has been used for the rest of the images. In the principal zone is a very confused battle scene. Its character is divined in the general view that we give of the lecythe (Fig. 270). In the lower zone are two bands. On one is a race of cavaliers at a gallop, and on the other is the hunting of the hare (Fig. 271).

Note 1.p.545. Jour.Hell.Studies. Vol. XI. 1890. p.167-180. Pls. I, II.

The vase that forms a part of the collection of prince Chigi Albano was found near Veii.² It is an oenocoe 10.24 ins. high (Fig. 272). The figures on the upper zone, whose contours and details are indicated by incised lines, are detached in black or reddish brown on a glaze of pale yellow. There are some touches of purple. On the lower band they rise in white from the black ground. At the top at one side are two bands of hoplites with helmets and covered by cuirasses and broad round shields, who advance against each other with lowered spears. A trumpeter excites the combatants.(Fig. 273). At the middle of the second zone on the front of the vase is a winged sphynx seen in front view, and at the sides of the sphynx on the left is a file of

horsemen and chariots, on the right being a lion hunt, a sequence to which is a group representing the judgment of Paris, of which remains but one person and some fragments of inscriptions (Fig. 274). At the bottom is the hunt of a hare (Fig. 275).

Note 2. p. 545. *Antike Denkmäler*. Vol. II. P. 3. XLIV, XLV. Notice by G. Koro.

The delicacy of the execution of figures of such small height justifies the name of miniatures employed to define the character of these paintings. It can also be applied to the oenochoe as well as to the lecythe. Between the two vases is a very visible relationship, and if we have thus brought them together, it appears to us that if not from the same workshop, both have been decorated by workmen subject to the same influences and that had the same habits, in some city where they worked.

That of these two vases most strongly marked by the stamp of Ionian taste is the Chigi oenochoe. There is no reason to attribute it to Ionian manufacture. What remains of the names written near the persons of the scene of the judgment of Paris does not belong to the Corinthian alphabet. There is not found the Corinthian form of sigma. The clay does not seem to be that of Corinth. Further, one can indicate there many traits by which this piece is connected to the series of vases, that represent the ceramics of eastern Greece. For the nude of the flesh the painter has adopted a grayish rose, that we have already seen used for the same purpose on the amphoras of Melos. It is in white and on a black ground that are detached the palmations and interlacings traced on the neck of the vases. Again in white is painted the band of dogs running after hares and ibexes. (Fig. 275).¹ In the same scene of the chase with the dogs are a hare, a fox and ibexes. This causes one to think of the variety of animals that fill the zones of Rhodian oenochoes. Note also the bushes behind which are ambushed and concealed the hunters. One of them, not to be perceived by the hare that comes toward him at its greatest speed, is lying flat on his belly on the ground. The other crouches behind the bushes and holds his dog, ready to spring forth. He carries two hares already caught, fastened to a stick resting on his left shoulder. This recalls the indications of the country and those picturesque details by which the Ionian painter pleased himself, as we have recalled on more than one occasion. In the same spirit

he composed the scene of the lion hunt with the hunter overthrown, whose shoulder is fixed in the mouth of the beast, while the other hunters pierce the flanks of the beast with their spears. Represented by touches of purple, the blood of the man and that of his conqueror flow in waves. Finally, what again merits the attention there is the winged sphynx, that occupies the middle of the painting. From the head of the sphynx are here detached the two plumes, that the Ionian decorator has frequently borrowed to coif his sphynx on paintings and the ivories of Mycenaean art (Fig. 226).

Note 1.p.548. On the use of white in Ionian ceramics, see Pottier. Catalogue. p. 165, 378, 501-503.

We are assured that the Macmillan lecythe is of Corinthian clay. It was then perhaps made at Corinth; but it is no less saturated by Ionism, and this authorizes us to place it here. The nudes of the flesh are of the same tone as on the Chigi oenochoe. In the figures, which are less complex here, there are many details that recall motives dear to the Ionian painter. Such are the swan and especially the ape that we have seen placed in the widest of the two zones beneath the bellies of the racing horses (Fig. 271). What is still more significant is in the lower band the crouching hunter, armed with a club that he is going to throw at the hare. There is before him a triple scroll. This motive can be only an abbreviation caused by the narrowness of the field, of the bushes that shelter the hunters on the Chigi vase. Finally, what concurs to make it believed, that the potter was inspired by a model of clay or of metal, that came to him from Asian Greece, is the lion's head that surmounts the lecythe (Fig. 270). The face of the great beast seems to have been copied from nature. It recalled to the first publisher of the vase the lions of Assyria and of Egypt. He observed on this point, that the idea of giving to an alabaster or an Aryballa as a crown the head of an animal or of a man, must have been suggested to the Greek potter by those little vases in Egyptian faience, numerous examples of which were found in Rhodian tombs.¹

Note 1.p.548. C. Smith. Jour.Hell.Studies. 1890. p.169-170. See on these vases of glazed clay, Histoire de l'Art. Vol. V. p. 674-676.

We shall not stop for vases that appear to have been made

in Italy in imitation of foreign models. It is not to call in doubt the existence of these workshops in which Greek painters established in Etruria and doubtless with their native painters trained in their school, executed pieces of hybrid style in which were combined three great artistic currents, Corinthian, Ionian and Etruscan. An example of this kind in the museum of Wurzburg bears a painted inscription in the Etruscan language;¹ but what even more than this brief legend attests the activity of the workshops in question is a great number of vases coming especially from Caere, that are characterized by this hybrid and entirely borrowed style.² Their clay is soft, whitish or gray; it resembles that of the bucchero that has not been smoked; It is not that of the Ionian vases; but from their decoration is borrowed most of the motives, the bands of passing animals, prophylactic eyes, lotus flowers, garlands of lanceolate leaves, Ionian costumes, genii with great wings attached to the girdle, imbrications that fill the parts of the field where are no figures. As a specimen of these Etruscan imitations we reproduce here the interior decorations of a cup, that about 1890 formed a part of the collection of W. Rome (Fig. 276). There is something not truly Greek in the wings given to these archers and in the club with which their right hands are armed, and makes a twofold use with the bow.¹ Broad white retouches recall the marked predilection of Ionian potters for vivid colors.² Nowhere has this taste for very showy polychromy been carried farther by these Tuscan potters inspired by Ionian ceramics, than in the group of vases known under the name of pottery of Polledrara, from the name of a domain located in the territory of Vulci. These vases are made of red clay covered by a very lustrous black. On this coating is placed the decoration executed in red and blue with broad touches of yellowish white. On the most important piece, a hydria 7.09 ins. high, are memories of the myth of Theseus, Theseus slaying the Minotaur, Theseus and Ariana present in a dance by which in the island of Delos, Athenian youths celebrated his deliverance; but these persons are as if confused in a multitude of fanciful images, files of chariots, centaurs and various monsters. All that shows an imitation not exempt from awkwardness.¹ The form of the hydria is awkward. The drawing of the figures is heavy and cold.

Note 1.p.549. Zahn. Athen. Mitt. 1898. p. 65.

Note 2.p.549. Lowrey. Hall E, 744-784.

Note 1.p.550. I owe to the courtesy of M. S. Reinach the loan of a watercolor reproduced here. He had seen the cup exhibited at the Guildhall in London, and had caused it to be copied by Anderson.

Note 2.p.550. Pottier. catalogue. p.549-550.

Note 1.p.551. C. Smith. Jour.Hell.Studies. 1894. p. 206. The hydria is reproduced there in color from a watercolor by the skilful and accurate draftsman, Anderson.

We shall terminate this survey here. To the credit of the Tuscan potter is it proper to carry this kind of imitations. If we have decided to mention these vases, this is to follow in its foreign extensions and into its most distant derivatives the fertile influence of this Ionian art to which the historian cannot give too large a part in the view that he traces of the first procedures and the first successes of Greek genius.

9. General Characteristics of Advanced Ionian Ceramics.

The place in this history, that we have assigned to Ionian ceramics might seem not to be exactly proportional to that occupied by the monuments of this art in the galleries of antiquities. These monuments are there in much less numbers than those of the ceramics of Corinth and of Athens. They form there only a very short and very incomplete series. Yet it is not without just motives, that we have made the part so beautiful, and that we have accorded a favored treatment to it, if one may so speak. It had a primary right to an attention; its antiquity.

As attested by the vases found at Thera beneath the pumice stone, men commenced from the most distant times in the basin of the Egean sea to decorate vases with the brush. Later, in the Mycenaean age this painting on clay had already assumed an art character; it knew now to interpret with talent the forms of the plant and of the animal. It even attacked with more reserve the human figure, and sometimes rendered with some success the most lively movements. Then after the fall of the brilliant civilization of the Achaean kingdoms, in the decoration of clay as in that of metal was the reign of the geometric style, whose laborious and cold artifices gave reason to think, that the artist who practised it had his eyes closed to the

view the beauty of the life displayed on the surface of the earth; but if in European Greece the Dorian invasion contributed to strengthen and prolong the empire of this style, Asian Greece was not affected by the pushing of the tribes, that knew only that system of decoration. In violent shock there came to break the chain of traditions. During a certain time, before the cities founded on the coast had become prosperous and powerful, men could apply themselves in that Greece overseas, as done on the opposite shores, to reproduce and vary those linear motives, which were then the only ones that the ornamentist disposed of in the rest of the Hellenic world; but they delayed less than elsewhere in abandoning this order and experienced what we could term nostalgia for the living form. Where all concurred to arouse this slumber of a sense that was only sleeping. Certain habits of the trade and of taste for certain types had transmitted from generation to generation in groups of artisans attached to those princes descended from great Achæan families, who reigned at Ephesus, Miletus and in other Ionian cities. Perhaps also those Ionian princes preserved in their traditions some objects, vases of metal or richly decorated arms, that had been left to them by those ancestors whose names echo in the songs of the rhapsodists. There would have been so many models which could aid the workman to understand now insufficient were the resources of an ornamentation that demanded all its efforts from geometry.¹

Note 1. p. 53. On the persistence of the motives of the Mycæan style in Asian and European Greece see S. Wied. *Nachleben mykenischer Ornamente*. (Athen. Mitt. 1897. p. 233-2. 8). Böhlau. *Ionische und Italische Nekropolen*, p. 118.

Other suggestions came at the same time to cause to penetrate into minds the desire of a change of programme, and to favor the progress implied. Greek colonists from the time that they were fixed on that coast, at the mouths of the rivers descending from the plateaus of Phrygia, found themselves masters of the ports at which ended several routes, that in the interior of the continent brought to the Mediterranean the products of the great industrial centres of the valley of the Euphrates. Feeling themselves solidly established in the positions that they had chosen, when they turned to the sea and had launched strong ships there, they soon entered into relations with Egypt.

In all sent to them by Chaldea and Lydia as in all that Egypt showed them on the walls of its chiefs, what struck their eyes was the image of organic life, diversified in a thousand ways and ornamented by the charm of color, of the life of the plant and of the animal. How could the ceramists have resisted the temptation to utilize a repertory so rich and so prodigiously varied, as that offered by the entirety of the work of the old civilizations of the Orient? The clay of the vases to be decorated afforded spacious fields of many shapes, on which the brush could play in full liberty, the material being of too little value, that its attempts should be of importance, even if unfortunate and soon rejected.

These attempts did not fail to be multiplied when the potter felt himself encouraged by the hope of the pleasure of creating novelties. Taste for the use of painted pottery was hereditary among the Greeks for several centuries. On the other hand, as soon as commercial relations were formed with the so-called barbarous peoples, what could be offered them, better made to tempt them than well burned pottery, elegant in form and ornamented by colors that pleased the eyes and designs that excited curiosity? This pottery both convenient for use and of pleasing appearance would have every chance to be substituted easily for the rude pottery, the only kind that those poorly equipped societies were in condition to make. The Phoenicians derived great profits from pottery which they sold on the coasts and in the islands of the Atlantic, to the Iberians and the Celts of western Europe.¹ The Ionians did the same in the Mediterranean and in the seas extending toward the northeast. They had inaugurated this commerce after the middle of the 8th century. According to ancient chroniclers, to that date ascended the founding of the colonies that they had scattered over the shores of the Propontis and of the Euxine.

Note 1. p. 554. Strabo. III. 5-2.

Hence Ionian genius had acquired and displayed all its force of expansion. In those cities in full flight of faith, the nobles by birth and wealthy shopowners led a brilliant and luxurious life. This is known by many authentic evidences.² The sumptuousness of costumes and of repasts was carried very far. One could not require the potter to put some grace and beauty into the vases, that appeared on the tables before which the

guests, decorated by clothing in which purple was mingled with the whiteness of linen, were extended on couches that were costly furniture, fashioned with taste and of very careful design. Those art vessels further contributed as articles for export to the wealth that supplied the elements of this luxury, whose splendor was enhanced.

Note 2.p.554. Fragments of the poets Arlos and Xenophanes in Atheneus. XII, p. 525, 528.

In these conditions, we have every reason to believe that it is proper to carry to even the 8th century the beginnings of Ionian ceramics, of that represented by what we have called the first Knodian style, by the vases whose decoration imitates that of the oriental tapestries and chased cups. Henceforth Ephesus and Miletus were great markets, to which by land and sea came all exotic wares, embroidered fabrics, rugs, ivories, goldsmith's works and glazed terra cotta, then to take the route to the West. The Corinth of the Bacchiades about this time was very active and prosperous; but its industry and commerce had not yet taken the development assured to it in the second half of the following century by the spirit of enterprise and the energy of Cypselos and of Periander. The Peloponnese was also much more distant than Ionia from that Orient from whence came to Greece the vivifying and renovating impulses. Corinth did not receive at first hand, as did the cities of the Asian coast, the models that by the diversity of the representations that they gave of the various forms of life, led the Greek artist to reproduce those forms. As for Athens, men were much less advanced there than at Corinth. Isolated in its sterile territory and without a navy, Athens then had no views on the exterior. When in the other provinces of the Hellenic world, men began to interest themselves in the suppleness of the flesh, the Attic potter remained behind in the stiffness of the style of the Dipylon, which hardened and petrified in a way the forms of the animal and of the man.

Here is what confirms the observations that we have just presented, what induces the recognition of Ionian potters in a right of priority, to think that they had been first to divine and to sketch the role that the ceramic painter would play in the art of that Greece, which was going to make the clay of its vases the confident and depository of such a great part of its

religious and poetical conceptions.¹ However little in a museum of antiques one glances at the glass cases in which are exhibited the long series of the painted vases of Greece, he notes there scattered among the figures and running in all directions, inscriptions traced with the brush. Then if one reamines the labels placed on these cases, he verifies that the vases on which abound these legends are Corinthian or Attic vases. When he stops before the case that encloses the vases of Naucratis and of Rhodes, or even those hydrias of Caere that archaeologists believe issued from some Ionian workshop, the appearance is entirely different. No inscriptions beside those images. The visitor is compelled to divine the subject of the painting from what he knows of the Greek myths and of the translation that sculpture usually gives to each of them. What may be called the dumbness of Ionian ceramics has only one explanation. If the Ionian painter wrote little on the clay, we have to seek the reason of this abstinence in the state of the society in which he made his apprenticeship.

Note 1. p. 555. Pottier also admits this anteriority of Ionian pottery, while only carrying it to the beginning of the 7th century. (Catalogue. p. 149).

In the 8th century, when the ships of Miletus were already loaded with the products of its industry and sailed across the Egean sea and the Euxine, the principle of alphabetical writing was known in Greece. Greece had its alphabet or rather its alphabets; for the alphabet differed from one province to another, and often from city to city in the same province; but although everywhere men were occupied in adapting to the sounds of the Greek language the characters that they borrowed from the Phoenicians, very little was yet written in Greece. This is proved by the small number of texts engraved in stone or bronze, that Epigraphists believe it right to refer back to this epoch. In each city there must have been only professional scribes able to use the new invention to fix thought and preserve the memory of the past. As for the workmen, they knew neither how to read or write. The Ionian ceramic painter at the time of his beginnings could not then have the idea of inserting in his paintings letters and words. He dispensed with them and persevered in that habit, when once adopted. He placed inscriptions on his vases only very late, when for a long

time the example of those legends had been given to him by other works, and still he only followed that example with regret on very rare occasions.¹ When in their turn the kilns of Corinth were lighted, men already more commonly used writing, and they saw appear on vases inscriptions, artists and signatures and names of personages. In the Athens of the 6th and 7th centuries, primary instruction, as we should say, was still more extended. Inscriptions were multiplied, lengthened and diversified. The painter was no longer satisfied to explain the subject of the painting by adding names given to the persons. he takes the clay that he decorates as a confidant of his admiration and love, sometimes of trade jealousies whose expression escapes in its malice.

Note 1.p.556. We find to cite here only 3 or 4 Ionian vases that bear inscriptions, the Rhodian plate of Euphorbus, the Cyrenean cup of Arcesilas, the cup of Phineus and finally the gigantomachy of an amphora of the Louvre (Hall E, 732). Again this last vase belongs to the list of vases that Pottier calls Attico-Italian, because of the influence of Attic models that are felt there.

If inscriptions are very common elsewhere and are almost entirely wanting on the works of Ionian ceramics, this is because that was born, its practices and traditions of the workshop were established before artisans had learned to write and their patrons to read. Ionian vases do not speak to the spectator like those of Corinth or Athens, and this silence of the brush concurs with other indications in allowing it to be affirmed, that in this country as in other domains, those were Ionians who gave the signal for the fertile invention and showed the way to their compatriots, the European Greeks; but this is not alone by the title of being oldest that this ceramics merits being studied more closely that it was by the first historians of Greek art. It has an originality that places it apart, which is manifested both by the spirit that the painter carries into the composition of his paintings and by the taste that he shows for the vivacities and contrasts of color.

In the first part of this study, we were compelled not to appreciate or to define the Ionian industry of vase painting only till after its products had come to us, that were found in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, even on the site of

near the workshops from which it issued with the mark of the shop, if we may so speak. From them we have demanded what were the original characteristics of this ceramics, by which it is most clearly distinguished from the ceramics of western Greece; but these vases by vases alone do not represent all the work of the Ionian potter and painter. We have proved that there is reason to regard as coming from the same art other series of painted pottery, all entirely composed of pieces taken from Italian cemeteries, which by one of those chances so numerous in the history of the excavations, alone represent the efforts and creations of certain workshops, most flourishing and most fruitful in Ionia. Certain of those vases, like the cups attributed to Cyrene with all probability and like the so-called hydrias of Caere, appear to be later than most vases discovered at Rhodes and Samos, Nauchatis and Dapnae; they make known to us a more advanced state of this industry and what seems to be the result of its ultimate development, what might be called its last word. In these conditions, we are held not to correct the definition that we have given of the technique and taste of the Ionian ceramists, but to extend and complete it, to add some traits to those that we have furnished. From the most ancient and the simplest of these monuments, on which Ionian genius found its expression, before Corinthian and Attic ceramics could have exerted some influence on it and reduced it to modify its processes of execution in a certain measure.

The examination of the so-called hydrias of Caere and of other vases of the same kind confirms what we have said of the complaisance with which the Ionian painters introduced in their pictures those factitious by a composite form, many examples of which had already been found in the repertory of Mycenaean artists, other types of which in greater number were offered to them by that of the oriental artists. These are the siren-bird with two human arms and the man with a lion's head and the tail of a horse;¹ as on the monuments of archaic sculpture, the centaur with two human legs in front;² the winged bull,³ and the deities with two pairs of wings;⁴ as on the celebrated monument of Xanthos, the evil and devastating Harpy.⁵ One type affected by the Ionian painter is that of the Silenus or satyr, as one would call them, characterized by a broad bestial face, a horse's tail and hoofs.⁶ The winged bull with human head, the

bull of the palaces of Chaldean and Assyria, has not yet been found on the vases, so far as we know; but new discoveries will perhaps cause to be found some day. The proof is made in that the Ionians knew this type. It has just been indicated on a stater of electrum of Miletan weight, that was purchased at Smyrna and has entered a Paris collection.⁸

Note 1.p.558. Louvre. Hall E. 743.

Note 2.p.558. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII,p.266, Fig. 102.

Note 3.p.558. Louvre. Hall E. 700.

Note 4.p.558. Fig. 252.

Note 5.p.558. Fig. 266.

Note 6.p. 58. Fig. 267.

Note 7.p.558. Fig. 268. On all these fictitious beings see Karo. Zu den altgriechischen Fabelwesen. (Strena Helbigiana. p. 148-149. 1900).

Note 8.p.558. E. Babelon. Congrès numismatique de Bruxelles. p.562-564. Pl. XXIX, 1).

Personages purely human also present distinctive traits. In the painting of the Komos or Bacchic dance, the Ionian hand is recognized by a particular ardor of the movements and by the entire nudity of the persons. (Fig. 219 and Vignette at end of Additions and Corrections).⁹ In scenes with draped persons, men and women wear shoes with recurved points and conical caps known to be of Ionian fashion by comparison with Asian monuments.¹⁰

Note 9.p.558. Louvre. Hall E. 737, 738.

Note 10.p.558. Pottier. Catalogue. p.507.

"The structure of the persons is generally massive. The proportions of the body are short with great heads and strong thighs. The waist appears rather high. With a certain thickness of color in the red and white retouches," this appearance contributes to give Ionian paintings a slightly heavy aspect, that contrasts with the dry clarity and elegance of Attic paintings."¹¹ This tendency of a certain softness, to certain heaviness of forms, we have already noted and indicated in the works of Ionian sculpture.¹

Note 11.p.558. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 509.

Note 1.p.559. Histoire de l'Art. Vol.VIII, p. 418.

On the other hand the persons here have less stiffness and solemnity than on the vases of the continent. As can be judged

by the dances of ephebes that we have reproduced, they run and act with more freedom. There may be cited for the same purpose certain combats of Hercules, of centaurs and Lapithes.² There is also more gaiety and spirit in the arrangement of the scenes. Nothing is more innocent than the air with which the little Hermes sleeps in his cradle, while the followers cause the theft of the oxen of Apollo, a theft of which the wily infant is the author (Fig. 257). Elsewhere is Eurystheus to whom Hercules leads Cerberus, that he has charmed in the execution of an order received. In seeing come to him the hero armed with his club and the monster with three heads, Eurystheus is struck with fright. He conceals himself in a great jar of terracotta, from which project only his head and hands, that make a gesture of terror (Fig. 256).³ The composition of the cup of Arcesilas presents the same merits in a higher degree. Still is the same tendency marked in the traits given to Hephaestus by the brush of the Ionian painter, who has represented him as returning to Olympus under the lead of Dionysos, after the long exile in the depths of the earth to which he had been condemned by the wrath of Zeus.

Note 2.p.559. Louvre. Hall E. 682, 700.

Note 3.p.559. Louvre. Hall E. 701.

The Attic painters loved to treat this theme and gave to Hephaestus there an aspect, whose nobility does not distinguish him at first view from the other deities that welcome him. A hydria of Caere on the contrary offers us in this scene the strange and realistic figure of an infirm deity with twisted feet (Fig. 277).

It is the taste for the thing seen for amusing and singular detail, that explains the simplifications and methods that one scarcely finds in the ceramics of western Greece. Here the painter has cut in two the body of a wild boar, of which we perceive only the monstrous rump (Fig. 278). There he shows the herd of cattle concealed in a cave (Fig. 257). Everywhere in the mythological scenes that he traces, he permits to appear the pleasure that he takes in indicating the accessories and in defining the external decoration. In the painting of the abduction of Europa, he represents Crete by a hill on which runs a hare and that is crowned by three trees, in which are summarized the forests that cover the mountains of the island.

a dolphin as symbol of the sea accompanies the nymph to the shore (Fig. 279). Elsewhere is a lioness at bay, that to resist the hunters and the dogs backs against a thicket represented by a small leafy shrub.¹ We have already had occasion to emphasize the various traits, all very happily chosen, by which the painter of the cup of Arcesilas and that of the cup whose principal person is the nymph Cyrene has known how to characterize in a manner not to be confused with any other, the medium that serves to frame the action.

Note 1.p. 580. Louvre. Hall E. 898.

The Attic painters with rare exceptions appear to have been scarcely interested except in the human figure. On the contrary, it seems that the Ionian painters have cast a more curious glance at nature, that they have been sensible to the grace of the plant, to the beauty and variety of the forms of animals, to the incidents of the country. To say all in a word, in the works of Ionian ceramists the painting is less pure decoration than on the vases of Corinth and less sculptural than on the vases of Athens; it is more picturesque.

We have studied the Ionian ceramics in the entire effort of its production, from the most ancient of its works that have come to us until the time when both by the effect of the disasters that struck the Asian Greeks and by that of the progress of Attic art, Ionia found itself deprived of the role of leader that she had enjoyed so brilliantly, for the three centuries that preceded the great struggle of Persia and Greece. We have seen this ceramics begin with plant decoration, mixing with it some elements of that natural geometrics which begins spontaneously everywhere, but which is not the Dorian geometric style, whose climax is represented by the pottery of the Dipylon. Then came the richer compositions into which enter animals and persons; but even then, the painter does not reject the use of the plant, its foliage and inflorescence. The plant continued to furnish the unique ornamentation of certain pottery of moderate importance; but on the great vases it was relegated to the second plane, and has yielded the best place to the bands of animals staged one over the other on the oenochoes of Rhodes and on Ionian crateras. In their turn the animals have retreated before the invasion of the human figure and have taken refuge in the lower parts of the painting, as on the sarcophaguses

of Glazomenes and the Ionian amphoras of Italy,² or on the reverses of vases like the hydrias of Caere;² elsewhere as on the great vases of Melos and on the Cyrenaean cups, they appear more seldom. Finally they end by disappearing entirely. We come then to the beautiful series of the very advanced Ionian style, which comprises the *deinos* with black figures,³ the cup of Phineus and the amphora of the *gigantomachy*.

Note 1.p.561. Louvre. Hall E. 703-705.

Note 2.p.561. Louvre. Hall E. 697-et seq.

Note 3.p.561. Louvre. Hall E. 736-739.

It is important to note step by step this march of beauty. The Ionian cities were first at an end of what is termed their middle age, when was constituted historical Greece, and their art is developed more at leisure and more freely than that of the other families of the Hellenic race. It has borrowed more from the past, the distant past of the Mycenaean world. On the other hand, it was in position to draw more largely from oriental sources, to take there more directly and at first hand all that it pleased to make its benefit. Due to the advance of which it was assured, it did not risk being turned aside from its route by the influence and pressure of other schools, whose prestige and ascendancy would be imposed on its taste. It was in the campaign and the charm of its pace was regulated only by its fancy, or rather by the secret bent of the genius of which it was the expression and by the knowledge that it had of the needs to which it was charged to reply. The different stages of that long evolution are distinguished here more clearly than in the work of schools that came later. We comprehend better in what order these phases succeeded each other from the starting to the ordinary points. This order is that in which were naturally produced the manifestations of the plastic faculty among peoples or individuals well endowed for the arts of design; we shall then find it again in large part in other ceramics; but it will be less apparent, because there is for example in Attica other opposing influences of more ancient industries already accredited and consecrated by success. Better than its rivals and its heirs, Ionian ceramics then allows us to define the normal phases of this organic development, and to investigate the laws by which these phases succeed each other and are connected.

Even more than themes and methods of composition, what characterizes Ionian ceramics and by which it differs especially from other Greek ceramics of the classical age is its very marked taste for polychromy. To consider in its entirety the work of the Greek potter, this is first striking. This potter has started from a conception which is not that of his more illustrious rivals. From the arts of clay and of fire, ^{he} has not demanded the kind of effects and of beauty desired by the potters of the extreme Orient and those of modern Europe. He is before all on the play and splendor of color, vivified and fixed by the flame, that counted for charming the eyes, the master workman to whom is due the porcelains of China and Japan, the Hispano-Arab plates, the Italian majolicas of the Renaissance, our faïences of Rouen, Strasburg and Moustier, the porcelains of Sevres and of Saxony. In all these series of beautiful works, whether the painting had a subject or was pure decoration, the ceramist has never believed that he could dispense with offering to the eye as enjoyment due to it, the pleasure of warm and brilliant tones.

It was entirely otherwise with Greek ceramics. The potter there employed most frequently but two colors, red and black, of which one served for the ground and the other for the figures. When on the archaic vases he places on the black touches of violet, those are still in the scale of sombre tints, thus the amateur that has lived in intercourse with ceramists accustomed to praise color experiences at first sight a sort of surprise and deception, when he enters a gallery of Greek vases. Everything seems to him to have a dull and slightly sad appearance. Only at the end of a certain time does he recover and have a taste for a ceramics, that resembles little that to which he has been accustomed. When he takes the trouble to look more closely, he cannot help admiring on the least careful of those vases the wise arrangement and the ingenuity of the composition of the paintings, as well as the elegance of the ornaments enclosing them, and especially the drawing of the figures, that by this boldness, nobility and purity, recalls that of the most illustrious works of statuary, the marbles of Polykletus and of Phidias. He admires; but he still feels himself slightly out of his element, a little anxious, and we must confess that uneasiness felt has its reasons.

By intelligent and devoted application, the Greek potter made himself the pupil and imitator of the sculptor, who ornamented by his reliefs the friezes of temples, just as the painter decorated by his frescos the walls of public edifices, and later of him that executed easel paintings on panels of wood. What he proposed was to project on the bodies of his amphoras and in the hollow of his cups the faithful reflection of the beauty that these masters had created; this was to conform himself to the interpretation which they had given of the living form, and to reproduce as in the accurate reduction the types, groups and attitudes, presented to view in the masterpieces of famed artists. What he gained in the method pursued was to succeed thus in placing in his best works a sufficiently grand style, that we may believe ourselves authorized to seek there sometimes reductions, almost copies of certain celebrated paintings of Polygnotus and of Zeuxis. That he conceived this ambition and that he satisfied it, our curiosity finds there its profit. It is that we permit ourselves to believe that we have not entirely lost the art of painting, in which Greeks put no less genius than in statuary, according to the statements of the ancients. There is a serious benefit for us; but as for the potter, the preoccupation that he obeyed might have an influence on the manner in which he understood the practice of his art, that led him to aspire to certain beauties and certain effects, that everywhere else the ceramists have sought and obtained. He has painted or rather has drawn on the clay like the masters of the brush, from which he demanded his models painted on the plastering of the wall or on the cedar board. Euphronios and Douris were painters, who in spite of the very modest situation that they occupied in Athenian society, merit rank in the series of famous artists, that the ancient writers most extolled, all whose work has perished; but they were not ceramists in the true sense of the word.

This title of ceramist, why is it judged right to contest it for such skilful and also astonishing workmen, or at least not to accord it to them except with certain reserves? This is because they are not required to satisfy certain conditions, that have been accepted everywhere else with joyous alacrity, as if these were imposed on them by an assured instinct, the artisans who practised the same trade. The Attic potter whose vases with

red figures summarize and crown the entire effort of Greek ceramics, did not seem to have had a very clear perception of the relation, that must exist between that purpose of the object and the character of the decoration received by that object. It is that the decoration of a vessel as the decoration of a fabric and of tapestry. Neither comprises paintings made to be regarded with sustained attention, paintings that interest the mind by the choice of the subject and by the perfection with which are rendered there the beauty of the human figure and the expression of the lines of the face. The place of these paintings is not on the fabric, that is deranged and wrinkled by every movement of the body clothed by it, nor on the rug crushed by the feet, nor in the hangings that the arm lifts to pass a doorway. No more is it on the plate on which is placed the food or in the cup, that is filled with liquid and passes from hand to hand. What is everywhere most appropriate to the part that the object in question plays in domestic life is a decoration composed of fanciful images, that rise in warm and varied tints from the ground, and amuse the eye without seeking to retain it and to provoke reflection. Those brilliant tints with their entire scale of vivid and light notes, the tub of the dyer places them at the command of the weaver and the embroiderer. As for the ceramist, he finds in the use of glazes and in the flame of the kiln the means of making all the magic of color resplendent on the gray of the clay.

What avail these effects of color and what part is due to fancy in the decoration of vases, the ancestors of the historical Greeks had by intuition. In the Crete that is called Minoan, to give the impression of remote antiquity, a very boldly colored pottery has been revealed to us by the vases of Camaris. Likewise the Mycenaean painter, with the borrowings made from the marine fauna and flora, gives to his decoration a character of capricious originality, which makes it very different from that in which Greek ceramics ends. Men speak of its Japanism.¹ Ionian pottery, while already having other ambitions, still remains in certain respects less distant from these tendencies and traditions, than are the Corinthian and especially the Attic pottery. In what we have termed the first Rhodian style the entire decoration of the vase with its lotus flowers and files of real or fictitious animals is pure decoration,²

of an ornamentation whose principle is that of the decoration of cloth and of tapestry. We have shown elsewhere what pleasure the Ionian ceramist, even when he extended his programme, always seems to take in recalling that man is ^{not} to him all of nature, in reserving in his paintings some place for landscape; but what particularly connects him with his distant predecessors and what distinguishes him from his successors, is the very marked taste that he has for color. This taste is first emphasized by the mode that he has taken to place on the clay that coating of pale yellow, which he renounced only very late. This coating gives him a very soft tone for his grounds, on which he applies blacks and browns, vivid reds and yellows, then again a white glaze. He has even gone so far as sometimes to place touches of blue in his rosettes and on certain parts of the drapery. If we have been able only to reproduce in black the paintings in which blue makes its discreet appearance (Figs. 236, 237, 249), this is very clearly indicated in the colored transcripts made of these paintings.¹ In the cup of Arcesilas are traces of a greenish blue on the hat of the king, on the tunic of the inspector placed before him, on the tunics and caps of the two servants that pile the sacks at the bottom of the hold. Our draftsman has indicated some of these traces; but others have escaped him. This is because wherever these painters employed blue, they have used a color that has not held and has badly adhered to the clay.

Note 1. p. 566. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 190.

Note 1. p. 67. In our Fig. 237, the white parts of the rosettes on the chlamys of Hermes and on the himation of Maia represent a blue that tends to green. On the petals of the great rosettes of our Fig. 252 the same blue alternates with red from petal to petal. It is required in our engraving by crossed hatchings lighter than those corresponding to red.

On the other hand, our colored plates give a correct idea of the polychromy of Ionian vases (Pl. XIX), weakened by the use of the light glazes, it presents a tranquil harmony that has the charm for the eyes. The polychromy is still very quiet in the cup of Arcesilas, where the workman has employed the same coating (Pl. XX). In the absence of that it has more freedom without harshness on the vase of Eusiris (Pl. XXI), whose appearance recalls that of certain modern pottery.

Therefore the Ionians, perhaps by the effect of a sort of atavism, or even rather under the influence of the monumental painting in which they sought their models, had engaged Greek ceramics in a course not entirely that which this ceramics continued to follow, and in which it produced paintings that passed for its masterpieces. Ought we to regret that this art thus deviated from the path traced for it by its beginners? One dares not speak of regrets when he has beneath his eyes the beautiful Attic vases of the 5th century; but we do not owe less to the Ionian artists than to recall that in a certain sense, they perhaps had a more correct feeling than other Greek potters concerning the conditions to which must correspond the ceramics, that does not lose sight of the special nature of the material in which it works, and the use which must be made of the vases that it creates.

CHAPTER XXI. CORINTHIAN CERAMICS.

1. By what signs is recognized Corinthian ceramics.

In the course of our studies of Ionian ceramics we have had occasion to state that fragments of Corinthian vases have been collected in notable quantity in the cemeteries of Rhodes. They have been gathered there in greater number than the fragments of Attic vases. This predominance of the Corinthian article, as we should say, gives reason to think that export of Corinthian vases and their introduction into Rhodes must have commenced much before the first Attic vases with black figures came there.

The inference that can be derived from the result of the excavations is found to be otherwise confirmed by history. Athens in the 7th century was governed by the aristocracy of great landed proprietors, and remained almost foreign to the life and movement of the Greek world. It was entirely different with Corinth. Power was there in the hands of the chiefs of the family of the Bacchiades, and thus had the tastes and behavior that the historian will find in modern Europe among the nobles of Venice. Like them the Bacchiades were bold promoters of commercial and colonial enterprises. They placed in the sea ships which they armed for trade, and at need for racing. On the eastern and western coasts of the Adriatic, where the Corinthian merchants were engaged in forming relations with the Illyrian tribes and those of the coast of Italy, they founded agencies to open outlets for the industries of Corinth.

Among the industries that concurred in enriching very quickly the city of the isthmus, none was born earlier and developed more rapidly than that of ceramics. If there be one commodity that civilized people may always be certain to place with advantage among less advanced tribes, whose tools are still very imperfect, this is a convenient vessel of a pleasing appearance, vases well burned and with rather snowy decoration. The Corinthians could offer this very early to the patronage created on the coasts which they frequented. A tradition transmitted to us by Pliny attributes to the Corinthians the invention of the potter's wheel. It was certainly erroneous. There is already a mention of the wheel in the Homeric poems;² but in that history we must indeed give the second place to Corin-

Corinthian ceramics. This ceramics had only acquired some importance very much later, when after at least a century, the potters of Corinth were the recognized furnishers of all Greeks or barbarians, that had a taste for painted vases and who paid the price. This is attested by the excavations, wherever made in the basin of the Mediterranean.³ They evidence the activity that was very rapidly taken at Corinth by that industry and the export that it supplied.

Note 1.p.530. Pliny. H.N.VII, 57.

Note 2.p.570. Illiad. XVIII. 600.

Note 3.p.570. For a brief indication of the primeval sites on which have been found Corinthian vases, see Pottier. Catalogue. p.419-420. See Killisch. Die altcorinthische Thonindustrie. p. 108-109. 1892.

On the coasts of all the seas frequented by the Greek navy, from Gathage and Cyrene to the Tauric Chersonesus and the Hellenic cities of southern Scythia, from the shores of Asia Minor to those of Sicily and of Italy, as well as to the end of the Adriatic and even north of the Alps, at various points in Germany, this ceramics appeared, here in the form of scattered fragments, there as numerous and varied vases; but it is everywhere represented by fragments or by pieces well preserved. In the time of its greatest vogue, Attic pottery had perhaps obtained from its foreign purchasers higher prices because of its art value than Corinthian pottery; but it does not seem that even then it had been distributed in such great abundance in all the markets of the ancient world. By the quality of their products, the workshops of Athens held the first rank and occupied the place apart; but from the volume of clay shaped on the wheel and burned in those two industrial centres, the workshops of Corinth had no rivals.

When men commenced the work of classifying painted vases, the pottery of Corinth was the first to which could be given a regular civil status. It was known from the ancient authors that the arts of clay, like those of metal, had been one of the factors of the marvellous prosperity of Corinth. Its clay was praised for the facilities that had been offered to the workmen.¹ Roman colonists were sent to Corinth by Julius Caesar in 4. B. C. to restore the city destroyed by Mummius. They found it profitable to excavate the cemeteries to obtain the vases

of metal and of clay. Cicero scornfully called the latter the "Corinthian chamber pots;"² but their vogue was yet very great at Rome until the time of Augustus, and men there paid as dear for this pottery as for bronzes.³

Note 1.p.571. Pollux. X. 182.

Note 2.p.571. Cicero. Paradoxes of the Stoics. v.

Note 3.p.571. Strabo. VIII, 11, 23, Suetonius. Augustus.70.

Near Corinth have been found the beds of clay from which the artisans of that city formerly derived all their pottery. It is a clay soft to the touch and as if soapy. The local potters still use it to make common vases. On leaving their kilns, it has that slightly greenish tone of yellow that the material presents in the fracture, when one examines the fragments of antique vases that come from Corinth.

What will suffice to show the part which this clay industry played in the life of the Corinthian people, are the images that decorate those votive plaques found in the suburbs of Corinth, that we have already described.⁴ Several of them are offerings of potters represented there in various ways in the exercise of their trade. Here is one where are seen the quarrymen occupied in mining the bed of clay that served for making the vases (Fig. 280). One of them with his muscles strained for the effort attacks the clay with great blows of his pick; another is behind him and piles it in a basket. From the bottom of the trench, a third laborer lifts the filled basket to a companion, who takes it in his hands. Above the pit is the amphora, doubtless suspended from a bar; it contains water to refresh the men occupied in this hard labor in the sun. The work is no less severe for those who burn this clay. Now like the diggers, the men armed with a long poker stir the fire of a kiln for the pottery (Fig. 281).⁵ The kiln is covered by a dome and has three openings at base, a large one that serves for admitting air; at midheight is a smaller one, closed, and finally at top is the hole by which escapes the flame. On a plaque, more than half of which is lost, is seen the workman armed with a great hook on a bar of iron, who climbs a ladder placed against the dome of the kiln, from which escapes at the top the jet of fire and of smoke. The time fixed for the burning has arrived; he is going to demolish the structure by beg-

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beginning at this top (Fig. 282). Of all the operations comprised in this industry, scarcely one is not found represented here. Several plaques show us the potter seated on a stool before his wheel, who fashions with a roughing tool the little aryballa painted at bottom, placed on a wheel that he moves with his hand. In the corner are lumps of kneaded clay, and hanging above on the wall are two aryballas like that being finished by the workman. Thus we see the entire workshop (Fig. 283).¹

Note 4.p.571. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p.237-247; Figs. 99-113.

Note 5.p.571. See *Antike Denkmäler*. I, 1, 6a, 12, 22, 23.

Note 1.p.572. The same. Pl. XIII, 17, 18.

The vases themselves confirm the inferences that we have drawn from ancient evidence, of the existence of beads of plastic clay and of paintings presented by many votive tablets. On vases of which many have the same forms as those represented on those tablets are read brief legends. In a number are signatures of potters; but none of them has added the ethnic adjective to his name, some examples of which are elsewhere, nor the indication of the city where he was born and where he worked. On the other hand, all these inscriptions, that if placed end to end would give hundreds of words, are written with an alphabet known by the lapidary inscriptions and by the coins, and was the archaic alphabet of Corinth. This alphabet has three or four characters that especially belong to it, and that do not allow it to be confused with any other of the systems of writing used in Greece about the same time.¹ They are the epsilon, iota, beta, sigma, gamma and the digamma. (See p. 573 for the shapes). finally one meets everywhere the kappa that reappears at all times as the initial of the name of the city, on coins struck at Corinth. Among these inscriptions are some written in lines recurved at their ends to continue in the opposite direction, turning like the ox laboring in the field. (Eoustrophedon). The writing sometimes goes from right to left in the direction of Phoenician writing, and sometimes from left to right in the direction later taken by all Greek writing.

Note 1.p.573. On the Corinthian alphabet, see A. Kirchhoff. *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*. 3rd edit. Sect. 26. p. 88-97 and Pls. I, XV; Article Alphabetum by Fr.

Lenormant in Daremberg and Saglio. Vol. I, and table on p. 199.
 S. Reinach. *Traite d'epigraphie grecque*, table on p. 186-188.
 A. Dumont. *les ceramiques de la Grece propre*. Vol. I, p. 240-244.
 Willische. *die altkorinthische Thonindustrie*. 148-149; p. 168-174.

These peculiarities of the Corinthian alphabet have permitted the recognition of the Corinthian vases and the forming of a very definite series, when it was still in the uncertainty of the origin, that it was agreed to assign them to other important groups of painted vases. Doubtless, most vases that have been classed under this title bear no inscription, but the clay, forms and decoration are those of the vases with legends. The resemblance is sufficiently striking that nearly always one can without hesitation arrange these anepigraphic vases in the series of those where the letters are seen, whose presence in the legend is equivalent to a mark of fabrication.

2. The so-called Protocorinthian Vases.

Before commencing the study of those vases, whose attribution to the workshops of Corinth leaves no place for doubt, it is proper to mention a list of vases, that men have taken the habit of calling protocorinthian.¹ The use of this term might lead to unfortunate confusion; it is then important to explain in what sense it has been understood. It is only after having studied the whole of the vases to which it has been applied, that one will feel himself able to state in what fashion and with what reserves the historian can continue to make use of it.

Note 1. p. 574. Furtwängler seems to have been the first to use this term. (*Bronzefunde aus Olympia*. p. 46, 51. *Arch. Zeit.* 1883. p. 154).

If one takes the method of designating by this label the only vases which one would have serious reasons to regard as having left Corinthian workshops, there would be no material for discussion. but it is far from always being so. This term has been frequently applied to vases, whose clay is not that of Corinth.

A certain number of vases so named were even found at Corinth or in one of its principal colonies.¹ Between them and the uncontested products of Corinthian industry, there are real analogies of clay and fabrication. The two groups are connected to

together by pieces that seem to form the transition between them. On the other hand, there have been discovered in many other sites of European Greece and of the islands dependent on it, many vases that in form and decoration are nearly similar to those in which there is reason to see the first pottery, that issued from the kilns of Corinth.

Note 2.p.574. See the catalogues of the principal museums; but whatever the source of the pieces, what is significant is, that in many of them is recognized the clay of Corinth.

The vases grouped in this class still so badly defined present one common observation. They are all small vases, alabasters or aryballas, sometimes pyxes or boxes with covers, jugs with long or short necks, skyphoi or cups with two handles. The decoration is then very elementary and nearly always comprises only purely linear motives. At most there are seen to appear very conventionalized plant forms, such as the palm leaf or the isolated figures of birds or of other animals, that still show the stiffness of geometric design. Sometimes is found the old theme of the hunt of the hare. (Vignette at end of the Chapter). It even occurs that the hare is omitted. The initial motive is no longer reproduced except by the running dogs. These very reduced dimensions and this poverty of the ornamentation give to all this pottery a family air.

There have been found at Corinth itself some specimens of the vases in question. These vases are cylindrical flagons, where they have the form sometimes designated by the term "kotyliskos", sometimes by lecythe. This is truly merely a variety of the alabaster.¹ Here is an example (Fig. 284). On the side of this flagon is seen running a quadruped of entirely conventional design. As for the other pieces from the same source seen there, we know them only by brief descriptions. It would then be elsewhere at Syracuse in Sicily, that we shall seek what might be the Corinthian pottery of about the end of the 8th century. By excavations made on that system will supply us with documents much more varied than could be done by the cemeteries of the isthmus.¹ Those have been pillaged by the peasants of the vicinity and seekers for antiquities.²

Note 1.p.575. Collignon and Couve. Catalogue des vases peints du musée national d'Athènes. 1902. Atlas. Nos. 397-402, 404. Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium.

(Berlin). 1885. Nos. 320, 321, 325, 326, 333, 334.

Note 1.p.576. Mauceri. *Relazione sulla necropoli del Fusco in Siracusa* (Annalia.1887. p.37-53. Pls. A, B-E). P. Grisi. *Gli scavi nella necropoli di Fusco a Siracusa dell'anno 1893.* (Notizie degli scavi. April. 1895).

Note 2.p.576. On the few excavations made at Corinth in the course of the last century under better conditions, see Willisch. *Die altkorinthische Thon industrie.* 1892. p.3-4.

Syracuse was founded by the Corinthians in 735. During the half century that followed the establishment of the colony, that could not have had an independent art. It must have derived its equipment, either from the workshops of its metropolis or from workshops opened by Corinthian artisans in the new city. The cemetery called del Fusco at the gates of Syracuse has furnished tombs, that according to the entire furniture contained, announce themselves as those where were buried their dead of the first generations, that were installed in the island of Ortygia and commenced to profit by the advantages of one of the finest locations that could be desired for the growing city. We find in those tombs all the types to which have been applied the name of protocorinthian.

Here are first vases of this form that can be attached to the type of the alabaster, of which they have the mouth and swelled body (Fig. 285). Those four vases were collected in the same trench; three of them have only linear decoration. Near the neck of the fourth is the image of a fish. By its stiffness it recalls figures of the bird placed between bands and vertical lozenges on a little skyphos (Fig. 286). On another cup of less expanded form, the birds have a little more suppleness (Fig. 287); but with a singular negligence the painter has placed their heads downward. On a third skyphos are quadrupeds of unusual slenderness (Fig. 288). On the bottom of this cup is noted the crown of radiating triangles; this is one of the motives most frequently employed by the decorators of this pottery.¹ This same crown is found arranged in the opposite direction with the points of the triangles directed toward the ground on a sort of little jug. (Fig. 289).

Note 1.p.577. See a great cratera that served for the ossuary of several alabastiers. (Orst. Necropoli del Fusco. Figs. 12, 16, 18.

ornament recall the vases of the Dipylon; but neither at Athens nor in Ionia, is found so closely combined on the same piece all the motives that we have just mentioned. There is then reason to see in this vase the product of a workshop of the colony of Corinth, where to decorate the fields of his pottery, the artisan was inspired by various foreign models. The handles sometimes have the form given to them by neither the Attic nor the Ionian potters. (Fig. 293). This form is a sketch of what will be taken by these handles on a type that later will be familiar to Corinthian ceramists, that of the cratera with little columns. There have been found elsewhere in that cemetery many other remains of funerary urns. Is it probable that men would be compelled to bring from afar these heavy pieces, when there were at hand workmen skilful in modeling, decorating and firing plastic clay?

Note 1.p.580. Also at Corinth during a certain time were made vases, whose decoration was purely geometric. Fragments having this character have been found there in a very ancient cemetery quite near the fountain Pirene and described by Louise Nichols (Am. Jour. Arch. 1905. p. 411-421, Pls. XI-XVI). There are the remains of a great amphora, of several oenochoes and cups. That the brilliant black the brush has traced on a gray or reddish ground chevrons, oblique hatchings between vertical lines, circular bands, frets, etc. There have been found at Eleusis fragments of nearly similar pottery.

If one has a right to recognize very ancient works of Corinthian potters, to what workshops is it proper to attribute vases of the same kind, when neither their source nor what we know of the history of the cemeteries where they were collected authorize us to give them a Corinthian origin? These vases are not all made of the same clay, but they have the same dimensions as those taken as types; they present the same appearance. We cannot enumerate here all the sites that have furnished pieces that are termed protocorinthian, it will suffice to indicate those where this pottery has been most largely represented in the contribution of the excavations.¹ It abounds in Argolis that touches Corinth. It had been already mentioned at Tiryns;² but especially the American excavations of the Heraon of Argos brought from the earth the fragments of these vessels; by the aid of this could be restored many entire pieces, and

Note 2.p.577c The same. Fig. 10.

Another jug has for sole ornament merely the series of circular bands close together, whites and scattered dots (Fig. 290). The decoration is also simple on a round pyxis for unguents. (Fig. 291). On another pyxis, where on the exterior are admitted only the same elements, vertical and horizontal bands, chevrons and triangles, it is complicated on the cover by adding images of animals singularly extended and deformed; it is difficult to recognize the lions that the painter seems to have desired to represent.¹ In spite of the exaggerated elongation of the bodies, the outlines of racing dogs have been better seized by the decorator of the jug with a very wide body. (Fig. 292).

Note 1.p.578. Orst. Necropoli. Fig. 24.

All the vases just reproduced are of small dimensions and most of them must have served the uses of the toilette; but the workshops from which they came also made for other purposes pieces of much greater height, dinos or pithos that served as ossuaries. Such is the dinos in which were found two skeletons of infants.² The principal elements of the decoration there are those with which the vases of the geometric style have familiarized us. Between the two handles on each side is only one free field, a sort of metope. In one of the two panels walks a horse (Fig. 193), and in another on a broken pithos is a winged sphynx with legs folded beneath it (Fig. 294). The part of this panel is wanting, but the head is well preserved; it is surmounted by that appendage which the ceramist painters appear to have borrowed from their Mycenaean predecessors.¹ On the top of the head rises a plume, from which is detached a ribbon floating behind, and ending in a leaf of the form of a spear head. If above the horse the border is filled by triangles, the chevrons and triangles with opposed vertices found continually on the vases of the Dipylon, the same space over the sphynx is occupied by an ornament, that until now we have found only on Ionian pottery; we mean the network that imitates a thread with mesh fixed by a great knot.²

Note 2.p.578. Orst. Necropoli. Sep. D. Figs. 86, 87.

Note 1.p.589. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 4, Fig. 450.

Note 2.p.579. The same. p.381-382, Fig. 189.

On the other hand, the walking horse and the chessboard

from them could be drawn up the list of forms and that of the elements of the decoration. Yet this proof has not been accepted as evidence. Keeping there with such a great number of the types to which it had been the habit to attach the name of Corinth, may have claimed for the workshops of Argos the merit of having been the first to create them. It has been said that Corinth only imitated Argos, that since the Mycenaean age it always retained a flourishing ceramics, heir of the traditional secrets of the trade, and still always prompt to follow the movement, to issue new models.³

Note 1.p.581. H. Prinz (*Funde aus Naucratis*, p. 69-70) gives a list of sites where the so-called protocorinthian vases have been found in numbers.

Note 2.p.581. Schliemann. *Tirynthe*. Pl. xxv⁶.

Note 3.p.581. J. C. Hoppin. *Vases and their fragments in Argive Heraeum*. Vol. II, p.57-187. In Chapter IV (p.119-153) the author studies and figures the so-called protocorinthian vases and states the theory that was suggested to him.

We cannot believe that there is reason to stop with this hypothesis. Argos and Sicyon (it was also thought at Sicyon)⁴ certainly had potters that worked for the local sale; but neither historical statements nor excavations induce one to think that either of the two cities was the seat of an important ceramic industry, carried on with a view to export. There have not been found in number, either on the sites of these two cities, or in Italian cemeteries, vases on which are found in the legends characters peculiar to the Argive or the Sicyonian alphabets. There is no reason before a new order to speak of an Argive or a Sicyonian ceramics.

Note 4.p.581. Löschke. *Athen. Mitt.* 1897. p.262. Furtwängler. *Das Heiligtum von Aphaia*, p. 477. The reason given by Löschke and Furtwängler for attributing these vases to Sicyon do not merit being taken into serious consideration.

The island of Egina has also yielded many vases of this kind. There in 1895 near the site of the so-called Temple of Aphaia it was emptied a sort of well, heaped to the top with the fragments of clay vases. This must have been one of those pits, where from time to time to give place in the sanctuaries and around them, were buried the already ancient offerings that encumbered them; these deposits have preserved for archaeologists

precious finds.¹ In the heap of fragments taken from this well have been found all the types of pottery, that we have studied at Corinth and at Syracuse.²

Note 1.p.582. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 517.

Note 2.p.582. L. Pallat. Ein Vasenfund aus Aegina (Athen. Mitt. 1897. p.25-333, Pls. VII-VIII, sect c.).

In Attica the vases called protocorinthian are rare. There has been found one at Aleusis beside vases of the Dipylon.³ In the innumerable fragments of pottery brought to light in uncovering the Acropolis of Athens, representing ceramics preceding the second Median war, there have been collected but a very small number of fragments to list in this category.⁴ On the contrary, these fragments abound in Boeotia and notably at Orchomene; lecythnes, pyxis and skyphoi, all are there, but broken into small bits.⁵ Here is a very well preserved pyxis that came from Tanagra (Fig. 295).⁶ With geometric designs on the side and cover, the file of passing hinds and stags enclosed between the large rosette and a group of parallel lines, is an excellent specimen of the style that we seek to define.

Note 3.p.582. *Ephemeris*. 1889. p.177. Note 1.

Note 4.p.582. *Gräf in Jahrbuch*. 1893. Anzeiger. p. 17.

Note 5.p.582. De Ridder. Fouilles d'Orchomene (B.C.H.1895.p. 182-188).

Note 6.p.582. Vases aus Tanagra und verwandtes (Jahrb. 1887. p.18-23; Pl. II).

Outside of Hellas, vases of this kind have been collected in Sicily, at Megara Hyblea,¹ and in Etruscan cemeteries in Italy. The Louvre possesses many of them taken from the tombs of Caere.²

Note 1.p.583. P. Orsi and F.S.Cavallari. Megara Hyblea in *Mon. Antichi*, published by Acad. des Lincei. Vol. I, p.798-912, Figs. of interments, 12, 16, 21, 48, 105, 114, 127, 144, 154, 175, 177, 232, 303.

Note 2.p.583. Hall E, Nos. 1-333. Bottier. Vases antiques. Pl-39

The forms there present a sensible analogy to those that most frequently originate under the fingers of the Corinthian potters of the succeeding age. Here is an alabaster with pyriform body (Fig. 296). As the handle is a slight projection pierced by a hole through which could be passed a cord. For all decoration are radiating stripes around the neck, horizontal bands and great dots scattered in the fields between the bands. Here

is another with flat handle and pointed base; the same stripes on the shoulder. Between the bands that extend around the body is a nerringbone band (Fig. 297). A third alabaster has the appearance of a flask; on its surface are four black zones and four reserved light zones (Fig. 298). There may be cited an aryballa in the form of a human leg (Fig. 299). The leg is shod by a boot reaching the knee, which is indicated by the black painting with incised ornaments in the front at the location of the tongue and the lacing. There is felt the effort of merchants who endeavor to attract patrons by the oddity of the appearance that they give to the vessels in which their wares are placed.

It is known by the evidence of the excavations as by that of history, what the active commerce of Corinth maintained in the 7th and 6th centuries with the principal cities of Etruria; but this commerce must date farther back.¹ If in 735 the sailors of Corinth were sufficiently familiar with the coasts of Sicily to conduct bands of immigrants there, why did they then hesitate longer to pass the strait of Messina and to ascend to the Italian coast to the mouths of the Tiber and the Arno? We should then incline to regard as products of Corinthian manufacture the so-called protocorinthian vases, that have been found at Caere and in other Etruscan cemeteries.

Note 1. p. 584. In the so-called pit graves begin to appear in Etruria the protocorinthian vases; there are even found in small number Corinthian vases with oriental decoration. Now according to the entire observations based on the study of furniture, it would be in the 8th century that men began to dig those pit graves, and the practice of that mode of burial would be continued during the entire 7th century (J. Martha. *L'art étrusque*. p. 100-104).

The misfortune that there have not been executed at Corinth excavations similar to those of the Heraeum of Argos, which permit one to go back by each century in the past of the city until even its birth. Those undertaken there by the American School in recent years do not have this character. The most ancient monuments whose traces have been found are those of the Corinth of the Cypselides.² Thus there is nothing in the results of the excavations, that gives reason to think that Corinth took the initiative in this matter; but there is also

nothing that authorizes the historian to seek these origins elsewhere, to designate other workshops as the inventors of this style, as those that brought it in fashion, and which for a certain time had the monopoly of this manufacture. It is a different impression that brings us to Corinth, and that suggests the diversity of the sites where were collected vases of this sort, whether in the Hellenic peninsula or in the territory of the Greek colonies of Sicily and of Italy.

Note 2.p.584. See the numerous Articles treating of these excavations in Jour. Am. Inst. Archaeology. 1897-1900.

The style in question, that of the so-called protocorinthian vases, would be that attained by spontaneous evolution in all the workshops of European Greece and of its western colonies, when after the long reign of purely geometric design, the artist felt reborn in himself the desire to reintroduce in the decoration of all his works, images borrowed from the world of life, and this task was facilitated for him by the models that came to him from the Orient. This is a transition style. With the slight resources at his disposal, he prepares and announces at once this style with violet and white retouches, which will soon blossom at Corinth, and that of those vases with black figures, which will make the fortune of the potters of the ceramicos of Athens.

It does not then appear that in this change of taste, there was claimed a right of priority for the ceramists of Corinth. We should rather believe in the general effects of the tendencies manifested, almost in the same hour in various places in the entire extent of western Greece. Does this mean that it is necessary to condemn as entirely arbitrary the use of the word protocorinthian? We do not think so; it seems to us that this term was suggested to this inventor by the exact knowledge that he had of the monuments of this archaic industry. All vases qualified as protocorinthian are of small dimensions. Most of them have forms that allow to be divined the uses in view of which these forms have been given to them. These are vases for perfumes.

The round boxes called pyxis contained unguents. They were the pomade pots of antiquity. If one desires to know what they formerly contained, it suffices to note the arrangement presented by many of them; the cover has a flange descending quite

were large enough to play the part of toilet necessities; there are seen in paintings several flasks placed in a row (Fig. 300). The little jars could serve to sprinkle odorous waters at feasts on the hands and hair of the guests. As for the alabasters and the aryballas, if we did not have the ancient texts that show their purpose,¹ this would be revealed to us by the detail of their form. Around their mouths extends a wide flat plate.

That was placed on the skin; thus it prevented the liquid from spreading at random; it was reserved for the parts on the body where this anointing was to be made. In the paintings that represent scenes of the gymnasium or bath, these vases are seen suspended on the wall or on the branches of trees (Fig. 301). Not merely the skyphoi could be used for this service. They indeed have the form of vases for drinking. But in general they are very small to have been used for that purpose. One could have drunk very small quantities. Here is what causes it to be believed that they likewise belong to the list of vases for perfumes. In excavations of the Heraeum and mingled with the remains of pyxis and skyphoi, were found many more covers than boxes.¹ The explorers were struck by this fact; but they mentioned it without seeking to account for it. All is explained if one admits that these covers in great part belonged to vases, that had only the appearance of the box, and that like the alabasters and lecythes contained fragrant oils.

Note 1. p. 586. Waldstein. *Argive Heraeum*. II. p. 136-139.

During several centuries, Egypt and Phoenicia had supplied the Greeks with scented pastes and oils that they had learned not to do without, from the age whose customs are reflected in the epic poetry. Egypt had always loved the perfumes, that its industrious artisans composed with essences supplied by the rich flora of the valley of the Nile; they likewise employed various substances obtained from that Arabia from whence came incense and myrrh. Egyptian tombs furnish a profusion of vases of glazed clay or of glass, whose form is similar to those of alabasters, aryballas and pyxis; quite at first were these recognized as flasks for perfumes.² Nearly similar ones have been found in all cemeteries, where are found Phoenician wares near the dead. Those of Rhodes have supplied many. By dozens are they counted in the British Museum in the glass cases in which

are deposited the objects found by Salzmann at Camiros. Most of these vases must be of Phoenician origin. Phoenicians had early borrowed from Egypt the industries of glass and of faience with a colored glaze.¹ Tyrians and Sidonians doubtless did not fail to open in their bazaars shops, where were counterfeited Egyptian articles, the most famous perfumes made at Memphis or in the cities of the Delta.

Note 2.p.586. Louvre. Egyptian museum. Civil hall. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. I. p. 553. It is known from Pliny, that under the empire, Egypt and Phoenicia still produced perfumes sought in the entire Roman world (H.N.XIII, 2).

Note 1.p.587. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, p. 671-684, 732-750, Pls. V-IX; Figs. 484-532.

When after a century or two, the shocks of destruction succeeding the Dorian invasion had ended, when the islands and coasts of Asian and European Greece were occupied by a settled population of constantly increasing density, Phoenician merchants withdrew from this Aegean sea where they everywhere met the competition and hostility of the growing navies of Ephesus, Miletus and Phocaea, Chalcis and Corinth. They preferred to seek farther toward the shores of Africa and the West places where they had more freedom in their actions. On the other hand the Greek sailors did not voluntarily risk going south beyond Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete.² They would have feared to meet in the waters that washed Syria and Egypt too many enemies interested in closing their course. It was only in the 7th century that by the intimate relations formed with the Saite princes, that the Ionians again learned to follow the routes of their ancestors, the people of the sea, had formerly passed over in all directions, and turned the prows of their vessels toward the mouths of the Nile. It does not appear that even then the ships of Chalcis and of Corinth spread their sails to the winds that drove them in that direction. They steered to other distant shores by preference, those of the North and West, the coasts of Thrace and of Bithynia, Epirus, Italy and Sicily.

Note 2.p.587. Herodotus. IV. 151.

When the Phoenicians had ceased to be the recognized furnishers of the markets of Peloponessus and of central Greece, in those cities with ever increasing wealth, developing tastes and habits of luxury. On the other hand, the exercises of the

gymnasium occupied an increasingly greater place in the life of Greek society. It is known what ambitions were aroused, and what efforts were incited by the crowns distributed by the judges of those pannelonic competitions, the most celebrated of which were those of Olympia. In these conditions, perfumes of all kinds were in increasing demand. They were necessary for the toilets of both men and women, for festal halls and palestras, where they served to render flexible the members and to efface the traces of the bruises, dust and sweat. If there were no longer received from abroad in full cargoes of those oils and unguents, they had to make them in Greece itself. They possessed or could acclimatize there most of the plants whose leaves or flowers were utilized in the laboratories of the bazaars of the Orient. They could also borrow from the flora of the adjacent countries. The plains of Thrace perhaps then had those vast fields of roses from which is now obtained the essence, whose penetrating fragrance is so appreciated in Greece and Turkey.¹

Note 1. p. 588. Oil perfumed by roses is already mentioned by Homer (Iliad. XXIII. 186).

From the time when the so-called Mycenaean civilization flourished, the tribes established on the western shores of the Aegean sea had commenced to make for vases at least a part of the perfumes that they consumed. To store and transport this sort of liquids, their potters made vases that scarcely found use except in that industry. We mean those vases of very peculiar type, known under the name of false amphoras or stirrup amphoras.² This is what was supposed from the form itself of those strange vessels; but by a happy chance, men are assured that this conjecture was well founded. One of those vases came intact to the museum of Berlin, its single orifice was still hermetically sealed. This was opened and at once the very characteristic odor was diffused in the entire room.³

Note 2. p. 588. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VI, pp. 915-916; Plgs. 467, 493.

Note 3. p. 588. Furtwängler. In Jahrb. 1891. Anz. p. 158

The false amphora disappeared with the Mycenaean civilization. This form had its advantages but also its inconveniences, The narrow lateral mouth was easily closed by a ball of clay and tended to pour the precious liquid in drops; but this must be

a very slow operation and delicate only to introduce it into the ampura. When this industry of perfumes was revived in the new Greece, men preferred to adopt other types, even those that Egypt and Phoenicia employed for that purpose. They were more convenient to handle, both for the dealer that had to fill the vases and the patron who used them. By the examples of these which we have given, one can judge of the variety that the ingenious mind of the Greek potters knew how to put in the forms of these vases.

We believe that Corinth then took the chief part in determining and distributing these types. Corinth had decided the entirety and choice of the forms of decoration applied by the brush of the master ceracist. To justify this conjecture, it is true that one cannot avail himself of proofs like those which boast of the superiority, that the artisans of Corinth had acquired in both the industry of clay and that of bronze. We learn only from Pliny that the perfume of the iris made by Corinth was long sought by all;¹ but the monuments can here supplement the silence of the texts. By hundreds are they grouped in the glass cases of the museums, vases certainly of Corinthian origin, found either in the tombs of Rhodes or especially in those of Etruria. In most of these vases are they recognized by their shape as perfume vases.² Among the vases of the same time that came from other workshops, such as those of Ionia, Beotia and Attica, one is very far from meeting in the same quantity with vases that appear to have had the same purpose. Is not this difference significant, and is there not reason to deduce from it that Corinth practised with a success attested to us by the distribution of these vases, the industry which then had in no other city of Greece either the same activity or the same importance?

Note 1. p. 589. Pliny. H.N. XIII, 2 (Latin).

Note 2. p. 589. E. Pottier. Vases antiques. Pls. 14-18, 40-43.

That about this time this industry should be able to scatter thus on all the shores of the Mediterranean the flasks known to contain its products, it was necessary that behind it should be a very long past. We shall reach this past if we ascend to it with the vases termed protocorinthian. These vases have the same forms as those of the succeeding age; but the decoration is much simpler, and they do not again present the incised lines

nor polychromy. Then what was represented by the very beginnings of a special ceramics, produced by the requirements of a prosperous industry; they would be the oldest works of shops in which the wheel and kiln of the potters would be placed at the orders of the Jean Maria Farina of ancient Greece.

The industry of perfumes is one of those in which is most necessary a knowledge of recipes often very complex, one of those in which skill of the hand plays the greatest part. Various indications give reason to think that the Corinthians owed to special circumstances the great advantage of collecting in place the secrets of the trade, their artisans possessing them by hereditary tradition. Whether Corinth was a Phoenician colony at the origin is affirmed by no text, and the Greeks seem to have retained no memory of this; but even the name of the city seems to have come from the Phoenician *Garth* or *Gurriath*, a fortress. There was in the territory of Corinth a height known under the name of Mt. Phoenician.¹

Note 1.p.590. According to Ephores in his XI th Book, in Stephen of Byzantium. Otherwise it is not known where was situated in Corinth this Phoenician mountain, and it has even been asked whether it is not proper to understand by this the hill crowned by a forest of palms.

Several Phoenician cults were sufficiently planted in these places to have persisted till the last days of paganism. There was on Acrocorinth the cult of the sun (Baal Samin), on the isthmus that of Melicerte (Melk-Garth), and in the city itself as on the Acropolis that of Aphrodite (Asntoreth), with the entirely oriental rite of sacred prostitution. At Corinth was adopted the Phoenician Athena.²

Note 2.p.590. Tzetzes at Lycophronem, verse 858. On these traces which the Phoenicians left at Corinth in the cults and myths, see Willisch. Die Sagen von Korinth in ihrer geschichtlichen Bedeutung. (Fleckeisens Jahrbuch. p.721-746u. This is further very lengthy and very confused.

It is then probable that perhaps when the Achaean kings reigned at Mycenae and Tiryns, there was a Phoenician agency, where Syrian workmen had just established themselves within reach of their patrons, and taking into account their tastes, to make articles for which they were certain to find a place among the coastal inhabitants of the two great gulfs on which Corinth

looked. When the invaders occupied the Peloponessus, it was all profit for them to find in a centre like Corinth, an industrious people that by its skill in technics could supplement the insufficient equipment brought with them; they had every interest to treat kindly these artisans and merchants, who worked for their benefit. Treated favorably, most of them must prefer to remain in this country in which they gained a liberal living, than to exile themselves to regain their distant country. Thus they remained in their workshops and agencies. They learned the language of the conquerors that married the beautiful Syrian girls with great black eyes, and at length were lost in their ranks; but it was not without that this foreign element had exerted a profound influence on the aptitudes characterizing Corinthian people, this hybrid people that contributed to train many immigrants coming from all parts of the Greek world to seek fortune in this crossing of land and sea routes, under protection of the impregnable citadel. The first inhabitants of this privileged site, the men of Semitic race initiated the newcomers in the practice of those oriental religions, which owed their prestige to their origin and high antiquity. Trained to the exercise of all manual arts, they easily found in this multitude apprentices who soon rivaled the skill of their masters. Into all their fellow citizens and even the chiefs that governed them, they infused the taste for labor and commerce. The original character of the customs of Corinth and its historical role is explained only by this hypothesis of a strong afflux of foreign blood. Corinth was Dorian only by dialect and name; it was not really a Greek city, whose life and entire appearance did not present in the least degree the traits by which is usually defined what it is agreed to call Dorian genius.

Even before the Dorians came, the makers of perfumes of the Phoenician agency had perhaps already acquired the habit of substituting vases of clay for those of glass or of glazed faience, to contain their products; these were employed in Greece for all uses of domestic life. In every way in the Hellenized Corinth, which is the only one that we can reach, clay was the sole material used by these workers for this purpose; but they understood that the better their wares were presented, the better would they sell. They desired the flasks containing them should have a good appearance; thus they gave them a decoration

with motives borrowed from that reigning in all western Greece.

The success of this business was rapid and brilliant; this is evidenced by those vases found in such numbers in Rhodian cemeteries as well as in those of Sicily and Etruria; but this success even produced competition. In Argolis, Egina, Attica and Boeotia, men must equip themselves not to allow Corinth the monopoly of an industry corresponding to needs felt everywhere, and could count on fine profits. In more than one city, men attempted to make the pastes and fragrant oils that were placed in vases, which reproduced the forms and ornamentation of those that the merchants of Corinth had made the fashion. Antiquity never had laws against counterfeiting.

We have said how were represented the effects of one of those phenomena produced in the economic life of Greek society, when about the 9th and 8th centuries it was established and constituted within the lines in which operated its historical development. We should know nothing of this industry of perfumes, that has appeared as one of the industries which have contributed most to the marvellous flight taken by the fortune of Corinth under the Bacchiades, unless by the thousands of clay fragments we were not permitted to divine from them the importance. These fragments of broken vases seem to us sufficient to render very probable the hypothesis that we have stated. If it be desired to accept it, there will be found justified in a certain measure, the term that has caused the objections, apparently well founded.¹ Protocorinthian may be termed of those vases, even those in which is not a particle of Corinthian clay, in the sense that they repeat or recall more or less nearly the types, introduced by the earliest potters of Corinth and brought into fashion by its commerce.

Note 1. p. 592. For these objections, see Couve. *Un Vaseythe du musee du Louvre.* (Rev. arch. 1898¹ p. 223-230) and De Ridder. (B.C.H. 189. . p. 182. Note 1.

There remains only one more question to discuss; what date is it proper to assign to the vases of this sort, made at Corinth itself or overseas by Corinthian workmen, were copied or imitated in other centres of production?

Planted and acclimated at Corinth by Phoenician colonists, the industry of perfumes must be one of the first that furnish-

furnished freight for all that commercial fleet, that was so quickly emboldened for long voyages. This industry had perhaps commenced from the beginning of the 8th century to kindle the ovens, which burned for it the vases filled with its products, and by the finds in the cemetery of Syracuse we know, that about the end of the century these vases belonged to the list of vases termed protocorinthian. On the other hand, in the tombs that the most careful explorers of Etruscan cemeteries believe can be attributed to the last years of the 7th and the first years of the 6th centuries, one scarcely finds vases with incisions and white or violet retouches, those called recent Corinthian vases.¹

Note 1. p. 593. Gsell. Fouilles dans la necropole de Vulci. 1890. p. 480-494, 526-527; Pl. II.

Then it would be in the first half of the 7th century that the potters of Corinth felt a desire to vary and renew the style of their decoration, that they gave to it characteristics by which was defined the ceramics properly Corinthian, which very clearly marked traits permitted one to distinguish at first sight from the ceramics of Ionia and of Attica.

3. Corinthian Pottery with Plant and Zoomorphic Decoration.

At Corinth as elsewhere in all Greece, the hour came when artisans and their patrons began to be tired of the monotonous repetitions of the purely linear style; but this was not on a certain day, that in the workshops the ancient abstract and cold style of the Dorian age gave place to the new style, that had the ambition to restore the living form to its rights.² One would find more than one vase to cite here that represents this transition, this passage from one style to another. Notably in this category are placed those having for entire decoration several rows of imbricated scales (Fig. 302). These scales are those that cover the body of the fish and that of the serpent.

Note 2. p. 593. To fix the time when ceased the manufacture of protocorinthian vases, it has been desired to seek the indication in the fact that scarcely any trace of them has been found among the fragments which strew the soil of Naucratis and of Daphnæ in Egypt. (Dr. Petrie. Naucratis. Part I, p. 5, 48-49; II p. 43, 50, Tanis. Part II, p. 61-71); but this statement does

not seem to me to justify the conclusions derived from it. These Ionian colonies, founded in the 7th century, had a flourishing life during the entire course of the 6th century; there are found in but small number the fragments of those Corinthian vases with violet retouches, and about the same time were imported into Rhodes and Etruria. What proves this absence or rarity of the products of Corinthian manufacture, is that there was little or no commerce between Corinth and the Greek cities of the Delta; they obtained from the bazaars of Lower Egypt the perfumes which they purchased. H. Pruntz (Kunde, p. 68-70) however mentions the existence at Naukratis of some fragments of a pottery closely resembling the protocorinthian vases. These are especially the remains of skyphoi without lip and with horizontal handles.

In the adoption of this motive is the memory of nature, the recall of two principal types of the animal realm; but the contours of these scales was treated by the compasses; this is then again geometric decoration. Yet the advance is sensible. For the execution of his decoration, the artisan here disposed of a resource which he had lacked before. He resolutely uses the process of incision as well as that of white and red.

The use of the incision dates far back, even to the prehistoric age. We have given some specimens of the very rude pottery, whose fragments were gathered at Hissarlik in the Troad, on the rock itself among the ruins of ancient habitations.¹ The workman that fashioned it with the hand did not desire it to be deprived of all ornament. With a sharpened point of a bone or of a stick, he undertook to incise in the damp clay some rudimentary designs, parallel lines, circles enclosing a point, vertical and horizontal lines traced by a hesitating finger. Since then men never ceased to resort to that expedient for giving a semblance of ornament to the rustic and monochrome pottery, that for many centuries after the invention of the wheel, they continued to make for the household and the kitchen; but since they had learned to place the colors on the clay, for all pottery with more or less the character of an object of luxury, the brush alone traced the contours and also indicated the details of the ornament or figures, the novelty for which the honor is given to Corinthian potters was to call the point to the aid of the brush, to accent with decision in the

interiors of the silhouettes the attachments of the motive, the folds and play of the drapery, the projection of the muscles that move the members.

Note 1.p.594, *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, Pigs. 444, 445.

In the part taken there by the ceramists of Corinth, what is to be seen is not the imitation of ordinary procedures in the fabrication of a very common pottery destined for the most ordinary uses of domestic life, that could come from the same potteries as the painted vases; it is rather a borrowing made from the trade of the workman who wrought and chased metal. By the evindence of the ancient authors as by that of the monuments is known what an important part this trade played in the movement of Corinthian industry. All antiquity praised the bronze of Corinth and the qualities produced by the wise proportions of the different materials composing it. Now when this refers either to the statues cast in the ground or a relief executed in repousse, whatever little care that the artist devotes to his work, he never fails to retouch it with the graver. The bite of the tool gives it the refinement that could be given neither by the mould nor the hammer.-

Note 1.p.595. We shall have occasion to return to the Corinthian history of metal and to cite the texts.

With some hesitation at first the ceramist appropriated this method of design. On the most ancient vases on which the point intervened, it was only to accent the lines of the motives of ornament. The point was emboldened only by degrees to lend its aid to the brush. On certain vases, incised lines appear in the purely ornamental part of the decoration, while there is no trace of it in the figures, that occupy the place of honor on the body or around the neck (Fig. 303).

The potter had no reason to adhere to this mean term. The procedure offered him too many advantages, that he did not very quickly come to make its use more general. It required more reflection and calculation to reserve blanks in the image while the brush ran over the field, than to incise with the graver the color already fixed by the fire. More expeditious, the graver gave equal precision. Appearing where the tool scratched, the painting, the natural tone of the clay frankly outlined the form. After having made in the trace of the ornament a trial of the new method, the artist then hastened to apply it to the

figures, at first in the files of marching animals comprising by themselves alone the decoration on an entire series of pieces (Fig. 304), then in all those scenes either borrowed from real life (Fig. 305), or from the myths made popular by the epic poetry, that the Corinthian painter has represented on vases of great dimensions.

Another change occurs when they cease to make the vases which we have called protocorinthian. In those succeeding them, it is not only by complicating and varying the motives, that they labor to increase the decoration. Also for this purpose are used the resources of color. On the black which fills the entire field of the image, whether an ornament or a figure, are laid touches of violet and sometimes of white (Pl. XXII); also the white is sometimes laid directly on the clay. Thus is obtained a polychromy that does not lack richness of effect; Yet it has not the gayety of that of the most careful Rhodian vases. In the tones of the grounds are distinguished two varieties, red and orange yellow. The yellow ground dominates on plates, boxes, alabasters, aryballas, cenchroes, cups and slender amphoras. This is found on the most ancient products of this manufacture; but then both technics are employed at the same time in the workshop. Red is doubtless obtained by the mixture of coloring matter with clay, which the painter uses by preference for those vases on which he places complex paintings, for great hydrias and amphoras with great bodies. Yet all the same, the tint of the bare clay is far from availing as the ground of the painting, and is covered by the beautiful creamy tint, which Ionian potters extended on their clay; it does not give such a happy harmony.

The favor enjoyed at Corinth by the process of incision among ceramists has seemed to us to be explained by examples given by those skilful artisans, who worked in metal in the same city. In this taste for polychromy that Corinthian ceramics manifests more and more as it develops its technics, we incline to see the effect of the prestige and of the suggestions of another industry of luxury, which then made the fortune of that enterprising and industrious city, an industry that like that of perfumes dated back in its origin to the Phoenician agency, of which Greek Corinth was the heir and continuer. We mean the industry of the weaver and embroiderer.

The poet Antiphanes, cited by Athenaeus, recalls that each city had its specialty, as we should say. He says that "men demand their cooks from Elis, caldrons from Argos, wine from Paliunthe, its tapestries from Corinth, fish from Sicyon, flute-players from Aegion, cheese from Sicily, perfumes from Athens and eels from the Boeotians."¹ This brief mention does not inform us concerning the mode of execution of the pieces whose vogue it attests. Stroma is any tissue that by its dimensions, softness and richness of its decoration, is suited to serve as a portiere, cover ground, walls or beds. They also praised the light linen fabrics made in the workshops of Corinth and exported even into Ionia. There these were made long tunics with multiple and fine folds, that "we see on statues and vases, enclosing the bodies and members of women. There were tints of purple, others of violet and yet others of blue; some had the color of fire or that of the sea. They were called calasiris,¹ a name borrowed from Egypt. Elsewhere the courtesan Glycera receives a gift from her lover, "Corinthian blouse, entirely new and with sleeves descending to the elbow."²

Note 1.p.597. Athenaeus. I. 27 D.

Note 1.p.598. Democritus in Athenaeus. XII, p. 582.

Note 2.p.598. Machon in Athenaeus. XIII, p. 58 .

We have already had occasion to recall that the Homeric epic admired and praised the women of Sidon and Tyre. There is often mention of those Syrian slaves, much appreciated by their masters, who knew "beautiful works."³ In those works must have been employed the women of the Phoenician colonists of Corinth, like the foreign servants of Hecuba, Helen and Penelope. While their husbands labored and sold in the bazaar, they at home arranged a warp for a high filling and threw the shuttle or embroidered with colored threads on fabrics of linen or wool. They must also have had pupils there. These were well initiated in all the refinements of the shuttle and needle, as in the recipes of the dyer, who prepares the threads used by the weavers and embroiderers. The motives that grew under the nimble fingers of the Phoenician workwomen were rosettes, palmations, and lotus flowers; "the fanciful animals of all sorts that the barbarians embroidered on the fabrics;"⁴ there were figures of the gods and demons of the local religion. The tradition of the designs by which were decorated the rugs and state vestments

were transmitted by practice from mother to daughter; then were also preserved by the patrons belonging to certain workshops. Instructed in this school, Greek workwomen must comply in reproducing the designs that they had been taught to trace by the mistresses from whom they had received lessons. The style they prevailing in all European Greece was that brought with them from the valley of the Danube by the Dorian tribes. In spite of the trouble taken to diversify its combinations of lines and points, this style had nothing that could be compared for the variety of the forms and for the images aroused in the mind of the spectator, to the types of the repertory created by the Phoenician ornamentist, the heir and ingenious disciple of the artists of Egypt and Chaldea.

Note 3.p.598. *Odyssey*. XV, 417; *Iliad*. VI, 289. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III, p. 876-878.

Note 4.p.598. *Philostratos*. *Images*. II, 31.

From the beginning the works of this kind executed in the Hellenized Corinth of the Bacchiades, like Ionia must be impressed by a very marked tinge of exoticism. Men thus found themselves better prepared there than elsewhere in Europe to suffer the influence of the arts of the Orient. To respond to the desire of renewal and extension of taste manifested about the 8th century in the entire extent of the Greek world, there was less effort to be made by the Corinthians than in other cities, for example at Sparta or Athens. There was in that Venice of antiquity governed by an aristocracy of merchants, a display of magnificence then found nowhere else to the same degree in European Greece. Besides, it was not alone their native industry, that was demanded the splendid equipment of all this luxury. To satisfy the tastes and needs born from the progress of wealth, facilities due to maritime commerce, they purchased in the ports of Asia and imported into Corinth the rugs of Babylonia and the marvels created by the needles of Chaldean women embroiderers.

By all that comes to us today from the Orient, By the silks of China and Japan, by the shawls, muclins and painted linens of India and Persia, by the embroidered fabrics and the rugs of Khorasan and of Asian Turkey, we can form an idea of what were the splendor and variety of tones in the fabrics everywhere presented to the eyes of the Corinthian potter. These

were tapestries hung on the walls in houses of the nobles, the woolen mantles on which the ornament retained the capricious elegance in its crowded richness, the veils of linen on which conventionalized flowers and fruits rose in vivid and warm tints from the whiteness of the ground. Were objects better suited to arouse to emulation the ceramist painter, to incite him to cover his clay with decoration into which something had passed of the beauties that were admired in those draperies? Thus he found himself led to lavish in his decoration those touches of violet that recalled the vats of purple in which the dyer steeped his fabrics, and that he took pleasure in tempering the severity of his reds and blacks by the clearness of his whites.

Further, these were not all counsels given to the ceramist painter by those masterpieces of textile industries. They furnished him with other elements, that had no lesser part in the formation of his style. Particularly from them, he derived the motives by which were again introduced into his repertory types, that had long been banished from it, those characterized by the two great realms of the organic world. If the artist was then very sincere in the desire that he experienced to return to nature, he did not yet know how to inspire himself directly by it, to offer a personal interpretation of it. The plant and animal reappeared on his vases, but they only showed themselves conventionalized, to use a word now very much in vogue, i.e., presented in arrangements that modified the true form, sometimes abridging and summarizing it, sometimes overloading it by adding traits not in the original. From the plant is sometimes detached the leaf, sometimes the flower or the fruit. As for species of animals, if some are represented naturally, they are immovable in the unique attitude, that by itself places them outside life. This is not all; these bodies of men, quadrupeds and birds, the artist decomposes and recomposes according to his caprice. Thus he multiplies hybrid beings, where he unites in the imaginary whole, forms which coexist nowhere in the real world.

The Corinthian ceramist is not otherwise the inventor of the conventional arrangements and factitious types, which supply him with the materials of his decoration. One cannot hesitate as to the source of the motives that we shall meet here.

Until the time when the artist has reached the end of his apprenticeship, and finally takes the mode of seeking in the national myths the themes of his paintings, the motives that he employs will all bear more or less clearly marked, the impression of what is termed the oriental style. At first sight, one will recognize there, those passed under the eyes of the Greeks in this age of commercial expansion by the objects of luxury supplied to them by the industries of the old civilizations of Africa and of Asia. On certain Ionian pottery, such as the cups and round plates, the arrangement of the ornament seems to us imitated from that of the ornamented metal cups that the Phoenicians excelled in making, while we rather seek in the tapestries the principle of the decoration of the Cenochoes. It is especially by these tapestries, rugs woven by the trade or fabrics embroidered with the needle, that seem to have inspired the Corinthian ceramist during the entire primary period of his efforts. There he took the taste and the feeling for color; there also he derived the elements represented in his decoration.

This feeling for color explained by the imitation of many-colored fabrics, we see already manifested on the vases decorated by incised scales (Fig. 302). These are there detached in violet on a white network. There are violet, black and white on the neck of another aryballa as in the stripes that radiate around the foot (Fig. 303). There is again divined the habits of more or less literal transcriptions, on other vases that must date at nearly the same time, but where the plant has supplied nearly all the means of ornamentation. Such are those of the alabasters and the aryballas on which around the body extend garlands of lotus flowers or buds. They have not the elegance and freedom that we have mentioned in Ionia, in the placing of the same motive.¹ Here the forms are heavy and restricted (Fig. 306); the copyist tries, but his hand is timid and awkward. He has succeeded better in tracing those large palmations, one of which suffices to fit the swelled body of the aryballa (Fig. 307) or the interior of a plate (Fig. 308). As much can be said of the great alabaster with pyriform body, that like the plate was found at Rhodes (Fig. 309). The entire body is occupied by an ample floral motive, composed of the rosette with black and red petals, surrounded by a broad black circle from which radiate

four enormous expanded red lotus flowers. The dotted white line laid on the outlines of the petals enhances the effect of the color. We cannot further admit that these two last vases are contemporaneous with those in which we have seen the first attempts of this style. Even when the painter was accustomed to lavish the figure everywhere, one must not forbid the Corinthian workshops to resort to the motives of the ancient repertory for the decoration of many pieces; but what distinguishes these archaizing vases from those preceding them was the superiority of the execution. For example, there is the wise harmony of the tones and the very firm work of incision. Nowhere has the ornamentist been better inspired than in the trace of the great floral motive developed beneath each handle of the hydria, on which is represented the departure of Hector (*Houvre. Hall E, 642*). This is a white palmatium between two white lotus buds. Above are two volutes of the same color (*Fig. 3.0*). The whole has a true elegance.

Note 1. p. 601. *Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 461-462*).

Beside these garlands and palmatiums, the painter scatters in profusion on vases on which plant decoration dominates, rosettes of a design more or less complicated. On the most careful, the central part is red. Around it radiate black petals, sometimes dotted with white at their ends. There is also seen appear, either in the field and in the borders the chessboard, triangles and lozenges, the fylfot and fringe.¹ It has been desired to see there a memory of Mycenaean ornamentation. Without denying the possibility of that transmission, we observe that these motives are nearly all found either on Phoenician metal cups² or on those Assyrian tapestries known to us by the alabaster reliefs.³ On these fabrics as well as on the cups of bronze or silver are everywhere rosettes as if scattered from full hands. Then it is unnecessary to seek elsewhere than in the creations of oriental industry the source of all the elements of the style in question, of its principal motives and their sporadic complements.

Note 1. p. 603. *Pottier. Catalogue. p. 431.*

Note 2. p. 603. *Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III, Figs. 547, 548, 552.*

Note 3. p. 603. *The same. Vol. II, Figs. 443-448.*

The motive of the hunt of the hare, so often represented on

the archaic vases from various workshops, as according to Hesiod it was on the shield of Hercules,⁴ perhaps itself at this origin. On the bronze cup found at Nimroud and decorated by concentric circles, one of these circles is filled by dogs racing.⁵ In the border of another of these basins, hares and dogs alternate.⁶ What caused the choice of this motive by the oriental ornamentist, what explains the alacrity with which the Greek ornamentist adopted it and the persistence shown in repeating it for more than a century, is the form, presented by the bodies of the hare and dog, stretched out in length for the race.⁷ In this respect these animals are better suited than the stag or deer higher on their legs and crowned by slender bushes, for filling the field of one of those very low bands that the ornamentists love to place either on the shoulder or near the foot of their vases (Fig. 303).

Note 4.p.603. Hesiod. Shield, verses 302 to 304.

Note 5.p.603. Layard. Second series of monuments of Nineveh. Pl. 61.

Note 6.p.603. The same. Pl. 64.

Note 7.p.603. On the hunt of the hare, its origins and the different forms that it has taken in the ornamentation of Greek vases, see Löschke. Dreifussvase aus Tanagra. (Arch. Zeits. 1881. p. 30-52, Plaz 3, 4, 5).

From the time when the artist again began to be interested in the world of life, he could not long restrict himself to represent only the plant. Already significant symptoms are the frequent appearance of the dog and hare in the fields of these vases, where the different parts of the plant have furnished the material for all the rest of the decoration. The figure of the animal then does not delay to be inserted in those motives derived from the leaf and the flower. He gradually reduces them to the role of accessories. Like them being modeled by the lines traced by the point of the graver, he occupies the better part of the field. This is the triumph of what could be termed zoomorphic decoration. The painter then causes to march on the bodies of vases every sort of real animals. (Birds, fishes, ibexes, stags, bulls, rams, wild boars, lions and lionesses, or chimerical animals, sphynxes, griffins, sirens, etc.).

On certain vases, alabasters or aryballas of small dimensions,

On certain vases, alabasters or aryballas of small dimensions, the entire disposable surface is occupied by a theme of this kind. Here is an aryballa on which are represented two dolphins facing each other and lowering their heads (Fig. 311). Here is an alabaster on which is seen the swan at rest between two rearing lions with tails symmetrically interlaced on the reverse. (Fig. 312). Elsewhere is a sort of cup of the type sometimes termed *cothon*. On the shoulder and between the three handles are pairs of sways facing each other (Fig. 313). The form of decoration is elegant. The arrangement is more original on a plate, where the entire field is filled by the figure of a lion. Resting on the border by his rear as if in a cage, his forepaws are placed on the same border. His elevated tail aids in filling the free space. Under the belly of the wild beast is a great lotus flower (Fig. 314).¹

Note 1.p.805. Benndorf (*Griechische und Sikilische Vasenbilder*, p. 25 and Pl. VI) attests the Corinthian origin. Two holes pierced near the top of the plate seem to indicate that it had a votive purpose.

There is sometimes found combined with this decoration inspired by oriental tapestries, a motive that seems to have a different origin. This is furnished by cephalopod mollusks, which the Mycenaean artist pleased himself by representing.¹ The curves described by the long and flexible tentacles of these marine animals seemed to the Corinthian potters adapted to fill the fields of their pottery. The octopus is seen on an aryballa discovered at Rhodes (Fig. 315) and on a cratera that came from Etruria (Fig. 316). The image of the mollusk does not have here the same character of truth as on the monuments of the earlier art. The artist could not have referred to the original; he was perhaps inspired by some intaglio or some Mycenaean jewel, that had escaped the wreck of that distant past. Horizontal lines traced by the point in the field perhaps represent the calm sea in which was evolved the octopus.

Note 1.p.808. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.VI, p. 922-923.

When Corinthian manufacture produced the vases just described, it was already in full and rapid progress. The potter applied himself to revising and perfecting his forms. If the *Oenochoe* remains a little heavy (Fig. 317), the *pyxis* gains in height

and is often ornamented by female heads modeled in the round. (Fig. 318). The cothon, the cup like a deep plate, the little amphora and the little dinos, make a little variety in the show pieces of the ceramist. The aryballa becomes longer and the alabaster also; thus to decorate it, the painter adopts this division into superposed bands, which we know from Rhodian oenocnoes. (Fig. 304).

Soon between these bands of animals are seen to appear the human figure, slipping in as if hiding. Thus on the aryballa, on the upper band are riders racing, on the lower one being a file of geese (Fig. 319). Such is also the case for a great oenocnoe with open mouth and the handle occupied by two rounds. (Fig. 320). The surface of the body is divided in four zones limited by bands composed of red, white and black fillets. First zone; great female bust turned to right. The hair is circled by a diadem and falls in a mass on the shoulders. The chest is covered by an ample peplos. This bust is placed between two lions, each followed by a swan. Second zone: two women standing, facing each other and extending their hands. Seventeen other women with profiles turned to right and with interlaced hands, forming a continuous chain with the two first. They have their hair hanging on the back; their clothing is the long tunic, sometimes monochrome and sometimes ornamented by wide black bands. Here is recognized the representation of the chorus, that religious dance figured on the shield of Achilles, that we have already found more than once on the monuments of sculpture as well as on those of painting.¹ Third zone; a siren in the form of a bird with a woman's head between two lions; a bull and two other lions; a passing stag and a mule. Fourth zone; Three lions separate the passing mule, a goat, a swan and a ram.

Note 1. p. 608. Homer. *Iliad*. XVIII. 590-608. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. Figs 399; VII. Figs 59, 77, 86. This representation of the chorus is again found on a Corinthian pyxis discovered at Gela. Winged horses are there mixed with female dancers. (P. Orsi. Gela. *Scavi del 1900-1905*, 1906. Fig. 56).

By its exceptional height as by the entire character of this decoration, this vase seems to be one of the most careful works that came from Corinthian workshops at the time, when flourished the style that we seek to define. One notes the wise economy

of the composition. If the real or factitious animals occupy a larger part of the field than the human figure, it is because this is most in view. The two upper ones are reserved for it. On what might be termed the front of the vase, the side opposite the handle, the painter has placed this bust of a woman, which by its much larger proportions than the animals between which it is placed, and arouses the idea of a colossal statue, perhaps of a statue of a goddess. Lower, the chorus presents a view of one of those rhythmic rings, which were a favorite amusement of Greek women on festal days. Their tradition has been retained through the centuries even in the popular dances of modern Greece. In the third band it is again the beauty of woman that is recalled by the head and long hair of the siren; but if around and above her, there are only animals, the painter has endeavored to place there, either by the choice of the species figured, or by the attitudes given to them, a variety not often found in those files of beasts on the march. Besides beasts of prey is the stag; there are domestic animals, such as the bull, ram and mule. The contrast is marked between the ferocious air of the roaring lions and the more placid appearance of the lionesses, between the elevated pace of the great felines bearing their heads high and the movement of the herbivora toward the earth where they seek their pasturage. Some care is manifested in the work that the decorator has imposed on himself to fill as richly as possible the fields of his bands. Nowhere has he distributed in greater number than here the secondary motives, such as rosettes, leaves of all forms, hooks and points. Yet his brush is more discreet when in the course of this work, he has to fill the second zone. He has left more free space. He is satisfied to place two rosettes between each pair. He understood that his silhouettes of women would have more value and be better detached from the ground, if they were less encumbered.

On other vases corresponding to the same phase of the art, the human figure insinuates itself in the same fashion into the midst of these processions of animals. Sometimes it is a rider or the running man.¹ On the bodies of aryballas appear some warriors, almost entirely concealed beneath their shields. The painter has thus avoided the difficulty of having to draw

the body.¹ For the oddity of the motive may also be cited an aryballa, on which are represented two women facing each other. The larger of the two holds in the right hand a goose by the neck, and with the left hand caresses the chin of her companion, who extends her arms toward her. Two winged figures enclose this group. (Fig. 321).

Note 1.p.610. Louvre. Hall E. 594-600.

Note 1.p. 612. Louvre. Hall E. 606 et seq.

These figures, harpies or sirens, belong to the family of oriental divinities, of very different types, which the painter loves to show, rising in scattered rosettes. On the upper band of an oenochoe with five zones is a bird with the head of a bearded man faced by a swan (Fig. 322). As for the siren, we have already met with her (Fig. 320), third zone. Elsewhere is the marine god with the tail of a fish and holding a fish in his hand.² He has a long beard, long hair and three pairs of fins. The forms are still more complex on a goddess, whose image decorates another vase of the museum of Berlin (Fig. 323). To her shoulders are attached two broad wings recurved to a point, whose feathers are alternately white, black and red, enclosed in a tightly fitting tunic bordered by embroidery, is joined the tail of a serpent, folded on itself twice. Elsewhere is the demon known under the name of the Persian Artemis, a woman standing and clothed in a long robe, who raises in both hands, seizing them by the neck or tail, sometimes two lions, sometimes a panther and a bird; she has one or two pairs of wings (Fig. 324).³ Another genius in the attitude of a swift race has great wings fixed to the back, with smaller ones at the bottom of the legs, like the Greek Hermes. (Fig. 325).

Note 2.p.612. Willisch. Fig. 41.

Note 3.p.617. On the aryballa of the Ashmolean museum at Oxford, she holds a swan in each hand.

From the time that the human figure began to appear on this clay, it could not remain there as if lost in the medley of this capriciously luxuriant vegetation and of this laboriously fanciful fauna. It would be difficult for the painter to yield to the temptation of adding to the interest of his decoration by projecting on the surface of his vase the figures of gods and of heroes, that the poets had created and which they continually labored to define and differentiate by traits more and

more clear. The artist was sure to please all his patrons, Greeks as well as strangers, when he undertook to recall to some and to make known to others by paintings with inscriptions added to make their meaning clear, the adventures attributed to those personages, all the marvellous tales related to the people by the Homeric rhapsodists. To better fulfil this office and without renouncing the ancient types that had borne everywhere the fame of his workshops, the potter introduced anew what furnished him with the most spacious fields in which his figures would be distributed more at ease. These vases of great height, on which the themes of the paintings are nearly all borrowed from mythology, we reach the last period of development of Corinthian ceramics, which both marks its climax and the limit that it could not succeed in passing.

According to the observations that have been made on the tombs of Italy, in which are found Corinthian vases with plant and zoomorphic ornamentation, one can propose an approximate date for all that series of pieces: this would be about the beginning of the 7th century, that this style commenced to succeed the entirely geometric style of vases called protocorinthian, and toward the end of the century, which had produced the works which do it most honor.¹

Note 1. p. 614. Pottier. catalogue. p. 442-443.

4. Corinthian Vases with free Ground and Mythological Subjects.

If one seeks to classify in chronological order the Corinthian vases on which the human figure passes to the first plane, engaged in an action presenting a sense more or less clear, a first group can be formed of those, which show us the potter still retaining with this change his former habits. The forms remain the same as for the past. The decoration continues as overloaded as formerly; but in this traditional frame the painter inserts personages, to which he claims to give an individual character and a historical value, by the arrangement of the scene and by the accompanying legends.

Two pyxis can be taken as types of the vases of this first group. The first has its certificate of origin. It was acquired at Corinth in 1800 by the English traveler Dodwell, from a peasant that had found it very near there, in a tomb in the hamlet of Mertese.²

Note 2.p.814. Dodwell. A classical and topographical tour through Greece. 1819.

On the body are two bands of animals; on the cover is represented a hunt of a wild boar, which must be that of the wild boar of Calydon, although the names written beside the persons are not those found in the versions of the myth that antiquity has transmitted to us (Fig. 326). The dead man lying between paws of the boar is named Philon. Tersander faces the monster, sword in hand. Paeon and Andrytas attack him in the rear, one loosing an arrow and the other brandishing a spear. Before the boar the painter has placed one of those heraldic motives, that continually reappeared under the brushes of his predecessors, a bird between two winged sphynxes, but he had not known how to make use of the events of the chase to fill the entire field. To avoid embarrassment, he has placed behind Andrytas four other figures, to whom he has given the first names at hand, and whose role and meaning he has not clearly defined. Agamemnon holds the caduceus and makes a gesture of leave. A woman, Alea, appears to bid adieu to young Dorimachos ready to depart, and the second woman, Sakis, seems to accompany with her prayers the hunters already fighting with the beast.

The inscriptions and the figures are still more numerous on the other pyxis (Fig. 327). On the body is a file of heroes of the Trojan cycle, Palamides, Nestor, Protesilas, Patrocles, Hektor and Memnon, some on horses and the others on foot. Even the horses have their names; Podarge, Ealios, Orion, Xanthos, etc. Finally the last inscription makes the painter known to us; "Chares painted me." (Fig. 328). On the cover is a painted and incised band. Fourteen warriors march in file, turned to the right, each covered by the round shield that almost entirely conceals him (Fig. 329).¹

Note 1.p.818. Unfortunately, this curious little vase was cleaned with hydrochloric acid and then poorly washed. The continuous action of the acid that remained in the pores of the clay gradually caused to disappear persons and inscriptions. Several of these are no longer visible today.

It is easy to understand why the inscriptions appeared then on the vases. If the ceramists took this method, it was in imitation of the first historical painters. Thus they did not feel sufficiently certain of themselves to count on their paint-

paintings, by the sole arrangement of the persons and by the characteristic traits given to each of these, sufficient to inform the spectator, who were the heroes placed in view there, and what were the episodes of the epic poem that the brush desired to represent. They thought of writing the names beside the figures.²

Note 2.p.616. Pliny. H. N.

The ceramic painters could not fail to follow this example. They were often forced by the narrowness of the fields at their disposal to give only a sort of abridgement of the works inspiring them, paintings on stucco or reliefs like those of the coffer of Cypselus. It might occur to them to have to suppress certain persons in these reductions that they executed, whose presence in the painting would have aided in seizing the subject. If some part justified to that expedient, this was then in the decoration of these vases. They were not made solely to be sold to Greeks more or less familiar with the tales of epic poetry. Many of their future conquerors were barbarians, who had merely a very imperfect knowledge of all these fables. In making them spell the famous names of Hector or of Achilles, of Eteocles or of Polynice, the legends informed them that the place of the scene was Troy or Thebes; they incited them to cause to be recited the episode of the poems aimed at by the painting.¹ Perhaps also to explain the insistence with which the Corinthian potters seemed to apply to the multiplication of the inscriptions, it was necessary to take into account another feeling, the desire requiring them to decorate their goods as much as possible. When beside the team of the chariot they wrote hippoi (horses), this could not be to prevent a mistake concerning the nature of the animal represented.² The legend was then useless; but the eye of the decorator found a certain pleasure in the curves of this series of letters described about the body and head of the persons. They added to the general effect. Like the points, triangles and rosettes, they played their role in this abundance of secondary motives in which the Corinthian potters took the pleasure more marked than did those of Athens.

Note 1.p.617. The fragment of an amphora found at Egina, from its style appears to furnish one of the most ancient examples, it has been said the most ancient, that possesses a legend in

Corinthian characters on a painted vase. (Studniczka. Ueber die Bruchstücke einer frühcorinthische Vase aus Aegina, in Athen. Mitt. 1899. p. 361-378).

Note 2.p.617. Louvre. Hall E. 637: Likewise on a vase found at Garrystos, the inscriptions "hippodatas and hippostrophos" beside a warrior, who runs near one of the horses and the squire who mounts one of them. (Willisch, p.50).

These reflections particularly apply to the legends interpreting the subject. Further, they supply much the greater part to this epigraphy of Corinthian ceramics. Yet there are some that have a different character. There are signatures of artists, but in small number. We have already described the vase signed by Chares. The name of Timonidas, which we have found on one of the votive tablets of Pende-skouphia, is read on an aryballa on which is represented the adventure of Troilos surprised by Achilles at the fountain (Fig. 330). Timonidas *π'εγραφη*.¹ Other inscriptions are also very brief and seem to designate the possessor of the vase; this is the case for two names, Diskylinos Petela, which are painted in great black letters beneath the handle of an aryballa of the Louvre (Fig. 331).² Another aryballa is cited, also found at Corinth, where on the handle and before a woman's head seen in profile are inscribed the words; "I belong to Aenetas," and below on the body are nine names of men. (Fig. 332).³ These names would be those of the donors that clubbed to make the gift of this vase to Aenetas, perhaps some beautiful young man of the Corinth of the Cypselides. What must have made the value of the vase is the complication of the various motives of ornament, that cover all the surfaces (Fig. 333).

Note 1.p.618. Klein. Die Griechen Vasen, etc. p.28-29. G. W. Welcker. Timonidas (Athen. Mitt. 1905 p. 199-206). We do not represent here among signed Corinthian pottery the vase of the Boston museum, on which is read the name of Pyrrhos, son of Argosileos. (Farbell, AA signed protocorinthian type; in Rev. A. Arch. 1902, p.41-46). This is indeed of protocorinthian type; but to judge of it by the alphabet used by the painter, it seems rather to have been made at Chalcis than at Corinth. The third name of the Corinthian painter, Milonidas, is read on one of the tablets preserved in Paris.

Note 2. p. 628. Rev. Arch. 1899, p. 6-7.

Note 3. p. 618. Rhasopoulos. Sopra un vasetto corinzio, etc. (Ann. dell' Inst. 1882. p. 45-46, Pls. A, B).

Explanatory glosses and signatures of artists or owners, then become the inscriptions of a very common use after ceramic painters had become accustomed to seek in mythology the ordinary themes of their decoration; but even then they were not placed on all their vases. Here is an aryballa of spheroidal form that came from Camiros, but in which is recognized the white clay of Corinth (Fig. 364). It represents the suicide of Ajax. We find again the same scene arranged in nearly the same fashion but this time with the names of persons inscribed near them, beneath the handle of the great cratera, that is one of the the good works of Corinthian make (Fig. 335). On the aryballa is no indication of this kind. It is probable that the fresco seen somewhere at Corinth accustomed the eyes to this mode of arrangement of the theme. Ajax is entirely nude and has cast himself on his sword, which has pierced him through. His blood flows in streams. Diomedes and Ulysses are nude and without arms, leaning over the dying man. They seem to dispute. Diomedes reproaches Ulysses for being the cause of this death, and Ulysses angrily rejects the accusation. In the group on the cratera, Ajax has the same height as his companions in arms and the drawing is much more correct; but there is less life and expression. The attitudes of the two persons are cold and restrained; they seem to be present at this agony with indifference.

For the small dimensions of the figures and for the character of the drawing, there may be compared the pyxis and the aryballa that represents the adventure of Ulysses among the sirens (Fig. 336).¹ In this composition is the naive search for expression, that is truly curious. Ulysses stands on his bark, fastened to the mast, behind which are crossed his arms in bands. The rowers face toward the open sea. On the contrary, Ulysses faces the sirens, two birds with women's heads who stand before the rock and have great open mouths to throw into space their seductive songs. Behind them is a seated woman, perhaps the earth, mother of the sirens. Farther off and very rudely figured is a house with flat roof and open doorway; it can se-

scarcely recall other than the palace of Circe, which the hero has just left to risk himself again on the sea. Note the two birds, an eagle and a wader, that have lit on the bark. They serve only to complete the impression that should be left by this marine view, arousing the memory of those flights of fishing birds, which in long voyages attract the interest of the eyes of the sailors.

Note 1.p.620. H. Bulle. *Odysseus und die Sirenen* (Strenna Helbigiana, p.31-37).

No inscriptions in this painting. Nor are there any but the field is larger and the drawing more advanced in the painting of a little amphora that represents the return of Hephaestus that Dionysos brings to Olympus (Fig. 337).¹ The god is not mounted on a mule, as he will be later on other vases treating the same subject, but on a horse. He sits sidewise in the manner of a woman. He holds the reins in his right hand; with the left he carries to his lips a rhyton in the form of a horn. The deformity of his feet is indicated with a brutal frankness. Before him are two ithyphallic satyrs, one of whom raises a large cup in the air; by their great gestures, they appear to show him the way. Beside him in the second plane is another satyr holding a bunch of grapes. Behind is a woman clothed in the himation and the long tunic, perhaps Thetis, who had received and cared for Hephaestus after he was cast from Olympus. Then comes the personage in whom in spite of his nudity, it is proposed to recognize Dionysos, the leader himself of the procession, by the grapevine loaded with grapes, that he bears on his shoulder. A last satyr closes the march. His left arm bends under the weight of a jug that will serve to fill the cups.

Note 1.p.622. This vase was described and studied by Löschke (*Korinthische Vase mit der Rückführung von Dionysos in Athen*. Mitt. 1894, p.510-525, Pl. VIII).

Same absence of legends, same style and same movement in decoration of a little skyphos with two handles that came from Corinth, and which represents one of the adventures of Hercules (Fig. 338). He had received hospitality in the cave of the centaur Pholos, who had opened in his honor a jar of old wine. Intoxicated by the drink, other centaurs had sought a quarrel with the hero. Hercules was compelled to drive away these monsters, who fled in disorder. He is nude; he has neither the

lion's skin on his head nor in his hand the club or the bow, which more advanced art will give him. What he uses as arms are great branches of trees that he throw at the aggressors. The forelegs of these centaurs are human legs, as in all the oldest images of this type. At one end of the painting, Pholos stands behind a table and the pithos from which came the drunkenness; his gesture seems to protest against the injury done to his guest. Opposite him and before the last fugitives are two deities, a god holding a sceptre and a goddess clothed in an ample mantle. Below the foot of the vase is a profile of a helmeted Athena, which Corinth placed on her coins.

Corinthian painters seemed to be pleased to retrace the exploits of Hercules, to whom they never gave the lion's skin as an attribute; but they gave him the bow, club or sword; sometimes they armed him with a stone or the branch of a tree. On an aryballa found at Egina is represented the combat with the hydra of Lerne.¹ On an alabaster if Syracuse is the strangling of the lion of Nemea.² Another alabaster from Samothrace shows the hero in combat with the Amazons.³ On a lecythe found at Corinth, Hercules chases the centaur Nessos who carries off Dejanira (Fig. 339). This little vase must be one of the most ancient of those on which appears the scene taken from the myth. He is again engaged in motives of pure fancy. There are opposite the centaur a lioness that has nothing to do with this painting. Above her is a chase of a hare. We have indicated on one of the votive tablets of Pende-skouphnia the representation of the trick played on the Cecrops.⁴

Note 1.p.823. Ann. dell' Inst. arch. Vol. XIX, p. 103. Monum. vol. III, Pl. 46. The Corinthian origin is attested by the form of the characters of the inscription.

Note 2.p.823. Ann. 1877, p. 45, Pl. C, D, 2. There is recognized the whitish clay of Corinth in the material of the vase.

Note 3.p.823. Da Ridder. Une representation d'Amazones etc. Revue des Universités du Midi. 1896. p.385-392.

Note 4.p.823. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX.p.243, Fig. 112.

For the dimensions and forms, all these vases continue those of the preceding period; if they are distinguished from it, it is by the character of the decoration and by that of the subjects represented. In this series the favorite themes of the paintings, besides the labors of Hercules, are hunting the

wild boar, and either the scene remains indeterminate or the legends place under the walls of Troy the duel of two warriors, a group often completed by the addition of two squires, that are sometimes on foot and sometimes mounted on a chariot. On a cup found at Corinth is seen on one side the combat of Hector against Achilles, on the other that of Eneas against Ajax. (Fig. 340). These heroes are designated by their names; but the names inscribed near these secondary persons accompanying them are pure fancy.¹ Corinthian painters use very great freedom in that respect. When it does not concern a hero of mark, a champion, they place beside the person the first name at hand.

Note 1.p.824. Annalt. 1862. p.58-59, Pl. B.

One also sometimes sees extended on the ground between the two enemies in combat, the wounded man or corpse. These combatants are nude or clothed only by short tunics; they do not have the cuirass usually given to them by Chalcidian or Attic painters. On the shields, which are almost always round and very rarely oval, are emblems such as a swan, cock, serpent, head of a Gorgon, etc. (Fig. 341). In the same order of ideas, the painter has also represented the departure for the army; on an aryballa found in Euboea, but where the form of the letters attests a Corinthian origin, a warrior fully armed runs behind his two horses, one of which is already mounted a squire.¹ This is perhaps the sports of the stadium that are recalled by the two harnessed to the chariot and held in hand by the driver.

Note 1.p.825. O. Benndorf. Griechische und Sikelische Vasenbilder. Pl. XXX, 40.

Also numerous are the vases that represent the bacchanals. We have already seen the obscene and nude satyrs leap about Hephaestos (Fig. 337). Elsewhere these are dancers grouped in pairs and executing at the sound of the flute bold capers, quite near a great cratera into which two of them plunge their horns to drink. In a sort of caricature terminates the painting. In the 5th couple is a dolphin instead of the person like the others and placed at the right. The bacchante facing it tenders to it the rhyton, as if to invite it to take its part also in the brinking (Fig. 342). On the pyxis is the circle of women led by the same flute-player.¹

Note 1.p.826. Furtwängler, Sammlung Sabouroff. Pl. XLVII, 1.

In all these paintings are also rosettes scattered on the field; but they are scarcer than on vases that plant and zoomorphic decoration. There are no longer the great spots as formerly, where the petals of the flower are separated by the incised line. What represents them is a circle representing the calyx, to which is attached a crown of fine and close points. Sometimes even these are replaced by some points carelessly placed around the circle. The grounds tend to be cleared. Sometimes the field is free from all accessories.

Henceforth Corinthian ceramists took into account the resources that they found, to interest their patrons in this new kind of decoration. Most of these paintings aroused the memory of the most brilliant and most varied fictions that ever nourished and enchanted the imagination of men. Other painters revived the emotions of the festivals demanded by this industrious people several times annually the forgetfulness of the daily effort and the joys of the passing folly. Already trained by long practice, the workman at Corinth was also sufficiently master of his art to feel himself capable of shaping and fixing vases, whose increased dimensions offered very spacious fields to the brush, where withoy borders showing the lotus flowers and the traditional palmations, he could enclose the representation of more complex scenes. In the tombs of Etruria were found vases forming this series, the last creation of Corinthian manufacture; but whether made in Corinth itself or indeed in Greek workshops founded in Italy, what proves them to have come from the hands of Corinthian workmen, besides the similarity of the procedures of execution and the elements of the decoration, is the presence on many of them, of legends inscribed with letters that characterize the Corinthian alphabet.

If some doubts could remain on this subject, they would be removed by a discovery made recently in the course of the excavations, that the American School executed at Corinth. In 1896, from a well with walls built of Hellenic masonry, were taken in full baskets fragments of Corinthian pottery. And among the 8 vases that could be restored first in the museum of Athens was found one, that resembles in nearly all points the vases mostly coming from the tombs of Caere, that are called kelebes or crateras with little columns (Fig. 343); there were

further recognized in that multitude of fragments the remains of two others of the same kind.¹

Note 1.p.827. R.B.Richardson. An old Corinthian vase from Corinth. (Am. Jour. Arch. 1898. p.195-205; Pls. VI, VII).

If the vases in question belonged to the Louvre, it would have its place marked in one of the richest and most curious series, which that museum owes to the acquisition of the Campana gallery. It would find its place near the head of that series and near the other crateras, which like it only present to view figures of animals marching in their single band or two superposed bands.¹

Note 1.p.828. Louvre. Hall E.

It does then not date from the time when the painters had become bolder and more skilful, and will assure to the human figure the enjoyment of at least two bands, between which is usually divided the surface of the body; but almost by that difference, it is defined by the more important of the characters, that distinguish those of these pieces on which the technics is wisest. Same dimensions: When the cratera had its foot, of which nothing was found, it measured about 15.75 ins. high. The form is entirely similar. The decoration in its simplicity presents the same arrangements.

It is then proved that the workshops of Corinth produced vases of this kind: They created the type and brought it into fashion; but it is very possible that this type was commenced at Corinth and continued in Italy. Even before the results of the excavations had suggested this hypothesis, there could be invoked in its favor the evidence of the ancient authors. According to them, at the time of the revolution that substituted at Corinth the democratic tyranny of Cypselos for the aristocratic government of the Bacchiades, several members of the fallen family taking with them in their suite a number of their followers went to establish themselves with the Etruscans, with whom they had long maintained friendly relations. The wealth carried with them and the superiority of the civilization represented by them availed for such an ascendancy, that Demaratos, one of these immigrants became king of Tarquinii, now Corneto. Tarchnas, his son by a native women became under the name of Tarquin the 5th king of Rome.² Very near the city in which Demaratos had sought refuge was another, Agylla, now Cervetri,

whose founding was attributed to Thessalian Pelasges, and which from antiquity had been in close relations with Greece. The Agyllans were so well recognized as Greeks, that they participated in the cult of Apollo Pythios; they had obtained permission to build at Delphi the treasury intended to contain their offerings. They had in their hands the entire commerce of the Tyrrhenian coast, and their opulence exposed them to the covetousness of the Etruscans. We do not know when, but the latter took possession of Agylla, which then took the name of Caere.¹ Before that conquest, when Demaratos and the Bacchiades landed in Italy, a certain number of those immigrants could settle at Agylla. They found there surroundings that differed less than Etruscan cities from those where they had previously lived. Excavations confirm this hypothesis. From the tombs of Caere came the richest series of Corinthian vases of the more recent style, those entering the *pouvre* with the Campana collection.

Note 2.p.828. Pliny. H.N. XXXV, 18, 152. Tacitus. Ann. XI, 14. Dionysios. H. III, 46. Strabo. V, 22; VIII, 6, 20.

Note 1.p.829. Strabo. V, 2.

The texts attest not only that the notable part of the Corinthian nobility came about the middle of the 7th century to demand an asylum in Etruria; they authorize us to affirm that at least one of the industries of Corinth, that of the workmen who wrought and decorated clay, profited by the occasion to create then branches in the Etruscan land. Strabo says that Demaratos "embellished Etruria by the artisans that followed his flight."¹ Pliny specifies more. According to him, Demaratos was accompanied into Etruria by "three modelers, Erecheir, Diopus and Engrammos, who taught to Italy the plastic art."²

Note 1.p.830. Strabo. V, 223, 22-23

Note 2.p.830. Pliny. H. N. XXXV, 152.

Whether in these three names it is necessary to see symbolized abstract terms and different aptitudes required from the good worker in clay,³ or names given to sons in the families of artisans matters little. What appears certain is, that the memory was preserved of the role that the intervention of Corinthian manual skill had played in the development made among the Etruscans in all the arts of clay about the end of the archaic age.

The members of these colonies of artisans could be maintained

and renewed on several occasions by borrowings from those of the metropolis; it is perhaps to the aid of these recruits that it must remain faithful during the very long time to the repertory and the fabrication of the school from which it came. For the mastery to weaken in those foreign workshops and the taste change, it would be necessary for at least two or three generations of workmen to succeed each other there. It would be vain to seek to distinguish from each other the most recent vases of the Corinthian style brought from Greece and those made in place in Etruria by groups of exiles; it is right to carry all to the credit of Corinthian industry. ⁴

Note 3.p.630. Eucheir is "the skilful modeler" and Eugrammos is the "skilful painter." In Diopos it has been proposed to see him that pierces the vent hole in terra cotta. Others connect this name to the words dioptes or dioptra, which designate the water level.

Note 4.p.630. On the attempts that have been made and the means proposed for distinguishing the vases made at Corinth itself from those made in Italy, see Willisch, p. 112-117. There is truly no notable difference when one finds himself in the presence of counterfeits due to Etruscan workshops, since these must finally be able to furnish at a low price products resembling those costing very dear, because they were due to foreign skill, whether exercised in Greece or in Etruria.

The dominating type in this series that of a very low cratera on a foot and with a very wide body, that is called cratera with little columns because of a very peculiar form of handles. (Fig. 344). These are composed of two pieces, a detached vertical, frankly oblique or nearly straight from a reentrant part of the vase and a horizontal bar that it supports at its end. This bar is only the prolongation of the lip of the vase. On most of these crateras, the field is divided into two zones of unequal height. The upper one occupies two thirds of the space. This width is given to it, so that the painter could treat the subject at need comprising the placing in file quite a great number of persons, one of those mythological scenes, or those figured tales that the taste of the day then required from the master potter. He had further not lost the tradition of files of animals and horsemen, which formerly occupied the entire field. On some of these crateras, these files still occupy two

zones;¹ but in most vases they play but a quite secondary part in the entire decoration. The artist relegates them to the lower band that attracts the eye less. Where the painter has retarded in the old habits, and has grouped only figures without precise signification, the field is encumbered by rosettes and other accessories. The craters of this sort are certainly most ancient of all, those representing the experiments of the Corinthian potter, when he sought to seek the mode of ornamentation better suited to the new type of vase that he created. When he found it, the field was cleared. Rosettes and other flourishes became increasingly rarer; they end by disappearing. A sure instinct guided the artist; the freer his fields are from all surcharge, he has understood that his figures will take more importance.

Note 1. p. 631. Louvre. Hall E, 535; 823. Also sometimes is only one decorated zone, where birds alternate with lions (570). In the lower part of the field is a wide black band.

To give an idea of the appearance and style of the vases of this kind, one cannot better choose than the cratera that represents Hercules seated at the festal table with Eurytios, king of Oechalie.² Fig. 344 gives the entire vase. Fig. 345 reproduces in line all the details of the principal scene, the repast of Hercules with Eurytios.

Note 2. p. 81. Longperier. Musée Napoleon III, Pls. 68, 71, 72. Before entering the Louvre, the vase was published by Welcker. Mon. dell' Inst. VI, 33; Annali. 1859, p. 243-257, Pl. X.

Clay white, fine and compact. Glazing very pale yellow. These figures are arranged in two bands.

First band. Eurytios gives hospitality to Hercules. The king had promised his daughter Iole to whoever excelled himself in drawing the bow. Hercules presents himself, obtains the victory and claims the prize; but Eurytios preferring to the advice of his eldest son Iphitos the counsel of his other sons, refuses to give Iole to the hero. Later, Hercules slays Eurytios and his sons, carries off Iole, and then Dejanira is inflamed by jealousy, sends to her spouse the tunic dipped in the poisonous blood of the centaur Nessos.

In one half of this band, the artist has represented the repast offered by Eurytios to his guest. All the guests are extended on couches before which are placed tables on which near

the cups are set places, that seem to be filled by cakes of conical form. The young Iole alone stands between the table of the god and that of her brother Iphitos. She turns her head toward the latter, as if modesty forbids her to gaze in the face of the conqueror, to whom she will soon belong. Her long tunic falls to the ankles;;The shawl that drapes her is cast on her shoulders and also descends very low. As for the men, they seem to have no clothing other than an ample himation, in which is enveloped all the lower part of the body and the feet. If the painter has placed Iphitos in view almost at the centre of the painting, this must be because of the feeling of goodwill to a god, that tradition attributes to him. The three other beds bear Eurytios and his three sons, Didaeon, Clytios and Toxeos; These are arranged in the same order as named in three verses of Hesiod.¹ The names of these persons are inscribed over the heads in Corinthian characters.

Note 1.p.632. Hesiod. Fragmenta. XLV, edit. Dübner.1840,p.52.

Before the beds are seen to hang the coverings with fringed borders that cover the top. The guests each have a cushion beneath the left elbow. All with different gestures and with the right arm raise the cups which then bring to their lips; Hercules alone leaves his on the table. He holds a knife in his hand, as if he already prepared himself for acts of violence.

The tables are of bronze; one divines by the slenderness of their forms and Their yellow color. Here is the tone which serves to recall that of metal in antique paintings. Elsewhere in several museums are fragments of the same kind in bronze, where are found the lions' feet with claws that are seen represented here. These tables must have three feet, that can be inferred from the mode of presentation adopted by the painter for the lions' paws in this Fig. Only two are visible for each table. One of these is seen in front and the other is in profile.

There will be noted the dogs fastened to the legs of the beds. Their office was to quickly cause to disappear the remnants of all kinds, which the diners in heroic times carelessly threw on the tamped area, which formed the floor of the palace halls. There are four in the picture. One of them gnaws vigorously the bone that he holds between his paws; the other three are watching with raised heads, prepared to seize the first bit that falls from one of the guests. Our painting is

the living commentary of the expression, dogs of the table," which is found in Homer.¹

Note 1.p.633. Homer. *Odyssees*. XVII, 309. These dogs or floor scavengers are also frequently shown in scenes of feasts on the archaic funerary coffers of Etruria, on those of white stone. With dogs are seen geese occupied in the same purpose. (British Museum. Etruscan hall. Nos. 10, 12, 14, cists from Chiusi).

The painter has not occupied himself by imitating in the representation of this scene the colors given to it by nature. All is pure convention there. For the faces of the men it has used red, on which the hair and beard are detached in black. On the contrary, black has served for the torso and arms; thus he makes them prominent on the red drapery that encloses these nude parts. Yet it has adhered to marking the difference between the flesh of men and that of the only woman represented here. On the face of Iole, her hands and feet, it has retained the pale tint of the ground. Some intention to distinguish the sexes in drawing the eyes. That is almost round for the men; narrower for Iole and has the form of a very elongated oval. Shown in a long mass, the hair of the men does not descend below the nape. As for the young girl, she has a long and floating mass of hair that falls on the shoulders.

This painting is particularly interesting from the inscriptions accompanying it, by the singularity of certain details and the preciseness with which they are treated, and finally by the rarity of the subject. Corinthian art often repeats itself, yet it furnishes no other example of this scene. We shall pass more rapidly over the rest of the decoration.

Beneath the handle on the right side is a bearded person, clothed in a short tunic, who carves the meats, aided by a young servant that holds the ham of the animal. Behind this group is seen the great footless jar set on a raised support; on the rim of this receiver is set a pithos intended to draw the wine, which will be poured into the cups. (Fig. 346).

The second side represents the combat, perhaps that in which the two Ajaxes contend to prevent Hector from carrying away the body of Patroclus.¹

Note 1.p.634. Homer. *Iliad*. XVII. 155, 158.

In this group are three warriors (Fig. 341). In two other

groups of combatants are opposed in pairs. All have helmets with high crests and use a spear with long iron head. All have their legs covered by greaves; two of them are alone covered by cuirasses. The others have only shields on which are painted various emblems, the cock, rosette, the forepart of the lion, crescent, etc. At each end of the painting, the kneeling archer shoots the arrow. He is equipped with a quiver with cover falling behind.

Beneath the left handle, Ulysses and Diomedes are present at the death of Ajax, son of Telamon (Fig. 335). Thus each composition placed under the handles is connected by its subject to one side of the vase.

Lower band. Twelve horsemen, clothed in a short tunic and holding a stick in the left hand, driving to the right their horses at a gallop. Above one of them flies the bird. (Fig. 344).

On the horizontal plane of the rim is a file of 23 real or fictitious animals. 3 lions and 3 lionesses, a running hind, 2 dogs racing toward 2 hares, that come in the contrary direction and are accompanied by 3 flying birds, 4 winged sphynxes with women's heads, a swan, a bird with griffin's head, a goat, a passing ram, a swan with wings spread.

On the little square tablets that surmount the handles, there are two horsemen galloping to the right, and a hunter pursuing a stag and a hind (Fig. 347). The latter is struck by a spear and the blood flows. The upper part of the body below the start of the neck is decorated by a rich garland of flowers placed on interlaced branches. Around the foot diverge painted leaves in form of stripes.

Other adventures of Hercules are represented on certain crateras. There clinching his fists and lying is seen the herald of king Ergimos, who raised a tribute of 100 oxen from the Thebans; but it is particularly subjects borrowed from Trojan and Theban myths, which appear to have been in favor. The Corinthian painters further do not seem to have usually worked, as we should say, with the book under their eyes. In their work it is rare that the scene exactly corresponds in attitude, number and names of persons gathered there to a given episode of the Iliad or Odyssey. By the liberty taken by the artist to bring together in the same painting persons, that in epic poe-

poetry belonged to different scenes of the drama, it is divined that he often took as themes and the names placed on his figures from the fund of current traditions in a sort of epic folk-lore, rather than in the text itself of the Homeric or cyclic poems.

Note 1. p. 636. Louvre. Hall E, 633. View of the whole (face and reverse) in Pottier. *Vases antiques* etc. Pl. 47.

Note 2. p. 636. This has been very well shown by Willitsch in numerous examples. p. 82-84.

It was especially so for certain scenes that had long been commonplaces in painting on clay, for scenes such as the departure of a warrior taking leave of his family before going to the battle, and the duel of his heroes or the exposition of the corpse. The arrangement of these scenes was given by the tradition of the workshops. It was reproduced with several variants, and near a person were inscribed almost at random some of the names that had been heard in recitations of the rhapsodies. Yet there are shown in these same paintings that give reason to think, that the tales of the Iliad, and an Iliad very similar to our own, were familiar to the mind of the author of the picture. It is believed that this familiarity is found indicated in certain details, where the poet deviates up to a certain point from the text under our eyes. Sometimes he seems to have desired to sum in a composition as a sort of synthesis the most marked traits of a certain episode, even of an entire song.³

Note 3. p. 636. C. Robert. *Iliasscenen in der altkorinthischen Vasenmalerei*. (Hermes. Vol. XXVI, p. 387-393. 1911.

On one of these vases, Hector is represented as leaving for the last combat.⁴ The painting was very careful, but unfortunately is poorly preserved. Hector says farewell to his parents Priam and Hecuba, while standing on the chariot, and the squire Kebionas restrains the horses. Women, sisters of the hero, Polyxena and Cassandra, companions in arms, Hippomachos and Diaphonos, are present at the scene. Several horses are named. (Korax, Kianis, Xanthos). This is a very picturesque painting.

Note 4. p. 63. Louvre. Hall E. 638. Published by Braun. *Annali*. 1855. p. 67. *Monumenti*. Vol. XXVI. View of the whole (face and reverse) in Pottier, Pl. X.

This is a scene of the same kind that is represented on another cratera, that also came from Caere. Amphiaraios, victim of an oath that bound him, was forced by the infidelity of his wife Eriphyle to enroll himself in that expedition against Thebes, from which he knew that he would not return. He springs on his chariot, but he turns his head in the movement of sadness and of anger toward the group formed behind him by his children and his faithless spouse. So that the spectator should recognize her at first sight, she holds in her hand the necklace of pearls, the price of her perfidy. The nude youth and two girls hold up supplicating hands to the hero. Behind this group is a third woman making the same gesture, bearing a very young infant on her shoulder. This must be the nurse, by more than one Attic tragedy is known the role played in the family by this servant, sharing the joys and sorrows. From these attitudes it is divined, that if Amphiaraios at the moment of his departure does not plunge into the heart of Eriphyle the sword in his hand, this is because he yields to the prayers of his children. Before the chariot is a woman that hands to the driver Eaton the farewell cup and two servants. One of them is standing and the movement of his raised right hand indicates his attention given to the scene. The other is seated with head bowed; he carries the right hand to his brow. This is known by more than one monument of painting and of sculpture. It is the expression of profound sorrow. In the voids left between the figures are different animals, a bird, serpent, lizard, hare, hedgehog and owl. These accessories only serve there to fill the field. At the back rises the palace that Amphiaraios leaves to return there no more (Fig. 348). On the other side of the vase is the picture of the games celebrated at Iolcos at the funeral of Pelias (Figs. 349, 350, 351).¹

Note 1. p. 838. *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1874. p. 82-110. *Monum.* Vol. X, Pls. IV, V.

It is known from Pausanias that these two scenes were combined in some manner on the coffer of Cypselus.² The description that Pausanias gives of the scene of the departure could almost be applied to the painting of our vase. Same indication of the house; same name of the driver; same grouping of the persons; same movement given to Amphiaraios. Whether the painter copied one of the compartments of the coffer, or that he and the cer-

ceramist were inspired by the same model, some grand fresco s seen in Corinth. The correspondence is less exact for the scene of the games. On the coffer, the carver had represented the five competitors whose entirety formed the pentathlon. Here the painter disposes of less space and has represented only the wrestling and the chariot race; but five names of persons cited by Pausanias are found in the inscriptions of the vase. Then there is nothing that excludes the hypothesis of a partial borrowing made from the decoration of the coffer, or at least recourse to a common source.³

Note 2.p.638. Pausanias. V. 12-4.

Note 3.p.638. As examples of episodes that appear to have been more rarely attempted by the painters, there may be cited the grief of Achilles, who after the death of Patroclus received the consolation of his mother, on an Oenochoe found at Corinth and on an aryballa discovered in Etruria, that of the battle which occurred around the famous wooden horse, when the Greeks concealed therein left its sides to scatter in the surprised city. (Fröhner. Trojanische Vasenbilder in Jahrb. 1892. p. 25-31, Pls. I, II).

On these two vases are no longer placed as on the more ancient vases, as again in the repast of Eurytion (Fig. 345), all behind each other, all in the same plane. The painter is not embarrassed by arranging several planes in his picture. Thus in the departure of Amphiaroas, there is at the back the house with its Doric entablature. Between this and the figures of the first plane is a woman, whose body is partly concealed by the horses harnessed to the chariot. In the scene of the departure of Hector, there are even more of those in the second line with bust and head showing over the backs of the horses or the broad shields that cover the warriors occupying the front of the picture. The artist has desired to give depth to this painting. He has adhered to showing some behind the others in the race celebrated in honor of Pelias, the bodies of the horses of each quadriga, their necks and heads with varied movements. There is an attempt to place it in perspective. Whatever may be the errors which it would be easy to disclose, we must give credit to the painter for his intention and effort (Fig. 349). Beneath one handle, opposite the chariots at full speed, are represented three old men that must be the judges of the comp-

competition, one of whom is Acastos, son of Pelias, and another is Pheres, the father of a son-in-law of Pelias. The movement of these three persons indicates the attention with which they follow the race that they witness. The tripod before them alludes to the prize which they are to award (Fig. 350).

Beneath the other handle are two nude wrestlers that represent one of these competitions of the pentathlon, that according to Pausanias were all five represented on the coffer of Cypselus, in the representation of the same games. One of the wrestlers is Peleus. To show that the hero is quite young, the painter has placed no beard on his chin. On the contrary, Peleus has a bearded person, Hippalkimos, one of the Argonauts, as an adversary. Between the legs of the two wrestlers is an elegant palmatum, and on the field is a lizard (Fig. 351).

Below the wide band filled by these two paintings extends a narrow band, on which the painter has placed on one side horsemen galloping, and on the other are warriors on foot fighting in pairs. No names are inscribed near these persons; this is because these images of riders and foot soldiers are only pure decorations. Thus we give only extracts from these two paintings (Figs. 349, 352). To complete the description of the appearance of this vase with such rich ornamentation, there only remains to mention the Gorgon's head painted on each of the flat tablets by which the upper end of the handle is joined to the rim of the vase.

It is not alone by this superposition of figures that the painter has shown the benefit derived from his models. In the paintings of most of the crateras in question, there is an entirety of the composition which attests more clearly still the progress realized. The figures no longer follow singly as in those processions of animals and of genii, which decorate the most ancient vases of Ionia and of Corinth. They are no longer placed there in pairs or threes, as in those images of combats in which we have recognized the first attempts of a wiser decoration. Yet the opposed parts of the painting, there is not here an exact correspondence without some coldness, but persons opposed, who march in the opposite direction, converging to a central group or a point, that is the tripod in the chariot race, the prize of victory and placed before the judges of the competition. This arrangement admits sufficient liberty that

one may have the impression of life and of its diversity; but a certain symmetry still controls the entire arrangement; it gives to the plastic work the unity sought in vain in those reliefs of Assyria and Persia, that have a beginning but can never have an end, all the actors in the scene passing in order under the eyes of the spectator. One here feels in this entirely novel method in art the superiority of Greek genius.

If in the paintings of his crateras, the Corinthian ceramist has departed from those monotonous files, he has not known how to free himself from another servitude there. He has always remained faithful in the arrangement of his decoration to the traditional division in superposed bands, except in the rare cases in which he has replaced them by a sort of frame that recalls the metopes of the Doric frieze. Placed on the middle of the body, this frame can receive figures of only very small height. This is yet more limited by the division of the field in three, or as on the vases of the most advanced style, in two parallel bands. Even on those pieces of the greatest dimensions, I find no persons with heights exceeding 4.72 to 5.51 ins. Figures are thus compelled not to take the importance which they acquire, where as on the Attic amphoras and crateras they develop at each in the entire field from the foot to the shoulder of the vase. The design cannot have here the amplitude and firmness that the brush will place there soon, where it will dispose of wider spaces; on Corinthian vases it always remains abrupt. The muscles are never indicated there in vigor. The legs and arms are sometimes weakly attached and almost thin. On the tracing of the body and members here is that slightly dry precision, which at Athens even on archaic vases allows to be divined the pleasure taken by the painter in studying and rendering the inflexions of the living form. The Corinthian ceramist is the artisan of rare skill; but he is less an artist than are his Ionian or Attic rivals. He has not renounced with sufficient resolution the old routine, of what perhaps prevented him from disengaging himself from them in time, as did his rivals, that he did not have the advantage of working like them in one of those atmospheres of great art, that of inventive and original sculptors, which contributes by the examples that it gives, to arouse and cultivate the taste of the humblest workman, who counts in his service the industries,

which aspire to charm the eyes by images woven in fabrics., cast or raised in metal, modeled in clay or placed by the brush on the sides of vases thrown by the potter.

We have insisted on those vases with subjects borrowed from epic poetry, and have taken one of them as a type. This is because they have seemed to us as the masterworks of the Corinthian ceramists, as those best furnishing the elements for a just appreciation of the qualities, that they attained and the defects which they did not know how to avoid; but these themes are not the only ones on which they exerted themselves at the time when their art rose to its climax. Painters also loved scenes taken from the events of private life. One of them has represented a nuptial procession. The husband is named Eurybates and stands on a chariot with his wife, who lifts the veil on her head with her left hand. The couple are surrounded by their friends, that ~~with~~^{utter} noisy exclamations in their honor. What these artists have reproduced elsewhere with very marked predilection are those feasts, where must be displayed much luxury in "opulent Corinth," as celebrated by Pindar.¹ We have several of those paintings.² In that with most amplitude and curious details (Fig. 354), there are four beds side by side, before which are placed little tables supporting drinks and meats. On each bed is a couple, a bearded man and a half nude woman, a courtesan. Of these persons have have in hand drinking horns or vases. On the field are accessories hung on the wall. These are cithers; a guest turns to take one of these instruments. There are also arms and helmets. There is a view of the interior of a rich house in the Corinth of Periander. Here is an account of the appearance that the dining hall presented on a feast day.

Note 1.p.843. Louvre. Hall E, 637. Entire view in Potties, Pl.L.

Note 2.p.843. Louvre. Hall E. 623, 624, 629.

Painters who have thus applied themselves to render the appearance of noble dwellings and sumptuous apartments have had no taste for landscape, and the contrast is curious. Then do not seek to localize by picturesque details the scenes that they represent. Nowhere in even the paintings best devoted to that kind of indications, they have not attempted to offer even a sketch, or to give an impression, as freely did Ionian painters.¹ A fish suffices to recall the sea and a branch the forest.

A diligent critic affirms to have never found but three trees in all Corinthian ceramics.²

Note 1.p.644. See above, p. 552-560.

Note 2.p.644. Willisch. p. 98.

Another theme that enjoys no less favor is that of the burlesque dance (komos) of the companions of Dionysos. One of those vases of that kind attracts attention by the variety of poses and the twisted hips that characterize all the persons. (Fig. 305).³ At the middle of the picture is a satyr who makes a great spread in front. At right and left of him stagger as if overtaken by wine, or bound with spirit, the body projected forward or backward. Elsewhere is found the same movements in persons, most of whom do not have the great beard that characterizes the satyrs. "These are joyous guests that frisk after the feast (Fig. 342).

Note 3.p.644. Louvre. Hall E. 620.

There is an example of the mode taken for the decoration of some crateras. As here, some of the black tint laid on the greater part of the body, enclosing a light field reserved for the figures. This is what is termed the arrangement in metopes. If it is only shown exceptionally on crateras, it is the rule on another series, that of the amphoras, hydrias and oenochoes. Gathered in the tombs of Caere, these vases differ from crateras only in their forms, that are scarcely found among the monuments of ceramics collected in Corinth or in the vicinity; they are again distinguished by their entire appearance; yet one cannot avoid crediting them also to the Corinthian manufacture. The Corinthian alphabet is recognized in the inscriptions. According to the appearance, these are the products of some workshop founded in Italy by workmen that came from Corinth; they sought success in certain innovations, in contrasts of tones, in the novelty of many ornaments borrowed from foreign models.

There cannot be cited here a more significant example of metope vases than the amphora, one of whose faces we reproduce, on which is represented a cavalier Polydos galloping. (Fig. 355). On the other face of the amphora are two busts, one white of a woman, the other black of a bearded man. These are perhaps Dionysos and Cora that it was desired to represent.

Here will be noted one of the traits that form the originality of the vases of this series. White retouches plan the more important part there than in the other works of Corinthian workshops. The painter only employs them to distinguish the flesh of women from that of men. See the amphora which represents Tydeus ready to strike his faithless spouse Ismene with the sword. (Fig. 356). The same white served for the nude torso of Ismene and for the body of the lover Pereclymos, who flees without having time to resume his clothing. There is also much white in the painting of the hydria on which are figured the funeral rites of Achilles wept by the Nereids; all the women have white faces and arms (Pl. XXII).² It is the same for the decoration of an oenocoe, a decoration that also merits mention for the boldness of the method that the artist has taken (Fig. 357).¹ He has placed there a chariot with four horses seen in front view, mounted by the driver Aniochidas and the warrior Laetymos. The two white horses in the middle bend their heads symmetrically toward each other. The two side horses are black with white manes, leaning their heads outward.

Note 1. p. 645. Pottier. Vases antiques. Pl. LI, 645.

Note 2. p. 645. Louvre. Hall E. 643. Published by Conze. Ann. 1864. Pl. OP.

Note 1. p. 646. Louvre. Hall E, 648.

A hydria represents the departure of Hector to the battle (Fig. 358).² It is particularly curious for the detail and the character of its ornamentation. The posts and the white squares inclosing the painting do not belong to the ordinary repertory of the Corinthian painters. Also rising in white on the black ground are large volutes and lotus flowers, which by the freedom of their charm recall the style of the Ionian ornamentists. (Fig. 310). The origin of the vase would be doubted, if in the name of Hector were not found one of the letters peculiar to the alphabet of Corinth.

Note 2. p. 646. Louvre. Hall E. 642.

Not only by the importance and the interest of the themes represented there are distinguished their predecessors, the vases that represent the last effort of Corinthian pottery. The technics is also perfected. At that epoch the potter, for the field on which his persons are profiled, was not satisfied

with the pale tint taken by his clay in passing through the kiln. Under the influence of those Ionian and Attic models met everywhere in competition, he undertook to give his vases a glaze of warmer color; he sought tones approaching red or orange yellow. (Pl. XXII). He obtained this result either by using a reddish clay similar to that of the Attic workshops, or by partially covering the surface of the vase with a yellowish coating.²

There are even some vases in very small number, where the field has been covered by a white coating.³ Finally, what again contributes to diversify the appearance of the Corinthian vases of that time, is the custom of painting in black the entire image of the nude person save exceptions. On the figures of more than one painting, the faces and necks are painted red.⁴

Note 1.p.647. Louvre. Hall E. 621-626.

Note 2.p.647. Louvre. Hall E. 640-651.

Note 3.p.647. Louvre. Hall E. 565.

Note 4.p.647. Louvre. Hall E. 635, 642.

If there are monuments that permit appreciating at its true value the professional skill and surety of hand that the ceramist painter has acquired at Corinth in this last period of development of his art, these are the series of those little perfume vases, generally oval flasks whose paintings have been compared for the refinement of their execution to the miniatures of our manuscripts of the middle ages and the Renaissance. As decoration are varied ornaments, files of animals and of persons. The incised lines, that here complete the work of the brush, and the touches of the red coating suffice to date these works, which men had not known at first how to distinguish from protocorinthian, to which they have no relation other than the general form, one required by the purpose of the vase.¹

Note 1.p.648. This confusion was mentioned in the interesting Article by an old member of the school of Athens, Louis Couve, whose premature death was a loss for the studies of ceramography, in which he had already made proof of rare competence. (*Un lecythe inédit du musée du Louvre*, in *Revue arch.* 1898.p.213-234).

We have already cited and reproduced the vase of this kind, that is said to be made of Corinthian clay, which is known by the name of the Macmillan lecythe (Figs. 270,271); but from all traces of Ionism that we have found there, we believe that it could be related to the works of advanced Ionian ceramics.

On the contrary, there is no reason to dispute with Corinthian manufacture the merit of having produced a pretty lecytne of the museum of Berlin, that we are assured was found at Corinth (Fig. 359).² The abundance of rosettes scattered over the field is further an indication of Corinthian origin. The decoration of this lecytne was executed with very minute care by a very skilful workman, who held to leave no surface of the vase without ornament. On the flat border of the mouth, entirely around the orifice of the neck, he placed two encaustic bands of little leaves (Fig. 361), and on the shoulder is an interlacing of lotus flowers and palmations connected by cords, whose scrolls and knots are seen (Fig. 362). On the plaque forming the reverse of the handle is a guilloche drawn by him (Fig. 363). On the body is represented Hercules pursuing with his arrows a troop of centaurs that flee before him (Fig. 360). Beneath this painting are two superposed bands. On one are ornaments in the form of sigmas, on the other being radiating leaves starting from the foot. With its interlacings and lotus flowers, the ornament is very elegant. One can cite as a work of the same kind the lecytne found at Gela. On the body are four pairs of warriors, each of which represents one of those duels, that are favorite subjects of this painting. The figures are 0.8 in. high and are drawn with the dry point with singular clarity. There remains scarcely more than this line sketch. The color has almost completely disappeared.¹

Note 2. p. 848. Furtwängler. Kentaurenkampf und Löwenjagd auf zwei Lekythen. (Arch. Zeit. 188 . p. 154-162. Pl. X).

Note 1. p. 849. P. Orsi. Gela. Fig. 116.

Rather a work of sculpture is the curious vase of the Louvre, which represents a satyr holding before him and clasping it in both arms, as if he sought to lift it to drink fully, a great cratera of the form of an amphora with little columns (Fig. 170).² It was found in Boetia; but the clay of yellowish white tending to greenish is the same as that of the plaques of Penteskoufia, and the polychromy is in three tones, black that has turned yellow, violet red and white, that of Corinthian ceramics, this ceramics offers examples of all the ornaments found here, of the guilloche extending around the base, the leaves that surround the foot of the vase, the spirals and chessboard pattern outlining the borders. On the body of the cratera is a band of

little riders, each of which leads a second horse; now there is one of the motives that the painters of Corinth have most frequently repeated. On the reverse and against the belly of the satyr is perceived on the vase the remains of a motive now mostly vanished, but where is recognized the group of two lions rising against each other, the heraldic group whose idea dates back to the celebrated gate of Mycenae. This same subject is shown beneath the handle of a Corinthian cratera of the Louvre.¹ As for the same type of the satyr with his long hair, his round stomach and the violence of his sensual joy, we have seen what place the Corinthian artists loved to give it in the decoration of their crateras.

Note 2.p.649. Pottier. Le satyre buveur, etc. (Bull. Corr.H. Hell. 1896. p.224-235, pl. XIX, XX).

Note 1.p.8 O. Louvre. Hall E.628.

At the same time that it pleases the eye by the originality of its composition, this piece was a trick, a surprise vase. A very simple mechanism was based on the action of atmospheric pressure, and caused the wine poured into the cratera to rise and partly disappear in the body of the satyr, as soon as were raised the two fingers till then placed on the two vent holes arranged on the head and back of the figure.² The satyr thus seemed to absorb in a mouthful this liquid, by which he never appeared satiated. This little trick was easily practised, and must divert the guests at a repast. The workshops of Corinth then supplied all Greece with objects of luxury, rich tapestries, furniture with overlays and inlays of metal and of ivory, mirrors ornamented by reliefs and line engravings. A Æolian passing through the industrious city could purchase and carry away as a souvenir this trick vase, which he held sufficient to have his name Pholodon engraved on the right arm of the satyr.¹

Note 2.p.650. See p. 318 above and Fig. 3 of Pottier's Article with its accompanying explanation.

Note 1.p.651. The letters of this inscription do not belong to the Corinthian alphabet.

From Corinth also came the richly ornamented box, on the body being a band of animals and on the shoulder a scene representing a festal procession; but what makes its originality is, that the body is connected with the border of the orifice by

three female busts in the round (Fig. 318d).²

Note 2.p.651. On these vases in form of a figureine, two of which are assured to have been found at Corinth, also see:--

Collection E. Piot. Antiquities. 1890. Nos. 109, 112, 113.

Willisch, p. 104, cites some other examples of these vases with reliefs. Others have been found represented in Am. Jour. Arch. 1906, p. 420. I find there the following types:-- the owl, the helmeted head, the drinking satyr, the woman's head and the ram.

The examples cited above suffice to prove that the potters of Corinth to excite the curiosity of their patrons, sometimes offered them very careful specimens of those mixed works, that belong both to the statuette and to the vases properly so called; but then did not appear to have frequently practised this sort of work, that had been done and will be done by other ceramists, for example those of Cygus and of Athens. There exist no rnythons on which is recognized the mark of Corinthian fabrication. In any case, when they attempted anything of this kind, they have applied to it a certainty of hand and of fancy shown by the image of the drinking satyr. This mastery cannot surprise us. Was it not to the Corinthians that tradition attributed the merit of having invented the art of modeling moist clay, of making from it reliefs that should preserve the memory of the traits of a loved person, and those which ornamented the frontal tiles of the ridges of temples? ³

Note 3.p.651. Pliny. H. N. XXXV. 151.

In studying the origins of Corinthian ceramics, we have stated how much the influence of oriental models had made its impression on its most ancient works; but among the motives of ornament and the themes, whose use characterizes the products of this industry, we have not found anything to mention, which appears to have suggested to the Corinthian decorator by the relations that he had maintained with Egypt and by the admiration inspired in him by its monuments. Doubtless the sphynx often appears in files of animals and of demons unrolled on the sides of the first vases; but when he uses this type, the sphynx had long since lost its nationality. More or less transformed, it had entered into the current repertory of the artists of Asia. It was the same with the lotus of the Egyptian marsh, with its leaf, its buds and flowers. Nothing is found

here that seems to have been the object of the direct borrowing from Egypt. By one of these borrowings we have explained one of the ordinary procedures of Ionian painters, the habit that they had of distinguishing by a lighter color the flesh of women from that of men, after the example of the Egyptian painters. It is very rare that the Corinthian painters thus mark this difference. We have not to mention a single Corinthian vase, which like the Hydria on which is represented the murder of Busiris, like the cup on which appear Arcesilas and the nymph Kyrene, offer to the spectator the vision of Africa, or its various ethnic types, and its local fauna and flora. The negroes that the Ionian painter liked to show with their woolly hair and flat noses, scarcely show themselves in Corinthian paintings. Orient that inspired the author of these paintings is what may be called the common Orient, the composite repertory that the artists of Tyre and Sidon themselves created for the needs of their industry by mixing indifferently motives taken from Egypt and from Chaldea; it is what Phoenician wares distributed and made common among the coastal peoples of the Mediterranean. To supply the needs of their own luxury and to respond to those of their patrons, the Corinthians remained in relations with the Phoenicians, the first founders of their city; but they had left to the Ionians the monopoly of the commerce of Egypt; they had no agencies at the mouth of the Delta. Their ships sailed to the Adriatic, the strait of Sicily and the Tyrrhenian sea; the great purchasers of their painted pottery were the Italians, particularly the Etruscans.

We do not believe that any vase with scenes with figures can be earlier than the last years of the 7th century, and it was in the course of the 6th century that most have been made. They bear the mark of the taste of the time, when further Corinth owed to the talents of Cypselos and of Periander the privilege of occupying in Greece an uncommon position. Under these two princes (629-585), it attained its highest degree of political power and of commercial expansion; it was then that its manufacturers, assured of finding advantageous places for the most careful and costly pieces that they could execute, must have made the final efforts to surpass themselves and to give their final limit.

Such facts are reported by historians or stated by archaeol-

archaeologists, that indirectly confirm the proposed date by the relation established between the reign of those princes and certain monuments of Corinthian ceramics. It has been stated now by the choice of the theme, the arrangement of the persons and the names given them, some of these paintings almost seem to be copies of the reliefs which decorated the famous coffer of Cypselos! ¹ Now under Cypselos or at latest under Periander they carved to be consecrated at Olympia the luxurious chest, that must recall to all Greeks the adventure of the founder of the dynasty, miraculously preserved from death by the protection of the gods. Have we not also seen what place was held in the repertory of the Corinthian painter by the scenes borrowed from the Bacchic myths and those representing bacchanals? ² We know from Herodotus that Periander had called to his court the poet musician Arion of Lesbos and that he retained him there a long time. ³ At Corinth he created the dithyramb, a sort of oratorio executed by a great orchestra. Is it not right to suppose that the splendor of the festivals thus celebrated by the prince in honor of Bacchus must contribute much to place in fashion these Bacchic themes, to suggest to painters the idea of repeating them on many of their vases?

Note 1.p.653. See p. 638 above.

Note 2.p.653. Also see p. 643-644.

Note 3.p.653. Herodotus. I, 23-24.

After the fall of Cypselos occurred internal crises that compromised the authority of Corinth over its colonies, and aided Corcyra, the most important of them to conquer full independence; but Corinthian industry was then too well launched, it possessed patrons too much attached to its habits for these agitations to risk making a serious attack on its activity, the more because the events of which Asian Greece was then the theatre delivered it from formidable competition, that of the Ionian potters. The Persians had conquered Ionia, Phocaea, that one of the Ionian cities which had carried on the most prosperous commerce with the West, had been abandoned by its inhabitants. In these conditions, if the share of Ionian vases on the markets of Italy had not entirely ceased after 550, it must have sensibly diminished. The place remained free for Corinthian manufacture.

There was indeed Athens, where in the last quarter of the 6th century the art of the ceramist, profiting by the models offered to it under the Pisistratides by historical sculpture and painting, made rapid progress and created a new type, that of vases with red figures; but Athens then had neither a war nor peace navy. It then had at its disposal only a beach for landing, that of Phalerum. If the vases on its potters then began to be appreciated in Etruria, it must be by the intermediary of the privateers of Corinth that they came there, and while these derived fine profits from the role of middleman, they must always reserve in their cargos the greater place for the product of their own workshops. Until about the year 500, the competition of Attic manufacturers had not hurt or troubled them. What proves this are the friendly feelings which they maintained toward Athens: about 505 they lent aid by their triremes in the war sustained against Egina, and they opposed the project conceived by Sparta of forming against Athens a league of the entire Peloponessus. In ten years between the first and second Median wars is the change of views. Miltiades, Aristides and Themistocles endowed Athens with a magnificent port of Piræus and a war fleet. This fleet triumphed at Salamis and at Mycale, while the Athenian hoplites beat the Persians at Mycale. As always happens in such a case, the industrial and commercial flight follows the victories of the sailors and soldiers. Under the protection of the squadrons leaving Piræus, merchant vessels depart in all directions to carry everywhere the products of the workshops of Athens, recommended by the prestige enjoyed by the city, that seems called to reign over the Greek world, sought for the bold and novel taste whose imprint they bear. Corinth has lost the game on that ground. Its manufacturers are discouraged; they did not attempt to struggle. The check thus suffered and the impoverishment resulting from it explain the hatred that Corinthians show toward Athens during the entire course of the 5th century. They are the soul of all the plots hatched against its increasing power; they excite and push against them Sparta, always undecided and slow to undertake, and at Corinth was held the congress in which was decided that so-called war of the Peloponessus, which must darken the fate of Athens.

According to what we know thus of the relations of Athens

and Corinth, it would be in the course of the 30 or 40 first years of the 5 th century that the Athenians supplanted among foreigners the Corinthians, declared themselves then the irreconcilable enemies of Athens. The study of the Vases confirms the inferences derived from history. Corinthian could not renew itself when there sounded in the 5 th century the hour of decisive advance; it could not follow the movement by which the major arts then go on to translate into perfect forms the highest conceptions of Greek thought. To place itself in line, it had not had the useful and necessary stimulation then received by the numblest artisans, when they saw created under their eyes the work of the masters of sculpture and of painting. It was then delayed by practices that had turned to routine. When at Athens at about the end of the 6 th century red figures began to be substituted for black ones on the painted vases, the potters of Corinth did not make the effort to become initiated in the processes of that novel technique. There is not a single vase with red figures which bears inscriptions in Corinthian characters, or to which one could be tempted to attribute a Corinthian origin because of its form, arrangement of the decoration or choice of motives.¹ There have been found at Corinth many vases with red figures; but all by their style and by the inscriptions read on them announce an Attic origin; there are even some that are signed by Athenian makers.² At Athens were placed in the 5 th century their orders by the Corinthians, who desired to ornament their dwellings by vases decorated in the fashion of the day. All the vases on which one depends to recognize works coming from the workshops of Corinth have dark figures on a light ground; all bear the mark more or less apparent of the conventions and awkwardness of archaism.

Note 1.p.855. We know not just when at Corinth and in its colonies was renounced what we have termed the Corinthian alphabet by the use of the characters which distinguish it. Always from the first half of the 5 th century at Syracuse as at Corinth, there was employed in official documents an alphabet presenting no singularity, that was derived from the Ionian alphabet. This is shown for Syracuse by the dedication of a bronze helmet by Hiero after his victory over the Etruscans in 474; (Röhl, Inscr. gr. ant. 18); and for Corinth by the remains of the inscription which he placed at Olympia after the victory

obtained over Athens in 457. (Röhl. Add. 26, a).

Note 2.p.855. Willisch. p. 153.

In these conditions, it is easy to divine how matters occurred. Sleepy by the long duration of their success, confiding in the high prices reached by their merchandise, the potters of Corinth did not remain in the current. They had not taken the trouble to change in time their equipment, patterns and modes of decoration. They were surprised by the suddenness of the revolution in taste among their habitual patrons, when Athenian ships brought to Sicilians and Italiots the vases of Euphronios, Erygos and Douris. Badly prepared for the contest, they did not attempt to sustain it. The models out of fashion which they obstinately offered found no purchasers. Then they resigned themselves to use no longer their excellent clay, except for making common pottery, that had only restricted markets. From day to day this was the decadence of the entire industry; but this could not fail to leave in the hearts of the citizens of Corinth bitter resentment against the rivals, who were the authors of that sudden ruin.

Everything then gives reason to think that the fabrication of painted vases must have ceased at Corinth between 480 and 460, at the time when the Attic ceramists produced their most beautiful works. Perhaps after that date, in certain workshops previously founded in Etruria by emigrants from the mother country, the tradition of Corinthian decoration still continued for some years, obscured and altered by the influence of the provincial locality for which those workmen labored; but this was merely the resultless prolongation of an art movement, which had already reached its end. This reign was closed when there commenced that of Athens, to extend that splendor for nearly two centuries.

5. General Characteristics of Corinthian Ceramics.

We have caused to pass under the eyes of the reader the principal varieties of Corinthian ceramics. If at the end of this study, the historian attempts to define the impression that he has retained, here is what appears to result from the examination to which have been subjected the products of this fabrication of those of the branches which it founded in Italian lands.

What particularly characterizes this ceramics is this prodigious fertility, placed at the service of the export commerce,

which during at least two centuries knew not the hour of slackening. From its beginnings at had only one care, to supply dealers in perfumes thousands of the vases in forms suited to their purpose, and that by their singular decoration attest their origin and attract the eye of the purchaser. Gradually as progress the major arts that inspire them, they seek more elegance of forms and of ornament; they preoccupy themselves with diversifying and animating the decoration by composing images in which are revived all those charming myths of epic poetry, which then enchanted the Greek spirit and also excited the curiosity of the barbarians more or less tinged by Hellenism. Yet even then, when its technics is wisest, it still feels the effects of this entirely industrial origin. It has produced too much to have usually carried into its creations, even those where it appeared most earnest, this scrupulous care of the details of this feeling care of the beautiful, which without even leaving the archaic age, make of certain Ionian vases and of numerous Attic vases works of art perfect in their kind. These qualities of close execution and of spirited refinement are scarcely found except in some of those little vases concerning which we have pronounced the name of miniatures (Fig. 369). On great pieces, the design of the ornament is often a little lax; that of the figures almost always lacks accent.

The vivid intelligence and the passionate love of the beauties of the living form cause the superiority of Athenian ceramics. Thus for all this study will not require its effects from the variety of colors, it is exceptional that it will seek there the charm for two categories of vases, which is the entirety of its total production play but a secondary part, for the funerary lecythnes and the cups with white ground. In the rest of its creations, it will content itself with the monochrome painting at first black on a red ground, then red on a black ground. Entirely on the contrary, the Corinthian painters are always pleased by diversity of tones. Much before the time when they could begin to transcribe in the paintings of their crateras all or a part of the compositions offered to their eyes in the frescos of Peloponessian masters, they were inspired by oriental tapestries and their work always felt the influence that these exotic models had exerted on their taste. Their decoration is polychrome. On the vases of the last period it con-

comprises three tones, black or brown, violet and white. Among all Greek ceramics, this is then one of the most colored, one of those whose appearance will surprise the eye least, that until then was arrested only by the ceramics of the extreme Orient or by our modern western ceramics. It has not that gayety which gives to certain vases of Rhodes and of Naucratis those grounds of creamy white on which are detached without hardness the black figures and the pale red of the retouches, which outline the details.

The ceramics of Corinth then cannot rival the ceramics of Athens in nobility and fineness of drawing, nor those of Ionia for the charm of polychromy; but it has no less the interest and the importance that justify the attention which we have accorded to it. By the extreme diffusion of its products, it increased the popularity of the painted Greek vases and procured new markets for it. While the Ionians on the coasts frequented by them do not appear to have succeeded in extending the use of these vases among the barbarians with which they traded, among the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Lydians, Thracians, the coastal tribes of the Euxine, the Corinthians knew how to secure purchasers of their merchandise among the Phoenicians of the West, the Carthaginians; but it was especially to the Etruscans on both slopes of the Apennines that then gave a taste for this pottery. In Tuscany was such an infatuation for these vases, that today they are found in greater numbers and of more beautiful quality in the Italian tombs than in the cemeteries of Corinth and of the adjacent provinces. To place those products of their kilns, Corinthian manufacturers made very great profits; but what elevates their role is that then did not labor alone for themselves. In accustoming foreigners no longer to know how to do without the luxury of these vases, they opened the way to the Ionian ceramists and then to those of Athens, who disputed with them the favor of these opulent patrons. They thus prepared for themselves competitors, who ended by driving them from the markets which they were first to open. The affair terminated badly for them; but the initiative which they had taken had turned to the benefit of Greek genius and favored its expansion. The master artisans of Athens perhaps would not have carried so far the care in execution, if they had not had the certainty of finding a buyer overseas for the most perfect

the most perfect and costly of their vases, created in the workshops of the Ceramicos by the combined efforts of the most skillful potters and the most famous painters.

If the Corinthian ceramists, when they extended the field on which besides their own activity was exerted those of their present and future rivals, had made truly useful works, they would have favored the progress of their art in a more direct and more efficient way by many inventions, of which it is just to give them the honor. They created and accredited new types, such as the alabaster and aryballa, so very appropriate for the use for which they were intended, such as the cotyliske lecythe with its very elegant curvature, certain varieties of the pyxis, tene cratera with little column that is a sort of sketch of certain forms to which other workshops will later give amplitude and singular nobility. It is the same with the decoration, with various procedures that can serve to vary the appearance and fix the sense. If the Corinthian ceramists were not the first to practice incised lines, one cannot doubt that they gave the example for making these incised lines assist to the effect of the painting. Elsewhere men hastened to follow this example. The Attic ceramists of the 6th century learned to handle the dry point, and the 6th and 5th centuries used it with sure mastery in the most beautiful of their paintings.

Another innovation was no less successful. It seems that the Corinthian painter was the first to take up the habit of adding to his figures inscriptions to define them. On the vases of the Dipylon are no legends. Nor are they any more on even the most careful of the vases that represent the production of Ionian workshops, before these had commenced to work for export to the West. At Camiros we have found but one, and also it is found on a plate whose Ionian origin is contested. On the contrary at Corinth, as soon as they began to place on vases those paintings termed historical by the Greeks, there are seen to appear the explanatory legends, both as the means of information and as the element of decoration. These legends were the equivalent of the titles which are now placed at the bottom of our engravings. In every country and at all times, what has always interested and will always interest the mass of the public in a painting is less the talent of the painter, &

then the subject that he has treated. Attic potters were too intelligent not to understand the advantages of these advances made for the curiosity of the patron. The sale could only increase by them.

Finally, although these questions of chronology may be difficult to solve, it is possible that ceramists of Corinth may have been the first to think of seeking in the epic myths the ordinary themes of their decoration, those themes whose interpretation was facilitated by the addition of the legends. The idea of taking this method had been suggested to them by the sight of the works of those Corinthian and Sicyonian artists to whom Pliny gives so large a part in his history of the birth and first progress of monumental painting. Given the place then held in the life of Greek society by this narrative poetry, with the infinite variety of tales which it labored to multiply, all that imagery on clay, placed by the low cost of the material and the intensity of production in the reach of all purses, could not fail to be much appreciated and sought for, as soon as it appeared on the markets of Greece and those outside it. The vogue soon enjoyed by the vases thus illustrated was perhaps what decided the Ionian potters of Cyrene and the unknown authors of the so-called hydrias of Caere, as well as the Athenian potters contemporaneous with Pisistratus promptly to adopt this kind of decoration. Their patrons had all felt since they had possessed the taste for the representation of all those adventures of gods and heroes, and risked scorning the vases on which the brush was contented to trace lines and forms, that only aimed to please the eye without recalling to memory the episodes of the favorite personages of the familiar stories.

The industry, or better said, the art of the painted vase had then made decided advances at Corinth. Is it not by the secret and obscure perception of the services so rendered, that one can give reason for another novelty, those signatures of artists of which Corinthian ceramics has given us at least two examples? We have not found a single one in the entire series of vases that we have attributed to Ionian workshops, even in the series appearing most recent. There is indeed one very ancient vase of unknown origin, which from the character of this

fabrication has been compared to vases of Melos, that others attribute to Argos and which is perhaps Attic, on which is read Aristonophos epoise, a term that can only mean the workshop from which the vase came; but this is indeed the quality of painters claimed by the Corinthians Timonidas of Chares in the use of the verb egraphe. The first as if better to call himself to attention even takes care to add to his own name that of his father Eias. There is an indication which has its value. If all painters of vases did not sign their works, at least some would claim that right. Their situation tended to become elevated. They were not always satisfied in being the anonymous collaborators of any manufacturer. When they could thus do honor to their work, artists of talent would be more disposed to engage in that work. This is evidenced by the numerous signatures of painters furnished by the ceramics of Athens. There certain vases dating from the first half of the 5th century even in that respect have suggested the conjecture that presents a certain probability. The processes of fabrication there differ in some respects from those usually employed by ceramic painters; in studying them very closely it is believed can be recognized the hand and execution of artists who had been accustomed rather to practice fresco than to decorate clay.¹ Tempted by the articulation of a very large salary and by the pleasure of trying themselves in a new kind of work, these artists, historical painters as we should say, on the occasion had agreed to lend their assistance to some famous potter for the execution of vases of exceptional importance.

Note 1. p. 861. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Griechische Vasenmalerei. 1st series, p. 72, Pl. XV.

Corinthian industry has always merited well from Greek art by its activity always awake, by its sustained endeavor to perfect its equipment, by the routes which it has opened to commerce in painted vases and by the examples it has given; but it has been only a workman from the first hour. Like too precocious minds whose youth deceives, the hopes that their infancy had given, it relaxed its efforts in full career; it suffered what naturalists term an arrest of development. If one follows with the eye one of those bands of migratory birds, which at the change of season is arranged in a triangle and traverses space over our heads, he sees nearly equal intervals that the

singular movement has produced. From time to time a bird detaches itself from the rear guard and takes the head of the column to assume in its turn the task of conquering the resistance of the air and of leading the flight to the distant aim of its desire and its dash. Thus affairs passed in Greece and this explains the long duration of the evolution of Greek genius, its fertility so many times secular and the prodigious variety of its production renewed without ceasing. There also various groups succeeded each other in the task and in honor of forming the advanced guard, of pointing out and preparing the way, of guiding the march to the star. After these Achaeans which were scarcely seen in the prehistoric gloom, was that brilliant pleiad of Ionian and Eolian cities, which in the domain of plastic as well as in that of letters, had commenced and urged everything. Beside them and after them, when the hands of the Persians had beaten down and weighed heavily on Ionia, Corinth, whose enterprising and industrial mastery completed the conquest for Hellenism of the barbaric West. Corinth by the progress that it made in the trade of the work in clay and bronze as in that of fabrics of luxury, prepares and assumes in the approaching future the successes of grand art. This conquering art which plays with the material and bends it to the role of the docile interpreter of all its thoughts, it is Athens that will personify it and realize by its ambitions, until the day when in Greece immeasurably aggrandized by the force of Alexander and by the foundation of the Macedonian kingdoms of Asia and Africa, it will become a simple provincial city, a university city; but then will come to replace it in that function of director and imitator, creator of ideas and of new forms, other cities, some entirely new like Alexandria, others like Pergamon being suddenly elevated to the dignity of capitals. In this Orient that it has transformed, which will bear witness to the living force that it still retains after so many revivals, the soul of the Hellenic race, this will be the part which it will take, a considerable or rather preponderant part, in the elaboration of Christian dogma, whose triumph will close the era of antique civilization. This brief summary of the most beautiful of histories, that it appears there, were it only in the second plane, between that of the Ionian cities and that of Athens.

6. Other Peloponessian Vases. Argos. Sicyon. Egina.

We have stated what the development of the industry of painted vases had commenced to take at Corinth under the last Bacchiades, and what progress it had realized there, what importance it had retained until the end of the 6th century and even perhaps a little later. The industry of the painted vase aided to make Corinth illustrious and became one of the principal sources of its prosperity. It seems that this industry multiplied its products there and so numerous are the points in which these are found in the trenches, that Corinth was in the course of the archaic age the sole city of the Peloponessus in which men knew how to give the clay vase the form and decoration, which could make a work of art. There was certainly the an illusion. Doubtless there were not then in the peninsula workshops that could rival Corinth; but it is truly not admissible that in the country in which the smallest city, lost in the mountains, as one finds in reading Pausanias, its public edifices decorated by paintings and sculptures, that outside Corinth the ceramists did not know how to fashion anything but a monochrome and coarse pottery, only destined for the uses of domestic life. There must have been many local workshops to serve the needs of a restricted patronage, and men attempted to decorate clay by copying more or less skilfully the types of painted vases, that the great cities of industrial art had created and made the fashion; but what these workshops could produce in Elis, Arcady, Achaia, and Messenia, we do not even suspect. By what models was the artisan inspired there? What activity has he displayed there? I know no indication which permits a reply to these questions by hypotheses more or less specious. It was only yesterday that we knew the Laconian workshop.

Note 1. p. 663. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 503-508.

It was not entirely the same for Sicyon and Argos, whose part in the art movement of the Peloponessian schools was even more important than that of Corinth. The territories of the two cities are contiguous to that of Corinth. When Pliny sketches the history of the commencement of painting, he divides the honor of first progress accomplished and of the first works of the brush worthy of memory between Sicyon and Corinth.¹ Eutades,

who passed as having invented the procedures of modeling in clay, was a Sicyonian established at Corinth.² The relations of Argos with Corinth could not have been less close. Particularly statuary made the glory of Argos; the founders of Corinth borrowed from the Argive sculptors the types which they made common in the figures with which they ornamented the luxurious furniture and the wrought mirrors that they distributed in all Greece.

Note 1.p.664. Pliny. H. N. XXXV. 15-16.

Note 2.p.664. The same. H. N. XXXV. 151.

An observation made by an epigraphist permits one to suppose that Sicyon under its Orthagorides princes, then very flourishing, had ceramists that worked in the same taste as their neighbors of Corinth, and launched on the Italian market vases that have been taken till now for products of Corinthian shops.³

At Olympia on many stones which entered into the construction of the treasury of Sicyon,⁴ have been found workmen's marks made of some letters. Now in those marks that appear to be most ancient is found the epsilon represented by the character X. This is not found in the Corinthian alphabet, which gives to the same letter the form E. This sign X would then be there as the mark of the Sicyonian potter. Now on theocratera found at Caere and on which is represented the combat of Achilles and Memnon, in the names of the two heroes inscribed on the clay, the epsilon has the form proper to Sicyon.⁵ This same letter is found again at the Heraeum of Argos on a fragment of a vase.⁶ There is no reason for surprise, that in a city where the painting of history was cultivated by famous artists, that there had been skillful painters of vases. The matter further has only a very secondary importance. The vases in question are distinguished neither by the themes nor by the execution of the decoration of those which are certainly of Corinthian origin. The Workshops of Sicyon must have been only branches of Corinthian workshops.

Note 3.p.664. Purgold. Inschriften aus Olympia. p.174-179. (Arch. Zeit. 1881. p. 169-195.

Note 4.p.664. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, p.381, 411.

Note 5.p.664. Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, No. 1147. This vase was published in Mon. de l'Inst. arch. Vol II, pl. 38 B; described in Annalt. 1836.p.310. On

On the Sicyonian alphabet, see Kretschmer. *Die griechische Vasen inschriften* etc. Sect. 35. The character in question also appears among the few letters of a mutilated inscription traced with a brush on a fragment of the neck of a pithos at Thermon in Etolia (*Practika, Soc. arch. of Athens. 1899. p. 61*).

Note 6.p.664. The Argive Heraeum. Vol. II, p. 185, Fig. 101.

The case is a little different for Argos. The only painted vase on which has been mentioned the form of letter peculiar to Argos is a plate found at Rhodes; it resembles too much in all points the other vases from the sage cemetery, its style is too frankly Ionian, that one could dream of seeing in it a product of some workshop overseas.¹ When Argos sent colonists to Rhodes, they perhaps made use of the Argive alphabet for a certain time, or indeed that legend was placed there by some workman of Argive origin, who then found himself working in Ionia.

Note 1.p.665. *Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p. 433, Fig. 221.*

However it is certain that the industry of the ceramist for several centuries occupied many men in Argolis, who knew how to prepare clay there with great care and to decorate it with taste. Proof of this has been made by the excavations of the Heraeum of Argos.² By thousands were taken from the trenches fragments of vases, most of which bore traces of painting.³ This accumulation of rubbish is explained by a custom already made known by the excavations of Naucratis. If the rich consecrated to the deity in the sanctuaries steles or statues, the figure of terra cotta or vase of clay was the offering of the poor.⁴ Unfortunately the ground of the Heraeum has been disturbed more in the course of time than that of Naucratis, and the stony earth of Argolis is less suited to preserve these fragile objects than the clay of the Delta. There have been found indeed a thousand vases intact or scarcely injured; but these are pieces of very small dimensions, alabasters, aryballes or pyxis. Some sixty others have been restored entirely or in part by the aid of fragments; but it has not been possible to restore a single vase of great height. Not a cratera, amphora or hydria; not even an entire cup.

Note 2.p.665. Argive Heraeum, by C. Waldstein with cooperation of G.H.Chase, H. Fletcher de Cou, etc. 1902, 1905.

In Vol. II, p. 57-184, is found the Chapter devoted to the

vases by J.C.Hoppin, and that in which are explained the inscriptions of these vases by T.W.Hermance. p.185-187.

Note 3.p.885. Hoppin estimates at 50,000 the number of vases represented by the fragments carried to Athens and contained in hundreds of baskets. But he counts one vase to 4 or 5 fragments. Now according to his own evidence, most of the vases have been reduced to small bits. Many of them might have given 15 or 20 shards. Then the calculation has a defective basis. (Argive Heraeum. Vol. II, p. 61).

Note 4.p.885. On many of these fragments are read inscriptions engraved with the point and conceived thus.(Greek).

When one studies the minutely detailed inventory given of the vases and fragments found on the site of the Heraeum, it is not without surprise that he sees how rare there are the pieces which bear the mark of a foreign workshop. There has not been mentioned a fragment or style of decoration permitting the recognition of a product of any ionic workshop; only some remains of cups recall distantly the make of the cups of Cyrene. At most are only two dozen fragments that it may be possible to refer to vases of Attic origin. Only Corinthian fabrication was represented by a very considerable number of fragments.¹ Corinth was too near Argos that the works of its potters could not extend into the adjacent State. Yet of these the fragments having very clearly this character form only a slight part of the entirety of the pieces numbered in this catalogue. The local industry furnished by far the greatest quantity of the vases which popular piety had heaped in the Heraeum and its dependencies. The faithful purchased them at Argos or in shops established for that purpose near the temple.

Note 1.p.886. Argive Heraeum. Vol.II, p. 165-173.

By the excavations of Mycenae and of Tiryns, as by those of the Heraeum, it is known how during the entire course of the Mycenaean age the industry of painted vases had flourished in Argolis. All those kilns could not be extinguished when the Achaean royalties fell. The same workmen continued to labor for the people that obeyed Dorian kings, new sovereigns of Argos; but they prepared their clay with less care and adopted the style which prevailed after the Dorian invasion throughout all European Greece, the style termed geometric. The rema-

remains of this pottery abounded in the trenches. Most of these pieces appeared to come from vases, that in dimensions and forms were entirely similar to those known under the name of vases of the Dipylon. As at Athens, on many of these pieces, the motives of the decoration only consisted of combinations of lines; but on others are found those figures of men, horses, chariots and aquatic birds, which cover the field on many Attic vases, those appearing most advanced, figures which here as there having the thinness and stiffness entirely schematic. Then at first sight, one can ask if these vases were not made at Athens and imported into Argolis; but it is affirmed that there are sensible differences in material and fabrication between the vases of this category, whose fragments were collected around the Heraeum, and those taken from Attic tombs. In Argolis the paste is coarser and the walls of the vases are thinner. The black of the designs is less brilliant.¹ All then concurs in suggesting the hypothesis of a native industry continued there in place, that of the artisans of the preceding period. Given the narrowness of its conception and the poverty of its resources, the geometric style does not comprise there from one workshop to another a very marked diversity. That will only be produced later, when it will be necessary to interpret the living form of its infinite variety.

Note 1. p. 887. *Argive Heraeum*. Vol. II, p. 102.

The vases called protocorinthian are still more numerous at the Heraeum than the vases of the geometric style. By their small size they have better escaped the chances of fracture.² They have then furnished most of the pieces intact or nearly so. Fragments of this kind also form the bulk of the collection and occupy most space in the plates of the work. The protocorinthian of the Heraeum do not differ from those found at Corinth, Aegina, Syracuse, in Italy and elsewhere. Same forms and decoration. There is reason to admit, that like their congeners they were destined to contain perfumes. Nothing is more natural than the thought of offering fragrant essences to those gods delighted by the odor of sacrifices.

Note 2. p. 887. *Argive Heraeum*. Vol. II, p. 119-120.

There is no reason to suppose that these vases were made elsewhere than in this Argolis, where from very remote times men

had not ceased to work, decorate and fire clay; but it is necessary not to hasten to conclude with surprising assurance, that Argolis inaugurated the manufacture of vases termed protocorinthian. For this name it is desired to substitute another, that of Argive vases.³ It was not at Corinth but rather at Argos, it is claimed, that the ceramist painter began to renounce the dryness of geometric design, and by the intermediary of motives borrowed from oriental art, he prepared himself to be inspired directly from the human figure as well as by those of animals and plants. None of the reasons alleged for the support of this conjecture seem to us able to justify it or to give it a certain degree of probability. We persist in believing that the term protocorinthian, understood as we have done, is also that best suited to designate the vases in question. Nearly everywhere and for a century or more, vases of this type abounded on the potter's wheel; but we believe it was at Corinth that the ceramist was stimulated by the requirements of a patronage, which extended from year to year and that it held to retaining, making the effort necessary to extend its style by returning to the grand forms of preceding ages, to those offering fields with an amplitude suited for the introduction of scenes borrowed either from scenes of daily life, or from the tales of the poets and the rich treasure of the myths which they had popularized.

Note 3. p. 687. Argive Heraeum. Vol. II, p. 161-164, Pl. 87.

The Argive workshops, where there was not the same stimulant, do not seem to have conceived the same ambitions nor realized the same progress. In this enormous mass of fragments that came from the excavations of the Heraeum, vases with figures and mythological subjects cannot be said to be represented. It is most if two or three groups of fragments can be cited, on which it is believed are divined the remains of paintings of that kind. On the vase which appears to have been a sort of large cup borne on a high base were represented on superposed bands, the combat of warriors around a corpse and the abduction of Dejanira by the centaur Nessos with the pursuit of the monster by Hercules. Elsewhere are some fragments of a great vase on which seems to be represented the chariot race, with the allocation of the tripod and the metal basin proposed as the prize of the winners.¹ To judge by the specimens that we are given

of this kind of all this booty, the activity of the workshops of Argos was arrested at the time when they produced vases of the style called oriental Argive by the author of the inventory, of the style that filled its bands with sphynxes, griffins, lions, stags and ibexes, with palm-trees more or less complex. When in centres like Corinth or Athens, art perhaps much more advanced among the potters, whose shops were frequented by visitors to the Heraeum, they continued to make by routine and by the dozen these little vases, which were of easy execution and current sale.

Note 1. p. 888. Argive Heraeum. p. 164, pl. 80, 19 a-h.

However, it is very probable, that in the great city like Argos, there were in the 7th and 6th centuries some workshops in which were attempted more elevated tasks. If believing Herodotus, a real customs prohibition then prevented Attic vases from entering Argolis,¹ there were models in the Corinthian vases which found numerous purchasers in Argolis. To some one of these Argive workshops, by conjectures often very specious, are referred many vases to which it is not too well known what origin to assign. More or less slight indications support the possibility of the Argive source.

Note 1. p. 889. Herodotus. V. 88. (Greek).

In this list can be placed in the first line the great cup with two handles on which is represented the combat of Hercules against the hydra of Lerne (Fig. 364).²

Note 2. p. 889. Conze. Drei bemalte Thongefässe aus Argos (Arch. Zeit. 1859. p. 33-37, pl. 125).

It has been desired to place this vase to the credit of Corinthian manufacture;³ but it is allowable to regard as very doubtful the justice of this attribution. This vase was found at Argos with two others of the same character but of less interest, and this is an Argive myth which is represented there. As for the technique, it doubtless approaches that of the Corinthian vases, of the more ancient on which the theme of the decoration is taken from mythology. Same pale yellow ground on which the figures are detached in brown with violet and white retouches on the clothing and accessories. Yet there is a difference. Here are no groups of points, of those rosettes and adventitious ornaments which Corinthian painters scatter in profusion between the persons to fill the field. That is here

free and bare. Two subjects divide it, separated by the handles (Fig. 365). On one side is the combat against the monster by Hercules assisted by his faithful companion Iphites. On the other is again Hercules followed by Hermes, that in spite of the dog Cerberus has passed the gates of ^{the} gloomy abode and goes to disturb Hades. The drawing is awkward and heavy; but in both scenes, the composition is perhaps borrowed from some painting that ornamented the temple of the god and evidences a certain art. There will be noted the care which the artist has taken to vary the movement of the heads of the hydra. Three of these have already been attacked by the sickle that the hero uses in his left hand; they lie inert with drooping tongues. It is further time for Hercules to complete his work of destruction; for opposite him the body of Iphitos is held in the coils of these serpents, which he vainly tries to repulse and throw off. Two women enclose the group; perhaps it is necessary to see there repeated and doubled the figure of Athena, the divine protectress of the son of Alcmena. In what remains of the void space, behind a palmatum with the raised pole and the whip resting against the body, then the two horses detached, one of which nibbles the branches of the tree, while he lowers his head to a manger. There is a curious care for the picturesque detail, and in the arrangement of the other scene will be found some trace of the same preoccupation to a lesser degree.

Note 1. p. 370. *Histoire de l'Art*. III, Figs. 78, 415, 416, 547.

Here again is another group of vases concerning which has been spoken the name of Argos on presumptions of a different nature. It concerns pieces collected in the island of Egina, whose inhabitants appear to have derived from outside at least their luxurious pottery.¹ Near the ruins of an edifice believed to have been a temple of Aphrodite were discovered in considerable quantity fragments of painted vases, that have been studied with great care, then classified in chronological order and according to their origin, as far as possible.² They were from all times of all workshops, at least from those of Peloponessus and of central Greece. In this mass of shards, what dominates by far is the protocorinthian, at Egina as at the Heraeum. Here as there were fragments to represent all the times of evolution, all the phases through which the style had

passed, abstractions of geometric design with ingenious efforts by which the still inexperienced artist attempted to render the realities of the world of life. On both are the same types, decoration and clay. Now we know that about the time to which is referred the fabrication of these vases, i.e., about the beginning of the 7th century, Egina was closely united to Argos under the sceptre of Phidon.³ Conqueror of the Spartiates, Phidon then reigned not only over Argolis, but also over the neighboring islands; he menaced Corinth. At Egina were made those didrachmas, those turtles in which it is agreed to recognize the earliest coins struck in western Greece. In these conditions, was it not from the workshops of Argos that the Eginetans must then have demanded the vases needed by them, and are not all the probabilities for the hypothesis which would give credit to those workshops for nearly all the pottery called protocorinthian, whose remains have been collected at various points of the island?

Note 1. p. 671. This appeared to result for Löschke from the study that he made of vases known to have been gathered at Egina at different times (Athen. Mitt. 1897. p. 284). There have been collected at Egina numerous fragments of Naucratic pottery, that cannot be surprising since we know that the Eginetans had an agency at Naucratis. These relations with the Ionian colony of Egypt also explain the presence in the island of some fragments, that appear to come from vases made at Rhodes or at Cyrene. (Furtwängler. Egina. p. 479).

Note 2. p. 671. Pallat. Ein Vasenfund aus Aegina. (Athen. Mitt. 1897. p. 285-333, Pls. VII, VIII, with 42 figs. in text).

Note 3. p. 671. On the date of Phidon, see Curtius. Histoire grecque. (Translation of Boucher-Leclercq). Vol. I, p. 299, note 3.

On the faith of this hypothesis it has been proposed to attribute an Argive origin to the vase, that by its dimensions and form as by the scene represented on it, seems to no longer belong to the category of protocorinthian. We speak of the great oenochoe with greatly expanded body, which could be restored in great part (Fig. 366).¹ By the subject represented on the shoulder, the painter seems to have desired to recall the adventure of the companions of Ulysses leaving the grotto of the Cyclops, each concealed under the belly of a ram (Fig. 367). The awkwardness of the artist has something amusing. To give

more interest to the image, he has held to show the man's form in its entire length, and for that purpose has given to the fugitives an attitude which they could not have retained for some instants, and that would further have exposed them to be at once discovered by Polyphemus. He has shown them as entirely detached from the fleece with hands fixed on the horns of the ram, the feet resting on one of the hind legs. Also likewise he badly calculated the use of the space at his disposal. He could only show the forebody of one of the rams. The artist has well seized there the entirety of the form and the pose of the head. Like the painters of the primitive age, he is quite a skilful handler of animals. This is further not the only trait by which he arouses the memory of his distant predecessors. As it has been noted, the men here have their hair hanging on their shoulders, slender and elongated proportions, the belt around the waist given them on the cups of Vaphio and other monuments of the same kind. It is then the Mycenaean ceramics rather than that of Corinth that is recalled by the decoration of the vase of Egina. On the field there are indeed some rosettes and some groups of points; but these filling motives are here more scattered than on the true vases of Corinth.

At the Heraeum are but very few remains of vases with black figures, of the kind that the Attic workshops produced about the end of the 7th century and during the course of the 6th.¹ As for fragments of vases with red figures, they are still more rare.² In a general way it may be affirmed that there is no trace, so to speak, in this deposit, of vases that may be later than the Median wars. The entirely free art of the 5th century there is only represented by the fragment of a cup with white ground in which is thought to be recognized the style of some pupil of Euphronios.³ It is possible that the custom of consecrating vases at the Heraeum may have in time fallen into disuse, and that the workshops of Argos, deprived of buyers, then nearly ceased to make painted vases. They worked especially in view of the local sale.

Note 1. p. 673. *Argive Heraeum*. vol. II, p. 176-178.

Note 2. p. 673. The same. p. 178-179.

Note 3. p. 673. The same. p. 179, pl. 88.

Egina had been the last patron of Argos, when this with the Temenides held the first rank in Peloponessus; but during the

nalf century preceding the Median wars, Egina had become a rich and powerful State; its opulent citizens purchased where they pleased the wares for which they had a taste. There were collected several beautiful Attic vases,⁴ Later and after 417 Egina was no more than a land subject to Athens, where were provisioned the clerouques with which the ground had been divided.

Note 4.p.673. Arch.Zeit. 1882. Pl.IX, X, p.197-208. Benndorf. Griechische und Sikilische Vasenbilder. Pl. Lix, I.

From facts which we have collected, it may be concluded that the industry of the painted vase furnished at Argos, at least during the first period of the archaic age; but if we believe that we can point out the products of these Argive workshops, we shall not come to give a definition of the style of this fabrication, that distinguishes those of other Greek workshops. By many indications it is believed, that is divined that certain traditions of Mycenaean art have been more vivacious than in the rest of European Greece. But still, so small is the number of vases with figures to which can be assigned an Argive origin, with all probability, that this is merely a conjecture. What is certain is, that the activity of the workshops of Argos did not end in original creations, and did not turn to exportation. This activity relaxed early, when there increased that of the workshops of Ionia, Corinth and Athens. Argos had no commercial navy and did not undertake to compete with workshops that disputed with each other the foreign markets. From the time, when to respond to the taste of the day, it was necessary that the brush of ceramic painters should interpret the fictions of epic poetry, the Argive artisans abandoned the contest.

What results from these observations is, that in this book in which the study of the different trades and of the development of their techniques has a great place, that cannot pass Argos in silence, when we treat of inventions and creations of ceramics; but if Argive ceramics had a right not to be forgotten in the history of the industry of the Vases, it could claim only a very brief mention. Its progress was arrested too soon, and it had not sufficient originality for one to say that it counts in the history of Hellenic art. In the history of Greek ceramics, Corinthian pottery is alone so far, and according to all appearance except for very unforeseen discover-

discoveries, it will remain alone to represent the efforts and contributions of the artists of Peloponessus.

Additions and Corrections.

p.174. We have forgotten to mention in the course of Chapter XVII the monument that serves as a vignette of the chapter. This is a little perfume burner(?) in the form of a cup supported by 4 caryatids. Pottier. Vases antiques. A. 396.

p. 190. Note 1. Instead of rikade, read oikade.

p.195, line 7. Instead of teikeron, read Teichesi.

p.245, third line from the last, Instead of Temonidas, read Timenidas.

p.254, line 11. Instead of 119, read 114.

p.256, note 1, line 2. Instead of andiphonou, read andiopphonou.

p.256, line 28. Instead of 120, read 119; instead of 121, read 120.

p.291. We adhere to say all that we have in this study of ceramics in which we begin in this Chapter to continue it in the succeeding volume, of the beautiful work undertaken and unfortunately left unfinished by the great archaeologist: A- Furtwängler. It has for title:- Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl an hervorragender Vasenbilder by Furtwängler und K.Reichhold. Unchangeable phototypes by F. Bruckmann. Great folio. Text in 4to.

The work is divided in series of 60 plates. Commenced in 1900, it now comprises two complete series. A first part of a third series appeared in 10 plates in 1910. After the death of Furtwängler, the direction of the work was entrusted to his pupil and friend F. Hauser. The choice of format which caused a rise in the price of the work to be regretted has permitted the reproduction of all the paintings in their real size. It may be said that these paintings have never been studied with more minute care and been more faithfully reproduced than there by the conscientious and skilful draftsman Reichhold. To each plate is added a double notice. On one the archaeologist explains the subject of the painting and defines its style. In the other his collaborator gives very useful data concerning the technique of the painting. We have made many borrowings from these notices. Those of the archaeologist as far as plate 80 bear the initials of Furtwängler. Then the signature of Hauser alone is read at the bottom of the pages. In the explanations, the latter in the publications that he gives and in the judgments that

and continues with honor the tradition of his master. Furtwängler was doubtless pressed to hasten to other labors and had further announced the intention of entrusting to Hauser the preparation of these notices for the rest of the work.

We have also made use of a book of a different kind:— History of ancient Pottery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, by H. B. Walters, based on the work of S. Birch, 2 vols. 1905. The two volumes contain 300 illustrations in black and 8 plates in color. The author has not claimed originality; but attached for years to the department of antiquities of the British Museum and one of the authors of the precious catalogue, which that establishment published of this admirable collection of vases, he is fully acquainted with all the literature of the subject, and he has given an excellent summary of the works of the contemporary ceramographs, adding thereto frequent observations suggested to him by the same monuments of which he has charge.

Finally, it is almost useless to state here that our safest guide and most frequently consulted in these researches has been our colleague and friend, M. E. Pottier, conservator of the department of ceramics and oriental antiquities at the museum of the Louvre. There will be found here on almost every page traces of the borrowings from the two works that he has devoted to the collection of which he has the care.

Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite. Etudes sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité. 3 vols in 12. Motteroz.

Part 1. Les origines. 1896.

Part 2. L'école ionienne. 1899.

Part 3. L'Ecole attique. 1906.

As may be divined from the subtitle, this catalogue gives much more than it seems to promise. The paintings of vases being only a reflection of the works of grand art, of painting and of monumental statuary, M. Pottier with regard to the vases sketched there with brilliant ease an entire history of the arts of design for the period that he includes.

In a way, pieces justifying his ideas and views are presented in the two albums that he published under this title:—

Vases antiques du Louvre. Photographs and drawings of J. Devillard. Hachette.

Series 1. 1897. Halls A and E. Les origines. -- Les styles

primitifs. Ecoles Rhodien et Corinthienne. 51 pls.

Series 2. Hall E. Vases de style ionien trouves en Italie. Pl.
Hall F. Vases attiques a figures noires trouves en Italie.
Hall G. Vases attiques a figures rouges trouves en Italie. 51 pl.

These albums present types of vases selected in the halls mentioned above. The text preceding the plates, besides the detailed description of the vases represented here for the first time, contains that of all others previously published, which have appeared to M. Pottier particularly worthy of being brought to the attention of visitors to the museum, and for each of these vases the notice refers to a reproduction formerly given. To facilitate the publication of a great number of types, M. Pottier has nearly always had recourse to the process of facsimile engraving. As he recognized himself, this process has one defect, that ^{of} the gray appearance of the figures; but he has furnished the means of giving a very accurate facsimile of the forms, ornaments and the subjects represented, while permitting the albums to be delivered at a very moderate price, which permits acquisition by isolated workers, which is not the case for the collection of Furtwängler and Reichhold, that more than one library will perhaps hesitate to ensure its possession.

We are happy to seize this occasion to thank M. Pottier for the courtesy with which he has opened to us and to our draftsmen the glass cases of the galleries of the Louvre, and for the earnestness he has caused us to profit by his conversation in these halls, where we have spent many hours, and by all the resources of his so accurate erudition and the refinement of his taste. There are many archaeologists that with their entirely bookish science, have no taste or very little.

P. 293. The lecythe that we give as type of vases with black figures (Pl. XVI) is at the Louvre, Hall F, 159. Its height is 8.4 ins. The oenochoe that represents vases with red figures is 8 ins. (Pl. XVII) and is found in hall G, 243.

P. 307. Note 1. Instead of prochoridio, read prochoi^oio.

P. 314. On the subject of the onos or eginetron, I also cite two Articles, unknown to me until after the printing of this part of my book:-

Xanthoudidis. Epinetron (Athen. Mitt. Vol. 35, p. 323-334, 4 figs. in the text), and C. Blinkenberg. Epinetron und Webstuhl Athen. Mitt. Vol. 36, p. 145-153.

Xanthoudidis demonstrates, according to the spinning of wool transmitted from generation to generation for centuries among the countrywomen in Crete and in the rest of Greece, that the back of the onos served to flatten and smooth the thread, as it was believed. What was placed on that convex and rough surface were locks of crude wool, which the women workers took from the basket that the painting reproduced by us (Fig. 165) shows placed near her. On this piece, placed on her knee that was inside the half cylinder, she formed and carded in the direction that she looks, she made rolls of it which she attached to the distaff. Cretan women still for this purpose use a portable tile that they place on their knees (Fig. 3 of the Article). Blinkenberg admits on the whole the explanation given by Xanthoudidis; he only believes that he could affirm that the use of this utensil was not extended throughout all Greece, that it was peculiar to Attica and Rhodes, whence came all the objects of the kind which have been found. What especially occupies the author in this essay is the trade of weaving with the warp stretched vertically.

P. 316. Among the secondary forms that I have described, I have neglected to cite the cothon mentioned by Athenaeus (XI, 480). What appears to characterize the cothon is its flattened form with a lip bent inside like that of those inkstands, where by this means the ink is prevented from running out in case of the fall of the vase. On the subject of this type, see R.N.Burrows and P.N.Use. Kothons and vases of allied types (Jour.Hell. Studies. Vol. 31, p.72-99). The authors found many of these vases at Ritsona in Beotia, and incline to think that they did not all serve for the same uses. Some might have been incense burners; others perhaps were lamps.

P. 318. We were mistaken in attributing to Thera with Förster (Annali. 1869, p.172) and with Rayet (Histoire de la ceramique grecque, p. 52) the oenochoe with eagle's beak reproduced from the latter (Fig. 168). After inquiry, Löschke believed that he could affirm that this curious vase was not discovered at Thera but at Egina.(Athen.Miii.1897. p. 199-200).

P. 390. It would seem from certain indications, that the potters of Naucratis in the 6th century may have exported some of these vases which then made. It is believed that there were found at Mycalessos in Beotia fragments of polychrome vases

that came from Naucratis (Jour.Hell.Studies. Vol. 6690. p. 308-353, Pls. 23-26).

P. 406. Within my knowledge, no excavations have been made on the site of Teos, which is very near that of Clazomenes; but a verse of Alceus permits the belief that Teos was one of the centres of the most active fabrication of Ionian ceramics.

(Athenaeus. XI, p.481,A). He appears to have there an allusion to the game of cottabus. Without stopping to explain it, all that we retain of this fragment is, that in Asian Greece, cups from the workshops of Teos were particularly desired for certain purposes at feasts. On what those cups might be, see Böhlau. Die ionische Augenschalen (Athen-Mitt. 1900, p. 40-99). The author has given for the epigraph of his essay the vase of Alceus just cited. The cups of Chios were also praised. "The cup of Chios," said Hermippos, a comic writer, "hangs on a nail at the top of the wall" in the festal hall. Athenaeus, p.480.

P. 413. We believe that there is reason to attribute to Rhodes and to some Ionian workshop of the 5th century as proposed, the oenochoe with low and wide body discovered at Phanagoria, a city founded by colonists from Teos on the eastern coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. (Comp.rend.Archae de l'acad. de S. Petersburg. 1870. Pl.Iv. Part of this decoration is in Rayet-Collignon, p.51). As Rayet has felt (p.46), the animals are treated there in an entirely conventional manner, which is not that of Ionian painters. This must be the product of a local workshop, that awkwardly copied oriental fabrics. This lion has almost the air of one of the motives found on Sassanian fabrics.

P. 414. Perhaps we was not sufficiently insistent on the prolonged sojourn that the Phoenicians made at Rhodes as at Cyprus. The Phoenicians were established on some point of the shore and doubtless had scarcely penetrated into the interior of the island, which was then covered by thick forests, more remains of which have been preserved by Rhodes than by any other island of the Archipelago. For a certain time, perhaps during one or two centuries, the Phoenicians and Greeks lived side by side in the island, the former retaining their fortified agencies, the latter building their cities there and gradually making the soil valuable. When the Greeks were constantly recruited by new swarms of immigrants, were sufficiently numerous and strong enough to hold and occupy the country, the Phoenicians

must give place to them; but as proved by many objects collected in the excavations, they continued to visit the island as merchants, and they brought there the products of their industry in abundance.

Even the Onomastic of the island retains traces of that joint habitation of the two peoples. The highest mountain of Rhodes (5021 ft.) still bears the name of Tairos, derived from the ancient name of Atudirios, Atadeiros. Now this name is identical with the Tabor of Palestine, which Polybius and Stephen of Byzantium also call Atadinos, a word derived from the Semitic root expressing the idea of height.

The literary texts and inscriptions agree in showing the effect that the Phoenicians established in the island exerted on the Greek colonists. According to Diodorus (V, 58), Cadmus having dedicated a temple to Poseidon, left some Phoenicians to take care of it, and these united in a single community with the Ialysians. The priests of Ialysos carried back their genealogy even to the Semitic founders of the local cult. This assertion must have been borrowed by Diodorus from a Rhodian historian Ergeias, who appears to have occupied himself much with the antiquities of his native island. According to him as cited by Atheneus (VIII, p. 320), the chief of the first Greek colonists, Ipnicles, only obtained possession after a long siege of the fortress, that the Phoenicians had built on the site of Ialysos. What confirms this statement of Diodorus on the relation connecting certain cults of the Greek island with the Phoenician cults is an inscription published by Newton (Transactions. XI, part 3, 1878), which treats of a cult of Ialysos, that of the solar goddess Alectrona. This cult seems a remnant of the Phoenician cult of Baal. In the ritual preserved for us by this marble, there are certain arrangements that seem of Semitic origin, for example those excluding from the precinct everything impure, and which prescribe walking only with naked feet. Exodus, III, 5; "Draw thy shoes from thy feet, for the place where you are is holy ground."

P. 414. To Salzmann is due the knowledge of this cemetery of Camiros, which has added to much to the little known until then of the first Ionian art. We believe then that there should be inserted here some statements concerning this person, so much forgotten today, but whose discoveries made much noise in their

time and contributed so much to enrich the museums of London, Paris and Berlin. We owe them to a conversation with M. Fröner. Salzmänn was an Alsatian painter, who went to the Orient to make paintings and photographs there. He began at Jerusalem in 1854 and made a sojourn there from which he sent the first photographs that had been made of the monuments of that city. He then formed a collection that he sold for 1200 francs (\$240); then he returned to the Orient and came to Rhodes, where he married. Settled in the island, he began excavations there on his own account and obtained many beautiful objects, that he took to Paris, and then finally transported to London. The museum of the Louvre had purchased from him a certain number of vases; but it had refused to acquire the polychrome vase of Thetis and Peleus, one of the most curious monuments of Greek ceramic painting. Salzmänn asked 4000 francs (\$800) for it. Newton paid 8000 francs (\$1600) for it for the British Museum, which acquired nearly all the rest of the collection of vases, statuettes and jewels.

After having terminated that sale, Salzmänn returned to Rhodes to excavate at Kamiros and Ialysos on account of the British Museum, and this campaign also procured many interesting monuments for the establishment for which he was agent. One condition had been imposed on him, that he should keep a journal of the excavations, a labor to which he did not confine himself in his first undertakings. A copy of this journal was sent to the British Museum, and many extracts from it have been published by Furtwängler and Löschke in their Mykenische Vasen. The journal appears to have been carefully kept. M. Fröner possessed the original, which is more detailed than the copy sent to Newton. He also holds other papers of Salzmänn.

After having fulfilled his mission, Salzmänn engaged to excavate anew for the account of M.A. Parent, who desired to employ the fortune acquired by his father, one of the contractors engaged in cutting the isthmus of Suez, to found a museum entirely composed of objects of known origin, found in systematically conducted excavations; but the ardor of the seeker was lessened. Salzmänn was spoiled by the freedom left to him and by the very large sums placed at his disposal. From the excavations made for Parent not much resulted. The mine of Kamiros was exhausted. The fragment of a journal of the excavations contained in the

single part that appeared from the *muesum* Parent merits no great confidence. During the last years that he passed in the Orient, Salzmann excavated less than he purchased from the dealers in Rhodes, Smyrna and of the Lycian coast. Salzmann returned to settle and die in Alsace about 1874. Some pieces that he kept were left in the hands of his family. Those were given after his death to the *muesum* of Colmar (*Revue Arch.* 1903² p.418).

The only work that Salzmann published has the title:--

A. Salzmann. *Necropole de Kamiros, ile de Rhodes. Journal des fouilles executees dans cette necropole, pendant les annees 1858 a 1865. Large folio. Detaille.*

The title is very pompous; it has not a line of explanatory text, not a word of the journal of the excavations; but the 60 plates composing this album are executed with care. It is a medley of lithographs, lithocromes and of photographs transferred to stone by the Poiteven process, which preceded the invention of phototypy and heliogravure. The vases not reproduced in this fashion are well drawn by Massias.

Those vases belonging to the Louvre are found in the album, whose publication was commenced by Longperier under the title of *museum of Napoleon III* (4 th, Guerin, no date). The images were placed in color on stone by the aid of photographs, by a very skilful and faithful artist, G.Regamey. Better copies could not be desired.

Salzmann had associated in his excavations of Kamiros a consular agent Biliotti, who until about 1865 continued at Rhodes excavations, whose product he sold in London. From him the *museum of Berlin* acquired in 1885 an entire collection of Rhodian vases of which Furtwängler gave a summary description in *Jahrb.* of 1886, p.132-156. The statement is enriched by numerous figures and on the sources contains indications taken from the memoranda of Biliotti; but these indications are very little. It is very regrettable, that we possess no connected description and plans of these Rhodian cemeteries, from which came so many interesting pieces. Salzmann, whose labors at Jerusalem had placed in relations with De Saulcy, wrote to him at the time of his first excavations, letters that were often communicated to the Academy, and then reproduced in *Revue archaeologique*; but he never had the idea of making a plan of the ground which should fix the relative situation of the different ceme-

cemeteries that he exploited. He has nowhere furnished drawings that would give the form of the tombs, and which would indicate the manner in which were arranged there the objects which he collected there. Nowhere has he marked by what characteristics are distinguished the contents of the different groups of tombs. He could have ~~dipped~~ with erudition; but the misfortune was, that he had no taste for accuracy. This is how A. Maury describes him, who as director of the *Revue archaéologique* had been in relations with him; he was a desultory person, a basket with a hole in it, who had gained much money, but had always spent in advance. In 1878, finding himself at London, A. Maury inquired of Newton where Salzmann died. "I don't know," he replied, "he was an odd fellow." He was a strange person.

The excavations made at Rhodes a dozen years since at the cost of the Carlsberg foundation were very systematically conducted by M.M. Blinckenberg and Kinck; but they have so far added nothing to what we possessed and knew of Rhodian ceramics. The Danish explorers devoted themselves to Lindos. They excavated the citadel; they uncovered there the temple of Athena Lindian and gathered a very rich epigraphic booty; but not having opened tombs, they collected no vases. (Brief reports in *Bulletin of royal academy of Copenhagen*. 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907).

P. 415. In the report on the collection acquired at London for the museum of Berlin, a report cited in the preceding Note, Furtwängler in using indications carried on the memoranda of Biliotti, attests that vases entirely similar have been found in the two groups of tombs exploited in the places, one of which is called Fikelloura and the other Siama. Likewise Böhlau in the catalogue of vases coming from Rhodes given by him. (*Aus ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen*, p.53-54). It is then entirely chimerical to desire to establish for Rhodian ceramics a classification based on the place where found.

P. 418. On the geometric vases of Rhodes, see the figures contained in the Article of Dümmler. *Jahr*. 1891. p. 268-269.

P. 431. On the Eginetan origin of the motive of the eyes in the decoration of Ionian vases, see the observations of Furtwängler in *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Series I, p.218-219; text.

P. 434. Prinz (*Funde aus Naucratis*, Pl. III, a) reproduces a plate of the museum of Berlin of unknown origin, whose decoration by its arrangement recalls in a striking manner that of

several plates found at Camiros. The internal surface is likewise divided in two segments of unequal size. On the larger of the two is a man on horseback turned to the right. On the smaller segment are radiating stripes.

P. 438. In the small lot of vases contained in the Kirchner museum at Rome is a plate that indeed seems Rhodian. Around a central rosette are three covered by marching animals. Same choice of species, refinement in drawing and same attitudes as on the Levy vase. One would say that the two plates came from the same workshop. Like the Levy vase, this plate must have been acquired in Italy. (Paribeni. Vasi inediti del museo Kirchneriano, in Mon. ant. Vol. XIV. p. 269-308, 14 figs. in text, Pl. XXVI in color).

P. 439. The Louvre was enriched a few years since by a collection of vases formed at Rhodes by M. Arapidis. Besides Corinthian and Attic vases, it contains several entirely Ionian pieces, similar to the best of the Salzmänn finds. Only to avoid repetition have we omitted to reproduce a great oenochoe that very much resembles that represented in our Fig. 219. Its surface is likewise divided in bands superposed from shoulder to foot; but on the Arapidis vase are 5 bands instead of 4. See how they are filled. Band 1, water birds, ducks, Band 2, asses and griffins. Band 3, deer, Band 4, swans. Band 5, buds and flowers of the lotus. On the foot. The presentation is excellent.

All the pieces of the Arapidis are still unpublished. There will be much to use from them.

P. 457. A. G. Reinach. (Apropos de l'animation de Alkimenés de Sybaris, in Revue Phil. Vol. 35, p. 449) discusses and opposes the conjecture of Dugas. He shows that Zodia in all examples found to cite, seems to apply only to animated figures, human or animal. The conjecture of Heyne seems to him to lead to fewer objections. In stead of Zousois, it is necessary to read Susiois. The top band would have represented Susians, that of the bottom Persians. Each of the two series of persons had been represented with its national costume. On certain oriental and Greek monuments, Persians are distinguished from Medes and other people of the empire both by the type of their faces and a difference in costume. If there be difficulty in admitting that these differences were known at Sybaris in Italy, Reinach insists on the close relations that existed between Sybaris and

Sybaris and Miletus, by the evidence of historians. It was known at Miletus by all Ionians that had made the journey to Babylon or Susa now to hold this difference of appearance. It would be possible that the himation of Alkimenēs was embroidered at Miletus and sent to a rich inhabitant of Sybaris.

P. 461. In regard to the divergent rays that decorate the foot of so many Ionian vases, Karo considers this motive as borrowed from Egypt. It was suggested to the Greek potter by those Egyptian vases without feet that were thought to come from the lotus flower. The motive loses this primitive meaning on the Greek vase that has a foot. It is no longer purely ornamental there. (Note on the origin of the double rays as an ornament, in *Jour.Hell.Studies*. 1899, p. 163).

P. 471. On the vase of Melos that shows us Apollo escorted by two muses (Fig. 235), a lyre with 7 strings is held in the hand of the god. As already noted, is it then later than the time when the reptachord was substituted as the special Greek instrument and the accompaniment of all lyric poetry for the tetrachord, the old instrument of the epic temple; but this change was already completed from the first half of the 7th century and it appears difficult to carry back to then the moment when the island ceramics flourished. This vase then does not give us even an approximate date.

P. 515. Prinz (p.122-135) enumerates the sites where were found vases of Ionian make.

P.518, Note 1. I cite as the most complete list that has been given of the hydrias of Caere, that drawn up by Pottier in 1892. Another will be found, richer by two numbers, on p. 1. of the Essay of J. Endt, *Beitrag zur Ionischen Vasenmalerei*. Prague. 1899. This essay contains interesting observations and several unpublished vases are represented there. What is lacking there are general views.

P. 522. The coiffure of Egyptian kings, with the uraeus on the brow and the flap of cloth falling behind, is more correctly represented only on the vase of Busiris on a fragment of the vase of Naucratis, that will be found represented in *Jour.Hell.Studies*. 1905.p.121, Pl. V, 1.

P. 543, note 1. There were also collected at Eleusis fragments of vases on which the figures recall the cup of Phineus by the colors employed and the style of the drawing. Rhomaïos. V

Vasenscherben in Eleusis (Athen.Mitt.1906.p.186-204,Pl. XIVV).

P.551. On the vases that were fabricated in Italy by Ionian painters established in that country, see the observations and conjectures of Furtwängler. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Series I. Notes and pl. 21.

P. 558. Lines 12-14. The stater of electrum mentioned there made a part of the Jameson collection. We reproduce it at double the actual size, as the ornament on the title of this volume.

P. 658. In the fragments of vases gathered at Empurias on the eastern coast of Spain, where Massalia had founded a colony of Emporion, there has been found no trace of Ionian pottery; but there have been collected fragments of Corinthian and Attic vases with black and red figures. Institut d'estudios catalanas. 1908. p.150-240. Les excavations d'Empurias, p. 195-240. A. Frickenhaus. Griechische Vasen aus Emporion.

On the places where fragments of Corinthian vases have been collected, see H. Prinz, p. 74. They have been found as far East as Gordion in Phrygia.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

- Abdera; coins, 128-129.
- Abeille, "Bee"; on coins, 83-84.
- Acantne; its coins, 85, 128-129.
- Achelous; (river); on coins, 136-137.
- Achilles: pursuing Hector, 404, 501, 526: dragging the body of Hector, 624: funeral, 645.
- Acier: "Steel;" among the ancients, 58.
- Aeneas, invsician: 232.
- Adriente; coins, 141.
- Aigle: "Eagle;" on coins, 113, 122, 130, 140: on vases, 392, 501.
- Ailes: "Wings;" arrangements that Greek artists adopted for drawing wings on fictitious beings, 9-10.
- Ajax: suicide: 619-620: combat with Aeneas, 624.
- Alabaster: 312-313: protocorinthian, 575, 577, 585-586.
- Alabastrotheones: 585.
- Alexanders: gold coins, 71.
- Alkimenos of Sybaris: his animation, 457-458, 682.
- Alphabet, Corinthian: 573-574, 655 Note 1.
- Ammon (Zeus): on Cyrenaic coins, 109: on those of Cyrene, 130.
- Anchiaracs and Eriocyle: 637-638.
- Architrave: on clay tablet, 238-240.
- Amphora, 299-301: Ionian: 411: of Melos, 470, 474, 490: false, 565.
- Andokides: perhaps inventor of red figures, 334.
- Animals: files of vases with reliefs, 167: on oenocoes of Rhodes, 424, 682: on those of Corinth, 607-608.
- Antimenidas in Babylonia: 11.
- Antiochans: stele of, 229-230.
- Apelles: 201.
- Aphrodite: on coins, 105: at Neocratis, 496.
- Apollo: and the stag, 27-28: in various attitudes on intaglios, 28: pursuing Titos, 361-37: on coins, 81, 83, 84, 85, 105, 129, 134, 136: on vases, 471.
- Arakidis: collection at the Louvre, 681-682.
- Arcadia: coins, 94.
- Arceilas: cup of, 494-496.
- Archers: popular name of daries, 71: on horseback, 169: winged, 550: kneeling, 634-635.
- Aregon: 218.
- Arethusa: 82, 130.

- Argent: "Silver: 52-53. 99
- Argos: coins. 84. 122: Excavations of Heraeum. 581. 665: proto-Corinthian pottery at Argos. 581-582. 607: ceramics at. 665. 676.
- Ariana: on a vase. 540.
- Aridikes: 216.
- Aristotle: his explanation of the invention of coins. 47. Note 5: his mention of steel. 58: on Phidon of Argos. 112.
- Arms. canting: on coins. 88-69.
- Artemis: on intaglios. 28: on coins. 83-84: on vases. 382. 471: so-called Persian Artemis. 267. 271. 112.
- Arvballa: 313: mouth formed of a head modeled in clay. 317: protocorinthian. 575. 585-586.
- Ascos: 310.
- Aspendos: coins. 107.
- Athena: on intaglios. 29: on coins. 82. 107. 115-120. 123.
- Atheneus: on names of vases. 295: on Naucratis. 388.
- Athens: coins. 114-120.
- Auriol: treasury. 148. note 1.
- Babelon: works on elyptics. 21. note 4: catalogue of collection Pauvert. 33. note 1: *Traite des monnaies grecques et romaines*. 44. note 1.
- Bacchiades: 56
- Belier: "Ram:" in elyptics. 23: on coins. 108.
- Beotia: protocorinthian pottery. 582.
- Bes: in Greek elyptics. 38-39.
- Betyle: "Idol stone:" on coins. 107.
- Biliotti: 680.
- Böhlau: excavations at Samos and hypotheses. 404. note 2. 415.
- Boreas: on a vase. 382: Boreades. 536-538.
- Bouclier: "Buckler:" Eeotian. 86: painting on shield. 233.
- Boularchos: his painting. 219. 276. 281.
- Bouquetin: "Ibex:" in elyptics. 13. 23: on coins. 107: on vases. 381. 440. 462-463. 546-547.
- Bractee: Eracted: 62.
- Bronze: 52.
- Bucchero: Nero. 154.
- Busiris: vase of. 521-524.
- Cacnet: "Seal:" with rectangular base. 13: of circular form. 13-14: acorn shape. 17: law on use of. 19.

- Cadmus; and the serpent, 502.
 Cados; 302.
 Caere; hydrias, 384, 517-529, 682-683; protocorinthian vases found there, 583.
 Calliphon of Samos; 219.
 Calymna; coins, 105.
 Camares; vases, 566.
 Camiros; cemeteries, 414.
 Cantharus; 309.
 Caolin; Kaolin; "perhaps the white coating on vases, 336
 Carpathos; coins, 85.
 Carre; "Square; sunk on archaic coins, 60-61.
 Carystos; coins, 113-114.
 Catagrapha; 2, 3-224.
 Catania; coins, 142-143.
 Callonia; coins, 134.
 Cauteris; "Hot irons" for encaustics, 199.
 Caveux; certifies no good clay at Delos, 487, note 2.
 Centaur; on intaglios, 8-9, 14, 25, 126; on painted sarcophaguses, 268; on vases, 622-623, 649; winged, 25-26.
 Cerf; "Stag;" in glyptics, 23; near Apollo, 28; on coins, 79, 83; on vases, 635.
 Chalcis; coins, 113.
 Chalcus; 74.
 Chalcid; data furnished by, 53-54.
 Chares; painter of vases, 616.
 Charge of cavalry; on sarcophagus, 268, on vases, 642.
 Chars; "Charlotts;" race on paintings on sarcophaguses, 268; on vases, 639.
 Chasse; "Hunt;" on clay plaques, 242-243, 261; in painting on sarcophaguses, 273-274, on Vases, 518-519, 524, 526, 545, 635.
 Chaton; "Bezel;" intaglio on bezel of ring, 14, 36.
 Cheval; "Horse;" in glyptics, 3, 23, 35; winged, 7; on coins, 87, 113; on vases, 474, 579.
 Chevre; "Goat;" on coins, 127.
 Chien; "Dog;" in glyptics, 23; on coins, 142; beneath bellies of horses on painted sarcophaguses, 276; on vases, 463; Cerberus, 525-526, 669; of the table, 633, 646
 Chigi; vase, 545-548.
 Chimera; on intaglio, 8; on vases, 382, 424-425, 453.

- Onios; coins, 103, 104; cups, 678.
 Onorus; on vases with reliefs, 165-166; on painted vases, 608-610.
 Oucette; "Owl;" popular name of coins of Athens, 71; on coins, 83.
 Ouytra; 305.
 Cimmerians; invasion of, 269.
 Cimon of Cleones; 223-225, 228, 187.
 Cistophores; 72.
 Clazomenes; sarcophaguses, 262-278; fragments of vases found there, 404-485.
 Cleantes; 215, 218.
 Cleomenes; potter, 317.
 Cnidos; coins, 105.
 Cnossos; coins, 130.
 Coiffure; of driver of chariot on painted sarcophagus, 273; of Egyptian kings on Ionian vases, 522, 663.
 Coins; 53-54; Antique, 57; materials, 59.
 Comos; 374, 428, 438, 536, 625-626, 644.
 Cons; in Greek glyptics, 12.
 Conze; first to mention the vases of Melos, 468.
 Cog; "Cock;" on coins, 138; on funerary steles, 231; on vases, 392; on shield, 625.
 Corcyra; coins, 121.
 Corinth; coins, 93, 120-121; part taken in first advance of painting, 215-217; Phoenician origin, 590-591.
 Cortona; muse of, 206.
 Cos; coins, 106.
 Cotnon, 677.
 Coupes; "Cups;" metal, Assyrian and Phoenician, 422, 426, 453-454, 458-459.
 Crabe; "Crab;" on coins, 106, 141, 147.
 Craton; 218.
 Creseides; 46, 71, 97, 103-104.
 Croix ansee; "Fylfot;" on coins, 108.
 Cros and Henry; studies on antique painting, 193, note 3, 204.
 Crotona; coins, 95, 137.
 Cuneiform characters; employed as ornamental motives by Ionian ceramists, 452, 459.
 Cylinder; in Greek glyptics, 11.
 Cyprus; coins, 107-109.

Cyrene; coins, 89, 130; ceramics, 491-514; nymph, 130, 498-499
Cyzicus; coins, 71, 90-91, 100, 103, 105.

Daims moucnetes; "Spotted deer;" on sarcophaguses, 274; on
vases, 395, 439, 462-563, 518.

Dancois; "Danish;" explorers of Rhodes, 681.

Dariques; "Darics;" 71.

Dauphin; "Dolphin;" on coins, 85, 129, 140; on vases, 560, 604,
635-636.

Delos; coins, 129-130; ceramics, 479-482, 486-487; festivals,
492-493.

Demarettion; 67, 71.

Demeter; on coins, 122; on vase with reliefs, 167-168.

Demons; marine on intaglios, 8; of the kiln, 348; winged, 25.

Denys of Halicarnassus on archaic frescos, 290.

Departure of warrior for combat; on vases with reliefs, 162, 172.

Derronians; 125-126.

Despoina; on coins, 122.

Detrempe; "Distemper painting;" 197-198, 209-211.

Didrachma; 72.

Dinos; employed as ossuary, 578.

Diopolus; 73.

Dionysos; on coins, 81, 139; with Taracians, 124; on vases,
539-540.

Diocures; on an intaglio, 32

Dolonia; on painted sarcophaguses, 268, 270.

Donner; studies on technics of antique painting, 187, note 1.

Drachma; proposed etymology, 72.

Draco; did not know coins, 114.

Droit; "Right of coining;" 69-70.

Duel of warriors; on vases with reliefs, 162-163, 168; on
painted sarcophaguses, 270; on vases, 432, 471, 624, 634, 642.

Dugas; interpretation of text on animation of Alkimenos of
Sybaris, 458; researches on ceramics of Delos, 479, 486,
note 1; studies on pottery of Cyrene, 499, note 1.

Ecphantos; 216, 247.

Egina; history, 111-112; coins, 111-113; vases found there, 5
582, 671-672, 678.

Egypt; imitation in form and decoration of painted sarcophaguses,
274; in decoration of vases, 382, 394, 453, 460-461, 496, 5

- 521-522, 683; perfume vases in, 586-587.
- Electrum; 51-52, 97, 683.
- Elis; coins, 122.
- Emporion; Greek vases found there, 683.
- Encaustic; painting, 198-268, 211-212.
- Eneas; on an intaglio, 32; on clay plaque, 244; on vases, 624.
- Ephebe; on intaglios, 34.
- Epnesus; coins, 83, 102.
- Epineton; 314, 677.
- Eretria; coins, 113.
- Eros; "Cupid;" on intaglios, 31.
- Etruria; mural paintings, 185, 268-269; workshops founded there by Greek painters, 548-550, 628-630, 683.
- Eucratides; gold coin, 67-68.
- Eumenes of Athens; 221-223, 247, 287.
- Euphronios; dedication by, 379.
- Europa and bull; on an intaglio, 32; on a vase, 525, 559-560.
- Eurystheus; fear of, 559.
- Euthymides; defiance of Euphronios, 376.
- Face of a coin; 69.
- Federals; coins, 97-99, 134.
- Feast; scenes of, 373-374, 632, 643-644.
- Fillet; with figures on necks of vases, 381-382, 504, 507.
- Fin; "End;" of coinage, 71.
- Flinders Petrie; excavations in Delta, 379, 387, note 1.
- Fourrees; "Thickets;" coins, 63.
- Fresco painting; 187-196.
- Fröhner; anthropology of Greek vases, 300, note 1; data on Salzmann supplied, 679, 680.
- Funerailles; "Funeral;" representation of plaques, 248, 260; on vases, 480-481.
- Furtwängler; work, *Die antike Gemmen*, 3, note 2; suspects authenticity of vase of Cleomenes, 318, note 1; believes not in Argive origin of plate of Euphrosos, 434, note 1; shows importance of cup of Peisistratos, 536, note 5; work, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 675-676; his report on a collection of Rhodian vases, 680, 681.
- Ganymede; on intaglio, 32.

Gardner; Excavations at Naucratis, 387, note 1.

Gardner; 76, note 7.

Gela; coins, 87, 142, 143; Rhodian colony, 416.

Gelon; 130-131.

Gerhard; on names of Greek vases, 296, note 2.

Girard; *La peinture grecque*, 197, note 1; drawing on stone discovered at Samos, 234-236.

Gorgon; on intaglios, 11, 25, 27; on coins, 76, 104, 113; on vase with reliefs, 168; on clay plaque, 261; on vases, 382, 640.

Gräf; collection, 205.

Graffites; "Scratches;" on vases, 367-370.

Grenade; "Pomegranate;" on coins, 107, 129; on pottery of Cyrene, 493, 507.

Griffin; on intaglios of Melos, 9; on later intaglios, 27; on coins, 85, 104, 106, 129; on vases, 439; winged on intaglio, 24, 439.

Gutters; 316.

Halicarnassus; coins, 105.

Harpy; on intaglios, 25; on vases, 536-538.

Hartwig; on brush of painters of vases, 338, note 1; colored reproduction of amphora from caere, 528, note 1.

Hauser; continuator of Furtwängler, 675-676.

Hector; on vases fighting Ajax, 635; departing for his last combat, 636, 646.

Hemidrachma; 72.

Hephaestos' return to Olympus, 559, 622.

Hercules; on intaglios, 8, 30-31, 40, 41; on coins, 81, 86, 108-109, 129, 130; on clay plaques, 243, 256; on vases, 472, 501, 502, 522, 525-526, 536, 559, 622-623, 631-636, 649, 669-670.

Hermes; on intaglios, 28-29; on coins, 79, 109, on clay plaques, 239; on vases, 472-473, 526.

Herodotus; opinion on invention of coinage, 45-48; evidence on Phidon, 49-50; on Thracian nation, 124; on tablet of Mandrocles and evacuation of Phoea, 219; on establishments of Greeks in Egypt, 381, 383, 386.

Himera; coins, 138.

Hippocampus; on coins, 136.

Hippopotamus; on back of seal, 17.

Hirondelle; "Swallow;" in legend on vase, 365; ornament of

Ionian vases, 440.

Hogarth; excavations at Naucratis, 387, note 1; essay on civilization of Ionia, 451, note 1.

Horai; 538.

Hydra; "Serpent;" of Lerne on vases, 669-670.

Hydria; 296, 302-303.

Ibis; on intaglio, 7.

Incision; lines incised on vases, 344, 383, 394; Corinthians probable inventors, 436; process adopted in Ionia, 445-446, 503; use in Corinthian ceramics, 594-596.

Incuse coins; 61-62, 133-134.

Inscriptions in mural paintings; 216-217, painted on vases, 353-366, 388, 618; none on Ionian pottery, 555-556; why Corinthian potters multiplied them! 616, 659.

Iole; opposite Hercules, 472, 631-632.

Jason; on coins, 86, 123.

Jaubin; study on sarcophaguses of Clazomenes, 263, note 3.

Kalos; epithet on vases, 361-363.

Kelenderis; coins, 107.

Kestios; 199-200.

Kircher; vases of museum, 681.

Klein; works, 358, note 1; 363, note 1.

Kyathos; 306-307.

Kylix; 309-310.

Kyme; of Eolia; fragments of vases there, 407.

Kypselos; "Cypselos;" coffer, 219, 638, 653.

Labyrinth; on an intaglio, 4; on coins, 130.

Laconia; ceramics, 506-514.

Lampsacus; coins, 103.

Lankuettes; "Radiating stripes;" 504, 577, 682.

Laos; coins, 136.

Lebes; 305.

Larissa; coins, 86.

Lecythe; 312; araballesque, 314; on this word, 312; note 1; at Rhodes, 442.

Legends; on coins, 93-94.

Lenormant; La monnaie dans l'antiquité, 44, note 1.

Leontion; coins 126.

Lete; coins, 126.

Letronne; on antique painting, 189; note 1.; on names of Greek vases, 296, note 2; on scratched inscriptions of vases, 369, note 1.

Levy; vase, 438-440, 567.

Lezard; "Lizard;" on intaglios, 7; on vases, 495.

Lievre, "Hare;" on coins, 136, 138; man with hare's head, 428, hunting nares on vases, 428, 502, 545, 559, 575, 623, 635; reason for this motive and its oriental origin, 603-604.

Lindos; excavations at, 414, 416; offering of Amasis to, 456.

Lion; in glyptics, 13, 17, 22-23; on coins, 85, 142, 143; on sarcophaguses of Clazomenes, 266; on vases, 452, 480, 481, 526-527, 545, 604-605, 606; lion and bull, 128, 266; winged, 7-24; man with lion's head as mouth of lecythe, 548.

Litra; 74.

Longperier; his museum Napoleon III, 680.

Lotus; flowers and buds in Ionian ceramics, 430, 452, 461, 489; in Corinthian ceramics, 601, 602, 605.

Loup; "Wolf;" on coins, 85, on vases, 382.

Lyre; on coins, 83, 106, 129-130, 135-136.

Lyseas; stele of, 226-228.

Macodonia; coins, 127.

Macmillan; lecythe, 545-548.

Mallos; coins, 107.

Mandrocles, his tablet, 219, 220, 281.

Marteau; "Hammer;" of coiner, 53-54.

Mask; on back of seal, 17; on intaglios, 36, in bottom of cup, 536.

Massalia; coins, 147-148.

Medals; 66, 68.

Megara; so-called cups, of, 173.

Melos; Intaglios found there, 5-7, coins, 88, 129; vases, 468-491, 482.

Menæds; on coins, 126.

Messana; coins, 138, 142; first name was Zancle, 88.

Metaponte; coins, 88, 136, 137.

Methydrion; coins, 123.

Methymne; coins, 103, 105.

Metopes; similar decoration on vases, 535, 644.

Michel; what Greeks made of coins, 48, note 2.

- Miletus; coins, 85, 91, 95, 101-102, 104; little importance of fragments of vases collected there, 403-404.
- Milonidas; painter of Greek plaques, 618, note 1.
- Miniatures; paintings of vases to which name was given, 546, 647-649.
- Minotaur; on coins, 130.
- Mitylene; coins, 100, 102; widely scattered on coasts of western Mediterranean, 148.
- Mnesarchos; engraver, 20, 42.
- Monsters; on intaglios, 24-27; on coins, 103, 107, 108; on clay plaques, 240; in paintings of sarcophaguses, 266, 268; on vases, 112, 114.
- Muses; on vases of Melos, 471.
- Myrina; fragments of vases found there, 410-412.
- Naucratis; pottery of black paste, 158; history of painted vases, 384-402, 678.
- Navires; "Snips;" representation of, 106-107, 413.
- Naxos; coins, 138; cup attributed to, 539-540.
- Naxos of Sicily; coins, 138-139.
- Negro; head on back of seal, 17, on coin, 105; on vases, 394.
- Nicosthenes; form of his apocras, 301, 504; perhaps inventor of red figures, 334; represented at Naucratis, 398.
- Nike; on intaglios, 31; on coins, 79, 86, 107, 122, 140, on a marble shield, 233; on sarcophagus of Clazomenes, 267, 271.
- Nudity; female in glyptics, 35; of male body on coins of western Greece, 135.
- Nymphs; 539.
- Obolus; 72-73, 75.
- Oril; "Eye;" ornament of necks of vases, 431, 681; difference between representations on Ionian and Corinthian vases, 465.
- Oenochoe; 307; at Enodes, 421, 426, 441; Corinthian, 607.
- Offering; rite of, 485-486.
- Oies; "Geese;" under restal tables, 633, note 1.
- Oiseau; "Bird;" on coins, 79; flying in field over chariots or horsemen, 346; seated on mane of horse, 489-490.
- Oiseau aquatiques; "Water birds;" in glyptics, 7; on vases, 381, 426, 430, 604, 607; predilection for them by Ionian ceramist, 437, 462-471.
- Olpe; 307.

Olyntne; coins, 128.

Onos, 309-310, 677.

Or; "Gold;" 52, 98.

Orreskions; 125-126.

Ours; "Bears;" on coins, 122.

Palmettes; "Palmatiums;" Ionian, 430, 452; Corinthian, 601, 602.

Palm; on vase, 538-540.

Panache; "Plumes;" of certain spaynxes, 395, 449-450, 474, 504, 505, 547.

Pandosia; coins, 94.

Panofka; on names of Greek vases, 296, note 1.

Pantner; on cup, 495.

Panticapea; coins, 105.

Paris; judgment of, 530-532, 545-546.

Pauvert de la Chapelle; collection, Note 1.

Pegasus; 86, 120, 168.

Pelias; funeral of, 638-639.

Pelike; 302.

Perseus and Gorgon; on intaglios, 11; on vases with reliefs, 168; on clay plaque, 261; on vases, 432-433.

Pnanagoria; oenocoe there, 678.

Pnanes; coins, 95-96.

Pnassalus; coins, 123.

Pnaselis; coins, 106-107.

Phoenicians; borrowings by Ionians for decorating products, 454-456, 458-459; perfume industry, 586-587; textile industry, 598; sojourn and influence at Rhodes, 678-679.

Phiale; "Jar;" 310.

Phidon of Argos; 49-50, 111-112, 671.

Philips; of gold, 71.

Philocles; the Egyptian, 215, 218.

Philoctetes; on intaglio, 32.

Phineus; his cup, 536-542.

Phoceia; coins, 88, 100, 102; abundance on coasts of western Mediterranean, 148; departure of Phoceans into exile, 219; Hypothesis attributing to Phoceia a part in making and exporting Ionian vases, 466, 528-529.

Phoca; "seal;" on coins of Phoceia, 88, 104.

Pierre; "Stone;" drawing on at Samos, 235.

- File; "Reverse;" of a coin, 60, 69.
 Pinax; 341; At Rhodes, 419-426, 432, 442, 482-484, 681.
 Pisistratus; influence on coinage of Athens, 115-116.
 Pitane; painted vases found there, 407-409.
 Pitnos; 298, employed as ossuary, 578.
 Plant; interpretation of Ionian ceramist, 461-462.
 Plaques; of clay with painting; at Corinth, 237-250, 349, 571;
 at Athens, 248-260; at Thermos, 260, 262.
 Pliny; on processes of painting, 190-191; 195, 197, 204; on history of painting, 214-225, 286; on red color mixed with clay by potters of Corinth, 322, note 1.
 Plume; "Painters' feather;" 339-340.
 Poincon; "punch;" 53-54.
 Poissons; "Fishes;" in glyptics, 7; on coins, 80; on vases, 422.
 Polledrara; pottery, 550.
 Polycrates; his ring, 20.
 Polygnotos; 180, 190, 193, 201, 217, 288.
 Pompeii; paintings at, 185, 193-196.
 Pontiques; so-called vases, 530-532.
 Poseidon; on coins, 81, 86; on clay plaques, 238-240.
 Poseidonia; coins, 136.
 Pottier; Catalogue des vases, etc. 290, note 1, 676-677; proves authenticity of vases of Cleomenes, 318, note 3; does not decide nature of brush of painters of vases, 311, note 5; affirms that Rhodes was a centre of ceramic fabrication, 417-418.
 Poulpe; "Octopus;" on Corinthian vases, 605-606.
 Poulsen; researches on ceramics of Delos, 479.
 Prinz; study on Naucratis, 387, note 1; hypotheses, 390, note 2.
 Prizes of games; represented in paintings of sarcophagi, 272-273.
 Prometheus; on an intaglio, 8, 9.
 Proprietaires; "Owners;" names on intaglios, 19-23.
 Protomes; of animals on intaglios, 24.
 Psaykter, 305-306.
 Pythios; of Sardis, 48.
 Pyxis; 314, 575, 577, 582, 614-615; with heads in relief, 607.
 Quadriga; on coins, 80, 86, 140.
 Raoul-Rochette; opinions on antique painting, 189, note 1.

- Rayet; recognized sketch under painting of vase, 330, note 1.
- Reichhold; observations on sketch of paintings of vases, 390, note 1; idea that he formed of brush of painters of vases, 340.
- Reinach; A.J.; on Naucratis, 387; note 1.; on himation of Alkimenos, 682.
- Reserve; lines in, 444-445.
- Reverse; on coins, 69.
- Rnegium; coins, 87, 136.
- Rheneia; excavations, 474-479.
- Rhodes; coins, 88; ceramics, 402-413, 413-440, 661.
- Rayton; 310-311, 319.
- Robert, C.; Reproductions of monochromes of Herculaneum, 185, note 1.
- Rosaces; "Rosettes;" on Ionian vases, 448, 504; on Corinthian vases, 662.
- Salamina of Cyprus; coins, 108.
- Salzmann; excavations at Rhodes, 378, 679-681.
- Samos; glyptics, 20; coins, 103, 104; pottery of black paste; 158; painting, 219; ceramics, 404, 415.
- Sanglier; "Wild boar;" in glyptics, 7, 23; on coins, 105, 106; on sarcophaguses of Clazomenes, 266; winged, 24, 104, 106. Calydonian, 524, 525, 559, 614-615.
- Sarcophaguses of Clazomenes; 262-284.
- Satyr; on coins, 79, 126, 128; vases in form of satyr, 318, 649-650.
- Saurias of Samos; 219, 287.
- Scarab; in Greek glyptics, 12, 17.
- Scarabeoid; on Greek glyptics, 12-13, 17.
- Scylla; on intaglio, 27.
- Segeste; coins, 142-143.
- Selge; coins, 109.
- Selinonte; coins, 88, 95, 141.
- Serpent; on coins, 122; on vases, 392.
- Sicily; coins, 137-147.
- Sicyon; part taken in first advance of painting, 215-216; protocorinthian pottery, 581; alphabet, 664.
- Side; coins, 107.
- Signatures; of engravers on stone, 18; of engravers of coins, 64-65; of potters and painters of vases, 358-361.

- Silenus; on intaglios, 26; on vases, 539-540.
 Silphium; on coins, 89, 130, 497-498.
 Singe; "Ape;" on vases, 495, 547.
 Sinope; coins, 105.
 Sipanos; mines, 98; coins, 129.
 Siren; in glyptics, 17, 26-27; on vases, 608, 621.
 Siris; coins, 136.
 Stiula; 302; at Dapnae, 380.
 Skyphos; 152; in Ionian ceramics, 442; in protocorinthian and Corinthian ceramics, 577.
 Skytnes; painter of clay plaques, 258.
 Smicros; vase on which he represents himself at a feast, 373-374.
 Solon; his monetary reform; 114-115.
 Sondros; Athenian ceramist, 398.
 Spaynx; on intaglios of Melos, 9; on other intaglios, 13, 24, 26, 27; on vases 395, 439, 449-450, 545, 550; on neck of handle of lecythe, 220.
 Stamnos; 301.
 Stater; 73-74.
 Stavropoulos; excavations at Raeneia, 475-479.
 Sybaris; coins, 136.
 Syracuse; coins, 82, 88, 138, 139-141, 143-146, 153; protocorinthian vases, 576.
 Taille; "Height of coins;" 71.
 Tapisseries; "Tapestries;" oriental, 451-455.
 Taras; 81, 94, 136-137.
 Tarente; coins; 135.
 Taureau; "Bull;" in glyptics, 23; on coins, 85, 106, 114, 128; on vases, 425; with human face, 79, 137, 141-142, 558-, 583; winged, 518.
 Telephanes, 216.
 Tenedos, coins, 105.
 Teos; coins, 104; cups, 105.
 Termera; coins, 105.
 Tetradrachma; 72.
 Teucer; on intaglio, 33; on clay plaque, 244.
 Textile industry; at Corinth, 596-599.
 Thasos; mines, 98-99; coins, 128.
 Theodoros of Samos; engraver of intaglios, 20-21.

Thera; coins, 129; vases, 467-468, 482-484; oenochos attributed by error, 678.

Thermos; temple and painted clay plaques that served as metopes, 260-262.

Theseus; with Minotaur and Ariana on an intaglio, 32.

Thessaly; coins, 123.

Thon; on coins, 91-103.

Timonidas; painter of clay plaques, 245; of vases, 617-618.

Titre; "Standard;" in coins, 70.

Tonks; Researches on composition of the black of Greek vases, 335, note 1; on nature of the brush, 341, note 5.

Tortue; "Turtle;" on coins, 106; 112-113; popular name of coins of Egina, 71.

Tour; "heel of Potter;" 324-326.

Touret; "Drill;" employed in Mycenaean epoch, 7; passed as having been invented by Theodoros of Samos, 21; his role in engraving dies of coins, 58.

Treflees; "Trefoils;" coins, 59.

Trepied; "Tripod;" on coins, 83, 137.

Treasury of Tarsus; 60.

Trousseau; "Equipment;" in coinage, 60, 61.

Triobolus; 73, 75.

Triskele; 106, 107.

Triton; on coins, 103.

Tydeus and Ismene; 645.

Typhon; on a vase, 382.

Ulysses; on intaglios, 32; on vases, 500; present at suicide of Ajax, 619-620; resists song of sirens, 620-621; with Polyphemos, 672.

Ussing; on names of Greek vases, 296, note 2.

Vacne; "Cow;" suckling her calf in glyptics, 23; on coins, 114; cow on coins, 113, 121.

Veau; "Calf;" head on coin, 105.

Velia; coins, 136.

Vernis; "Glaze;" 201.

Waldstein; excavations at Heraeum of Argos, 665, notes 2, 3.

Walters; classification of vases, 297-298; history of pottery, 676

Willisch; study of ceramics of Corinth, 570, note 3.

Xanthoudidis; researches on the onos, 677.

Xenocrates of Sicyon; 286.

Xenophane of Colophon; his opinion on the invention of coins, 44.

Zeus; on coins, 122; on vases, 501.

PLATES WITHOUT TEXT AND VIGNETTES-	Page
I. Engraved stones in archaic style- - - - -	6
II. Engraved stones in archaic style- - - - -	8
III. Engraved stones in archaic style- - - - -	10
IV. Coins of Thrace and northern Greece - - - - -	100
V. Coins of central Greece and islands of Egean sea- - - - -	110
VI. Coins of Magna Grecia and of Sicily - - - - -	130
VII. Coins of Asia Minor and of Thrace - - - - -	140
VIII. Coins of central Greece and Peloponessus- - - - -	152
IX. Coins of Magna Grecia and of Sicily - - - - -	154
X. Greco-Egyptian portrait on wood - - - - -	204
XI. Muse of Cortona. Painting on slate- - - - -	206
XII. Fragment of decoration of Attic tomb on clay- - - - -	251
XIII. Attic painting on brick - - - - -	258
XIV. Metope of temple of Thermos - - - - -	260
XV. Sarcophagus of Clazomenas. Details or painting- - - - -	264
XVI. Vase with black figure- - - - -	292
XVII. Vase with red figure- - - - -	294
XVIII. Restoration of workshop of Attic ceramist - - - - -	352
XIX. Rhodian called Levy vase. Museum of Louvre- - - - -	416
XX. Cup of Arcesilas- - - - -	494
XXI. Vase of Busiris - - - - -	522
XXII. Corinthian amphora- - - - -	596

II. Vignettes.

Flower on title page. Stater of electrum, twice actual size.

Chap. XIV. Intaglio. Discobolus.

Chap. XV. Stater of Cyzicus.

Chap. XVI. Coin of Samos.

Chap. XVII. Perfume burner in form of cup and four caryatids.

Chap. XVIII. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta.

Chap. XIX. Carchesion.

Chap. XX. Cup of Arcesilas, exterior.

Chap. XXI. Corinthian jug.

Additions and Corrections. Ionian dinos apode from Italy.

Index. Reverse of hydria from Caere. (Fig. 256).

Table of plates without text. Fragment of decoration of vase.

Table of figures in text. Rhodian oenochoe.

Table of subjects. Corinthian oenochoe.

Table of figures inserted in the text.	Page.
1. Intaglio. Geometric design. Brown serpentine. Athens.	3
2. Intaglio. Two men. White marble. Melos - - - - -	4
3. Intaglio. Ibex. Steatite - - - - -	7
4. Intaglio. Wild boar. Steatite - - - - -	7
5. Intaglio. Bird. Steatite. Melos - - - - -	8
6. Intaglio. Chimera. Soft stone. Melos - - - - -	8
7. Intaglio. Hercules wrestling with marine god. Steat.	8
8. Intaglio. Centaur. Steatite. Melos. - - - - -	8
9. Intaglio. Prometheus. Light steatite. Crete - - - - -	9
10. Intaglio. Winged horse. Steatite. Melos - - - - -	10
11. Perseus slaying the Gorgon. Steatite - - - - -	11
12. Profile of scarabeoid - - - - -	122
13. Intaglio. Silver ring - - - - -	15
14. Profile of scarab - - - - -	17
15. Variant of scarab. Hippopotamus - - - - -	17
16. Variant of two masks - - - - -	17
17. Variant of scarab. Crouching lion - - - - -	17
18. Scarab with signature of engraver. Steatite. - - - - -	18
19. Scarabeoid with the same. Chalcedony. Twice size - - -	18
20. Scarab with name of owner. Agate - - - - -	19
21. Scarab. Lioness. Name of man. Smaragdo plasma - - -	23
22. Scarabeoid. Bull. Cornelian. - - - - -	23
23. Scarab. Demon with human legs and torso of lion. Opal	24
24. Scarab. Demon with bull's head. Crete - - - - -	25
25. Scarabeoid. Gorgon. Chalcedony. Kertch. - - - - -	25
26. Scarab. Centaur abducting woman. Banded agate - - -	26
27. Scarab. Silenus abducting woman. Sardonyx. - - - - -	26
28. Scarab. Silenus and sphynx. Sardonyx. - - - - -	26
29. Scarab. Siren. Cornelian - - - - -	27
30. Scarab. Apollo. Cornelian - - - - -	28
31. Scarab. Artemis. Cornelian - - - - -	28
32. Cone. Hermes - - - - -	29
33. Scarab. Hermes. - - - - -	29
34. Scarab. Head of Athena and owl. Green jasper - - -	29
35. Scarab. Hercules running - - - - -	30
36. Scarab. Hercules hunting wild beasts. Cornelian - - -	30
37. Scarab. Cupid flying - - - - -	31
38. Scarabeoid. Cupid abducting woman. Cornelian - - - -	31
39. Scarab. Theseus and the Minotaur - - - - -	32

40. Scarab. Hoplite. Green jasper - - - - -	34
41. Scarab. Armed ephebe. Chalcedony- - - - -	34
42. Scarabeoid. Ephebe putting on greaves. Crystal- - - -	34
43. Scarabeoid. Ephebe playing with dog. Chalcedony - - -	34
44. Scarabeoid. Ephebe scraping legs. Yellow stone- - - -	35
45. Scarab. Nude woman before fountain. Agate - - - - -	35
46. Bezel, of gold ring. Doubled size- - - - -	36
47. Vase painting. Apollo pursuing Tityos. full size. - -	37
48. Scarab. Gorgon holding mask of Bes- - - - -	39
49. Scarab. Hercules fastening his sandal. Cornelian- - -	41
50. Bezel of gold ring. Crouching man. full size- - - - -	41
51. Pompeian painting representing a mint - - - - -	56
52. Coining die of Philip of Macedon. Side and face- - - -	57
53. Coining die of Berenice. Side and face- - - - -	58
54. Coin of Eucratide. Gold. Face and reverse - - - - -	69
55. Decadrachma of Syracuse. 4 th century. Face and back-	80
56. Coin of Phanos- - - - -	95
57. Primitive coin. Electrum- - - - -	101
58. Primitive coin. Electrum- - - - -	102
59. Coin of Miletus - - - - -	102
60. Coin of Miletus - - - - -	102
61. Coin of Teos. Electrum- - - - -	103
62. Coin of Cyzicus.-Electrum - - - - -	103
63. Coin of Cyzicus.-Electrum - - - - -	103
64. Coin of Cyzicus.-Electrum - - - - -	103
65. Coin of Cyzicus.-Electrum - - - - -	103
66. Coin of Cyzicus.-Electrum - - - - -	103
67. Coin of Lesbos. Silver- - - - -	105
68. Coin of Calymna. Silver - - - - -	105
69. Coin of Calymna. Stater. Reverse- - - - -	106
70. Stater of Phaselis- - - - -	107
71. Coin of Aspendos and Selge- - - - -	107
72. Coin of Side- - - - -	107
73. Tetrobolus of Cyprus- - - - -	109
74. Coin of Carystos- - - - -	114
75. Corcyra. Face of stater - - - - -	121
76. Corcyra. Reverse of stater- - - - -	121
77. Cephallonia. Face and reverse- - - - -	123
78. Coin of Seriphos- - - - -	130

79. Bucchero vases found at Samos - - - - -	-159
80. Fragment of vase with reliefs. Band 2.4 ins. high -	-163
81. Fragment of vase with reliefs-- - - - -	-164
82. Fragment of vase with reliefs - - - - -	-165
83. Beotian vase with reliefs. Height 3.91 ft.- - - - -	-167
84. Upper band of vase with reliefs. Band 9.2 ins high-	-168
85. Beotian vase with reliefs. Height of upper band 9.6"	-169
86. Beotian vase with reliefs. Middle band 8.9 ins. - -	-171
87. Leaf of betony- - - - -	-199
88. Cestros restored- - - - -	-200
89. Tools found near Falaise- - - - -	-201
90. Spatula in museum of S. John Lateran- - - - -	-202
91. Painter's tools found at S. Medard near Paris - - -	-203
92. Painter's tools found at S. Medard near Paris - - -	-205
93. Greco-Egyptian portrait, Florence museum- - - - -	-213
94. Stele of Lyseas - - - - -	-227
95. Fragment of painted stele - - - - -	-230
96. Fragment of painted stele - - - - -	-231
97. Fragment of painted shield- - - - -	-233
98. Drawing on stone. Height 14.4 ins.- - - - -	-235
99. Terra cotta plaque hung on wall of sanctuary- - - -	-238
100. Corinthian terra cotta plaque - - - - -	-239
101. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-240
102. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-240
103. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-241
104. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-242
105. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-242
106. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-243
107. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-243
108. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-244
109. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-245
110. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-246
111. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-247
112. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-247
113. Corinthian plaque of terra cotta- - - - -	-249
114. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-251
115. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-253
116. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-254
117. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-255
118. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-257

119. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-258
120. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-258
121. Painting on terra cotta plaque- - - - -	-259
122. View of borders of coffer of sarcophagus- - - - -	-265
123. Fragment of decoration of lid - - - - -	-267
124. Fragment of chariot race- - - - -	-269
125. Single combat - - - - -	-271
126. Preparation for race and warlike dance- - - - -	-273
127. Hunting scene - - - - -	-275
130. Hydria on Francois vase - - - - -	-297
131. Pithos from Cnossos - - - - -	-298
132. Ordinary amphoras - - - - -	-299
133. Panathenaic amphora. 6 th century - - - - -	-300
134. Amphora of Nicosthenes- - - - -	-301
135. Amphora of 4 th century - - - - -	-302
136. Stamnos - - - - -	-302
137. Pelike- - - - -	-302
138. Hydria- - - - -	-302
139. Calpis- - - - -	-303
140. Cratera with little columns - - - - -	-304
141. Cratera with volute handles - - - - -	-304
142. Cratera with bell shape - - - - -	-304
143. Bell shaped cratera- - - - -	-304
144. Support of dinos- - - - -	-304
145. Dinosaurs on tripod - - - - -	-305
146. Psykter - - - - -	-306
147. Psykter plunged in a cratera- - - - -	-306
148. Cyathos - - - - -	-306
149. Corinthian oenochoe - - - - -	-307
150. Oenochoe of 5 th century- - - - -	-307
151. Oenochoe called prochoos- - - - -	-307
152. Skyphos. Vase known as Burgen vase- - - - -	-308
153. Cantharos - - - - -	-309
154. Kylix. First form - - - - -	-310
155. Kylix. Later form - - - - -	-310
156. Phiale in a painting- - - - -	-310
157. Young man drinking from a rhyton- - - - -	-310
158. Rhyton- - - - -	-311
159. Attic lecythe of 5 th century - - - - -	-312
160. Alabaster - - - - -	-313

161. Corinthian aryballa - - - - -	313
162. Lecythe like aryballa - - - - -	314
163. Pyxis - - - - -	314
164. Decorated onos- - - - -	314
165. Second side of onos - - - - -	315
166. Vase called ascos - - - - -	316
167. Vase called guttus- - - - -	316
168. Oenochoe- - - - -	318
169. Aryballa, front and back- - - - -	319
170. Drinking satyr. A Surprise vase - - - - -	320
171. Vase of Cleomenes - - - - -	321
172. Sphynx with neck and handle of lecythe- - - - -	323
173. Potter's wheel from a vase painting - - - - -	324
174. Wheel turned by helper, from a vase painting- - - - -	325
175. Mandrel, from a painting- - - - -	325
176. Polishing - - - - -	327
177. Sketch of painting- - - - -	332
178. Sketch with dry point - - - - -	333
179. Sketch and painting compared- - - - -	335
180. Greek ceramic painter holding the brush - - - - -	337
181. Painter decorating exterior of cup- - - - -	338
182. Painter preparing to decorate interior of cup - - - - -	339
183. Potter's workshop on hydria from Ruvo - - - - -	343
184. Outlines of reserved figures- - - - -	345
185. Interior of potter's kiln - - - - -	349
186. Banquet scene. Smicros as painter and guest - - - - -	375
187. Situla of Daphnae. General view - - - - -	380
188. Decoration of other side of situla- - - - -	380
189. Amphora from Daphnae- - - - -	382
190. Fragment of vase from Daphnae - - - - -	382
191. Fragment of vase from Daphnae - - - - -	385
192. Naucratis. Interior and exterior of cup - - - - -	389
193. Naucratis. Cratera- - - - -	392
194. Naucratis. Cratera- - - - -	393
195. Naucratis. Figures of negroes - - - - -	394
196. Naucratis. Profiles of bowls- - - - -	394
197. Naucratis. Fragment of cratera- - - - -	397
198. Fragment found at Clazomenes- - - - -	405
199. Fragment found at Clazomenes- - - - -	405
200. Fragment found at Kyme- - - - -	408

201. Fragment found at Pitane- - - - -	409
202. Vase found at Pitane- - - - -	409
203. Plate found at Pitane - - - - -	410
204. Amphora found at Myrina - - - - -	410
204 ² . Other side of same. Band on shoulder- - - - -	411
205. Troad. Fragment of plate- - - - -	412
206. Cnidos. Fragment of plate - - - - -	412
207. Skyphos - - - - -	418
208. Plate - - - - -	419
209. Plate with notches- - - - -	420
210. Bowl- - - - -	420
211. Cantharos - - - - -	421
212. Oenocnoe- - - - -	423
213. Plate - - - - -	424
214. Plate - - - - -	425
215. Plate - - - - -	427
216. Amphora - - - - -	428
217. Amphora - - - - -	429
218. Amphora - - - - -	430
219. Dance of drunkards- - - - -	430
220. Amphora - - - - -	431
221. Duel over corpse of Euphorbos - - - - -	432
222. Plate. Perseus fleeing before Gorgons - - - - -	433
223. Oenocnoe. (Levy vase). Decoration of shoulder - - -	439
224. Oenocnoe- - - - -	443
225. Amphora with elongated body - - - - -	443
226. Sphynx with plume - - - - -	451
227. Lotus buds and flowers on Attic vase- - - - -	462
228. Campanula - - - - -	463
229. Drawing of eye on Ionian and on Corinthian vases- -	465
230. Vase from Thera - - - - -	467
231. Decoration of amphora from Thera- - - - -	467
232. Skyphos from Thera- - - - -	468
233. Amphora from Melos- - - - -	469
234. Amphora from Melos. Painting of neck- - - - -	471
235. Amphora from Melos. Painting of body- - - - -	473
236. Amphora from Melos. Painting of body- - - - -	475.
237. Amphora from Melos. Painting of neck- - - - -	476
238. Amphora from Melos- - - - -	477
240. Fragment of amphora from Delos- - - - -	481

241. Fragment of vase from Delos - - - - -	483
242. Plate from Thera- - - - -	485
242" Group of pomegranates - - - - -	495
243. Nymph Cyrene. Cup - - - - -	497
244. Ulysses and Polyphemos. Cup - - - - -	498
245. Border of cup - - - - -	499
246. Dinos. Combat of Hercules and centaurs- - - - -	500
247. Zeus and eagle. Cup - - - - -	501
248. Cadmus and serpent. Cup - - - - -	502
249. Hydria- - - - -	505
250. Hydria. General view- - - - -	518.
251. Hydria. One side of body- - - - -	519
252. Hydria. Other side of body- - - - -	519
253. Vase of Busiris. General view - - - - -	521
254. Vase of Busiris. Back of hydria - - - - -	523
255. Vase of Busiris. Garland on shoulder- - - - -	525
256. Hydria. Hercules and Eurystheus - - - - -	527.
257. Hydria. Hermes steals oxen of Apollo- - - - -	529
258. Hydria. Chariot mounted - - - - -	531
259. Hydria. Lion hunt - - - - -	533
260. Amphora. General view - - - - -	534
261. Side of amphora. Judgment of Paris- - - - -	535
262. Other side of Amphora. Flock of Paris - - - - -	537
263. Amphora - - - - -	538
264. Cup, of Phineus. General view- - - - -	539
265. Cup of Phineus. Medallion at centre of cup- - - - -	540
266. Cup of Phineus. Phineus and Hours - - - - -	541
267. Cup of Phineus. Harpies fleeing from Eoreades - - - - -	542
268. Cup of Phineus. Women bathing and silenae - - - - -	543
269. Cup of Phineus. Chariot of Dionysos - - - - -	544
270. Macmillan lecythe. General view - - - - -	545
271. Macmillan lecythe. Lower band - - - - -	546
272. Chigi vase. General view- - - - -	547
273. Chigi vase. One face of upper band- - - - -	548
274. Chigi vase. Other face of upper band- - - - -	549
275. Chigi vase. Lower band. Hunting the hare- - - - -	550
276. Decoration of inside of cup. Etruscan imitation - - - - -	551
277. Return of Hephaestos to Olympus. Hydria - - - - -	561
278. Cup. Hunting wild boar of Calydon - - - - -	563
279. Hydria. Abduction of Europa - - - - -	565

280. Terra cotta plaque. Digging the clay- - - - -	572
281. Terra cotta plaque. Firing vases- - - - -	572
282. Terra cotta plaque. Demolition of kiln- - - - -	573
283. Terra cotta plaque. Potter and his wheel- - - - -	573
284. Protocorinthian lecythe - - - - -	575
285. Protocorinthian alabasters- - - - -	576
286. Skyphos - - - - -	576
287. Skyphos - - - - -	577
288. Skyphos - - - - -	577
289. Oenochoe- - - - -	578
290. Oenochoe- - - - -	578
291. Pyxis - - - - -	578
292. Oenochoe- - - - -	579
293. Dinos - - - - -	579
294. Pitnos- - - - -	580
295. Pyxis from Tanagra- - - - -	582
296. Alabaster - - - - -	583
297. Alabaster - - - - -	583
298. Alabaster - - - - -	583
299. Aryballa in form of a leg - - - - -	583
300. Vase like alabasters- - - - -	585
301. Oil vase with Etruscan wrestler - - - - -	586
302. Aryballa- - - - -	594
303. Aryballa- - - - -	595.
304. Oenochoe- - - - -	595
305. Cratera with flat handles - - - - -	597
306. Dinos - - - - -	601
307. Aryballa- - - - -	601
308. Plate - - - - -	602
309. Alabaster - - - - -	602
310. Floral motive under handle of cratera - - - - -	603
311. Aryballa- - - - -	604
312. Aryballa- - - - -	604
313. Cup - - - - -	605
314. Plate - - - - -	605
315. Aryballa- - - - -	606
316. Cratera - - - - -	606
317. Oenochoe- - - - -	607
318. Pyxis - - - - -	607
319. Aryballa- - - - -	608

320. Oenochoe- - - - -	609
321. Aryballa- - - - -	610
322. Oenochoe- - - - -	611
323. Winged goddess with serpent's tail- - - - -	613
324. Alabaster - - - - -	613.
325. Detail of handle of great cratera - - - - -	613.
326. Dodwell's pyxis - - - - -	615
327. Pyxis of Chares. General view - - - - -	615
328. Pyxis of Chares. Development of figures - - - - -	616
329. Pyxis of Chares. Cover- - - - -	617
330. Vase signed by Timonidas- - - - -	618
331. Aryballa of Aeskylinos- - - - -	619
332. Handle of aryballa with name of owner - - - - -	619
333. Aryballa of Aenetas. General view - - - - -	619
334. Suicide of Ajax - - - - -	620
335. Suicide of Ajax - - - - -	620
336. Ulysses and the sirens- - - - -	621
337. Return of Hephaestos to Olympus - - - - -	621
338. Hercules with the Centaur Pholos- - - - -	622
339. Abduction of Dejanira - - - - -	623
340. Duel of Eneas and Ajax- - - - -	624
341. Combat over a corpse- - - - -	625
342. Dancers- - - - -	626
343. Cratera found at Corinth- - - - -	627
344. Corinthian cratera with little columns- - - - -	628
345. Hercules with Eurytion- - - - -	633
346. Carving of meats- - - - -	634
347. Hunting scene - - - - -	635
348. Amphiaros departing to siege of Thebes- - - - -	637
349. Chariot race- - - - -	639
350. Judges of race- - - - -	640
351. Wrestling - - - - -	641
352. Charge of horsemen- - - - -	642
353. Duels of warriors on foot - - - - -	642
354. Festal scene on hydria- - - - -	643
355. Amphora with metope - - - - -	645
356. Amphora. Tydeus striking Ismene - - - - -	646
357. Oenochoe. Driver and warrior on chariot - - - - -	647
358. Hydria. Departure of Hector to battle - - - - -	648
359. Lecythe. General view - - - - -	648

360. Lecythe. Painting on body. Hercules and centaurs - -	649
361. Lecythe. Flat border of mouth - - - - -	649
362. Lecythe. Decoration of shoulder - - - - -	650
363. Lecythe. Reverse of handle- - - - -	650
364. Cup with image of hydra of Lerne. General view- - -	669
365. Development of decoration of cup- - - - -	670
366. Oenochoe. General view- - - - -	672
367. Oenochoe. Decoration of shoulder- - - - -	672

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Book XIII. Archaic Greece.	Pages
Chapter XIV. Glyptics	1-43
1. Renaissance of glyptics in 7 th century - - - - -	1-15
2. Glyptics in 6 th century- - - - -	15-43
Chapter XV. Numismatics. Archaic Greece.	
General theory of Grecian coinage. - - - - -	44-96
1. Invention of coins- - - - -	44-50
2. Materials and process of fabrication- - - - -	50-71
3. Names of Greek coins- - - - -	71-76
4. Types, marks and legends- - - - -	76-96
Chapter XVI. Numismatics. History of monetary art- -	97-154
1. Materials and coinage in course of archaic age- -	97-101
2. Coins of Asian Greece - - - - -	101-110
3. Coins of central Hellenic countries.-Greece proper and southern Greece. Egean islands. Cyrenaica -	111-130
4. Hellenic West. Magna Grecia. Sicily. Greek colonies in the West - - - - -	131-150
5. General characteristics of archaic Greek coins. Comparison of ancient and modern procedures and their results - - - - -	150-154
Chapter XVII. Black pottery and monochrome vases with reliefs - - - - -	155-174
Chapter XVIII. Painting- - - - -	175-290
1. Data to be utilized in writing the history of Greek painting- - - - -	175-187
2. Different kinds of painting - - - - -	187-213
3. Archaic painting according to the texts - - - -	214-225
4. Monuments of painting preserved - - - - -	225-278
5. Conclusions from the researches - - - - -	278-290
Chapter XIX. Ceramics. Forms of painted vases and technics of painting on clay - - - - -	291-376
1. Method to follow in the study of painted vases and grand divisions of this study - - - - -	291-294
2. Forms - - - - -	294-322
3. Clay- - - - -	322-324
4. Shaping - - - - -	324-326
5. Drying and polishing- - - - -	326-327
6. Models and plagiarism - - - - -	328-329
7, Sketch- - - - -	330-333

8. Colors- - - - -	-333-337
9. Brushes and instruments for drawing - -	-337-342
10. Execution of the decoration - - - - -	342-347
11. Firing- - - - -	347-351
12. Glazing - - - - -	351-353
13. Epigraphy of vases. Inscriptions traced with the brush. Names of persons. Signatures of potters and painters. Other texts - - -	353-366
14. Epigraphy of vases. Scratches - - - - -	-367-370
15. Social condition of potters and painters of vases - - - - -	370-376
Chapter XX. Ionian ceramics- - - - -	377-568
1. Necessity of classifying vases in geographical order. Discoveries that have permitted recovery and reconstituting Ionian ceramics- - -	377-380
2. Ceramics of Ionian colonies in Egypt. paphnae and Naucratis - - - - -	-380-402
3. What of Ionian ceramics has been found on the coast of Asia Minor and in the adjacent islands, except Rhodes - - - - -	402-413
4. Rhodian pottery - - - - -	413-440
5. General characteristics of Ionian ceramics According to vases collected in eastern Greece- - - - -	440-466
6. Vases of the Cyclades - - - - -	466-491
7. Cups of Cyrene- - - - -	491-514
8. Ionian vases of unknown origin found in Italy - - - - -	514-551
9. General characteristics of advanced Ionian ceramics- - - - -	551-568
Chapter XXI. Corinthian Ceramics - - - - -	-569-674
1. By what signs is recognized Corinthian ceramics- - - - -	569-574
2. Vases called protocorinthian- - - - -	574-593
3. Corinthian pottery with plant and zoomorphic decoration- - - - -	593-614
4. Corinthian vases with free ground - - -	614-656
5. General characteristics of Corinthian ceramics- - - - -	656-662

6. Other Peloponessian vases. Argos. Sicyon. --	663-674.
Egina - - - - -	663-674
Additions and Corrections - - - - -	675-683
Alphabetical Index- - - - -	685-692
Plates without text and Vignettes - - -	693-694
Figures inserted in the text- - - - -	695-699
Table of Contents - - - - -	701-703

End of Volume IX.

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And

CHARLES CHIPIEZ
Government Architect

Volume X

ARCHAIC GREECE

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HISTORY OF ART IN ANTIQUITY.

BOOK XIII- ARCHAIC GREECE

Chapter XXII. Vases of Chalcis and of Eretria.

By a happy chance that has preserved for us two of the best works of Grecian genius, the modern historian attains to a very clear idea of what was the Greece of the 6th and 5th centuries. In the sketch of it traced by me are doubtless many voids. The light cast on men and things by the tales of Herodotus and of Thucydides is very unequally distributed. Many parts of these entireties remain in shadow, although in many cases, epigraphic documents aptly come to supplement the silence of the literary texts. In spite of this complement of information, we do not know all the events of that period; but the first planes of the picture are strongly illumined, and the original traits of the collective and individual figures frankly appear on the vague background, those of illustrious cities and of politics, or of the captains that played the parts of the chief antagonists in the combats, whose theatre was the narrow stage of the Greek world. One represents to himself the impassioned actors in all those dramas; he thinks to seize the play of their features and to hear the echo of their voices. Thus at least he has the illusion of possessing a faithful image of all that extinct and vanished life. Yet behind this Greece open to the eyes, when we explain in plausible fashion the course of events, their causes and consequences, behind that truly historical Greece is another, the Greece of the 9th, 8th and 7th centuries, which succeeds the mysterious and brilliant civilization, whose knowledge and surprise we owe to the excavations of Schliemann and of Evans. That civilization which we term Mycenaean is indeed that of a primitive Greece, and the tribes that created it have a right to the title of the legitimate ancestors of the Greek people. On the contrary, when one studies the confused memories preserved by tradition, of societies which after the Dorian invasions formed themselves around the Egean sea, and he tries to orientate himself there by the light of incomplete and imperfect evidence, in spite of all the ignorance to which he is condemned, he feels himself in Greece, the Greece of the writers and of the artists whose wor-

works we possess. The cities there bear names familiar to us. The little States among which it will be divided until the end already have limits, which they will scarcely succeed in changing. The dialects spoken there are those, some of which will become literary languages. There are adored the gods who will assume form at a given time in marvellous statues. On all accounts, what especially distinguishes that primitive Greece from that succeeding it is, that we know it not so well, that all details escape us, as well as the connection of dates and events which had their importance. We perceive only the masses, just as in the mist floating over the hollow of the valley in an autumn morning, there are seen in places only the chimneys of the houses and the trees.

In this Greece of the origins, the first places have been occupied, the bulk of the useful work has been done by cities, which in the Greece of the following age, by reason of various circumstances, must eclipse themselves or at least fall into the second rank. We have already verified this for the Ionian cities, such as Phocæa, Ephesus, and particularly Miletus, explorer of the Black sea, revealer of Egypt, the mother of so many colonies. Those cities will continue to live; but they will no longer lead the chorus or command the march forward. It is the same in European Greece. We have stated what had been the Corinth of the Bacchiades and Cypselides, by its industry, the extent and activity of its commerce. After the Median wars, it will remain a commercial and prosperous city, whose cooperation will be regarded as a useful support by States like Sparta, Athens and Thebes, which dispute the predominance in Greece, yet it will never recover its former importance. Entirely similar was the destiny of Chalcis, "the city of bronze," as its name indicates. In the Greece of the centuries of the full day, it fell into the third or fourth rank. It no longer counts except in the opportunity of its location, that made it one of the keys of the maritime and land routes of Greece; but in that earlier Greece where we distinguish only the great lines of the country, Chalcis had been the rival and perhaps the equal of Corinth. Its artisans, merchants and colonists took a part no less active in the diffusion of Hellenism, in opening ways that its commerce and arts traced both toward the northern shores of the Egean sea and in the ports of the West, of the coast of

Sicily and of Italy. To the Ionian family are connected the tribes that peopled Euboea, Chalcis passed as having been founded by immigrants coming from Attica.

Situated at the point where the Euboic gulf is most contracted, Chalcis commands the strait, whose tranquil waters aid ships to avoid the necessity of doubling the stormy capes of Euboea and of coasting its inhospitable shores. It had there a primary element of prosperity. In the vicinity extended the fertile plain of Lelante; but even more than the advantages of the site and the possession of its lands, what made the fortune of Chalcis was the initiative that early led its inhabitants to explore the metallic veins of the island, and particularly its deposits of copper. Next to those of Cyprus, these were the richest on the coasts of the Egean sea.¹ With this copper it mixed tin. Its foundries and forges labored to supply not only the cities of the island and of the adjacent countries, such as Attica and Beotia, but also an entire and distant connection, that Chalcis disputed and took from the Phoenician masters of the mines of Cyprus. Chalcis had a navy. Her own and the foreign ships that came to load in her roads, carried in all directions either the crude or wrought metal. The bronze workers of Corinth obtained from Chalcis their commerce to make the alloys of which they possessed the secret, and to transform it into objects of use and luxury; but Chalcis also fabricated for export vases, tripods, utensils, offensive and defensive arms. Its swords were celebrated for their temper, just as will be among moderns the blades of Toledo.¹

Note 1.p.3. Chalcis had exploited its mines so well, that it had exhausted the veins. In the Roman epoch, they were no more than a memory. Plutarch (Greek). 48. In the learned men of the late period are found several allusions to a very ancient tradition, which made Chalcis the inventor of work in bronze. (Eustathius on verse 784 of Denys the periegete, Stephen of Byzantium, under Chalcis).

Note 1.p.4. Alceus, describing his house with walls ornamented by arms of price, causes "the swords of Chalcis" to figure in those panoplies.

Atheneus. XIV. p. 627. To the same swords alludes Eschylus in a verse quoted by Plutarch. (Greek). Plutarch adds that these swords were "forged cold."

What facilitated this industry in plying its products is, that like Corinth, Chalcis had been the mother of numerous and flourishing colonies. To arrange ports suitable for its ships, when they left the Euboic gulf to sail north, Chalcis had commenced by occupying the northern Sporades, Skiathos, Icos and Peparathos, and then attracted to Thrace, rich in metals like Euboea, they had scattered their agencies on all the coasts of the peninsula with three points detached toward the South. It had founded there even thirty cities, all of which recognized it as a metropolis, so much so that this country received and retained the name of Chalcidice during all antiquity.² Other Euboean ships, other convoys of emigrants and of merchandize left Chalcis to take a different direction by the southern mouth of the strait. They made the tour of the Peloponessus and established themselves in the gulf of Crisa and in Etolia, where they built another Chalcis near the mouth of the Evenos. In concert with their neighbors of Eretria, then associated in all their enterprises, they sought to take a footing in the Ionian islands, and especially Corcyra; but soon evicted from these coasts by the Corinthian navy, mistress of the great gulf opening on the Adriatic, they went farther. On the coast of Campania, above the Pnlegrean fields they founded Kyme. Cumae, as it is called by the Romans, antique tradition was unanimous in affirming, was the most ancient Greek city seated in Italy, whose memory was retained by the Greeks. From thence the commerce commenced to extend along the adjacent coasts the cults of Greece and its heroic legends. From the Euboeans of Cumae the latins and Etruscans borrowed their most ancient alphabet. By the forms of its letters, this more resembles the Chalcidian than any other Greek alphabet.

To ensure their communications with this distant colony, the Chalcidians joined the Eretrians and occupied both shores of the strait separating Sicily from Italy, and that gives an entrance to the Tyrrhenian sea. On the Italian coast of this western Euboic gulf, they built the strong city that they called Rhegion, the breach, by reason of the break that these waters had made in the framework of the continent at this point. Opposite it they established Messenian families that the disasters of war had driven from their native land, whence the name Messana, which then replaced that of Zancle. This eastern coast

of Sicily, which was approached by Messina, everywhere offered plains that the mountains of the interior furnished with abundant waters, plains with a fertility nowhere approached in Greece. This is what is now termed the country of agrumi, i.e., of olives, oranges, citrons and fruits of all kinds. A band of immigrants commanded by an Athenian, Theocles, but who left Chalcis, came in 736 to found the city of Naxos on this coast.¹ That was the first Greek colony to take possession of a part of the Sicilian land; to commemorate this taking possession, the new arrivals hastened to erect in a grove an altar to Apollo Arcnegate, or the guide. Some years later, Naxos was flooded by immigrants, was sufficiently prosperous to become in its turn a metropolis. It gave rise to the cities of Leontini and of Catania. Henceforth this never ceased to be one of the wealthiest and most prosperous cities of Sicily.

Note 2.p.4. Strabo. VII. (Twelfth of the fragments taken by Meineke from the Excerpta of the Vatican).

Note 1.p.5. Thucydides. VI. 3.

It holds the same in the life of a people as in that of the individual. When the spirit of invention and of creation has chosen a home there, it manifests itself under the most varied forms. The men of Chalcis and of Eretria derived too great profits from commerce not to desire to supply their ordinary patrons other articles than metal. As at Corinth, in these two cities closely united until the Lelantine war, other industries originated and prospered besides that to which was due the first fruits of an always increasing fortune. They fished in the Beotic gulf the snailfish that gave the purple, and dyed with this beautiful color fabrics of price.¹ The potter's kiln was kindled at Chalcis and Eretria; from it came vases that skilful artists undertook to decorate and whose export was also a matter of profit.

Note 1.p.6. Aristotle. Histoire des animaux. V. 15.

In conditions entirely peculiar is presented the study of Chalcidian ceramics. If one believes himself able to affirm today, that Chalcis had at a certain time less vogue in foreign markets than the manufactories of Corinth or Athens, it is not to discoveries made at the place that it owes that assurance. A number of Corinthian vases have been gathered in the cemeteries of Corinth; now at Chalcis itself or in its suburbs has

not been exhumed the least fragment of one of those vases, that ceramographs credit to the account of Chalcidian workshops. Nor have men put on the way by one of those signatures to which is sometimes added the indication of the country of the painter or potter; but there are read other inscriptions on the vases in question, those inscribed on the field giving the names of the persons: these have been studied by epigraphists and are found equivalent to the mark of the maker. Certain letters assume forms which they present nowhere else than in the alphabet in use in the 6th century at Chalcis and in its colonies.²

Thus have we been informed of the true source of the vases indicated by these peculiarities of writing. At Chalcis as in Ionia, at Corinth and Athens, ceramic painters trace these brief legends on the clay and employ characters used by the scribes charged with engraving the laws and decrees on bronze, and the stonecutters that incised the epitaphs on the marble of the funerary steles. The forms of the letters that characterize the Chalcidian alphabet are C for gamma, λ for lambda, + for xi and Ψ for chi. Kappa is also sometimes represented in the legends of these vases by G, the type dear to Corinth.

Note 2.p.8. All those inscriptions on vases claimed for Corinth will be found collected in Kretschmer. Die griechen Vasenschriften. Chap. IX. On the Chalcidian alphabet, see Kirchnoff, Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets (3rd Edit. p. 105-114 and Table II, 2); Dumont, Ceramiques de Grece propre. I, p.283. There are some differences, though slight, between the alphabets of Chalcis and of Eretria.

One question appears at the very first concerning vases having as a common trait the presence of legends written in Chalcidian characters. Where were made these vases? In Chalcis itself or in one of the Euboean colonies of the West? All these vases were found in Italy, most of them at Vulci or Caere in Etruria. Struck by this fact, several archaeologists have expressed the idea of seeking the workshops from which they issued, either in Sicily or rather in Cumae in Campania, that flourishing city which for several centuries maintained active and intimate relations with the Latins and Etruscans.¹ We do not believe that there is reason to accept this hypothesis. Other kinds of decorated pottery were certainly originally from eastern Greece, but have been revealed to us only by finds in Ital-

Italian tombs. It suffices to recall here the cups of Cyrene and those so-called hydrias of Caere, that for serious reasons are attributed to some one of the workshops of Ionia. To these same cemeteries of the West is due the greater number of Corinthian vases ^{and} the most beautiful Attic vases that fill our galleries. The most careful works of Greek potters took the route to Italy, to which they were attracted by the high prices that could be obtained in its markets. Why did not the potters of Chalcis, for whom Eretrian and Chalcidian colonies guaranteed sure markets, follow the examples of the artisans near them at Athens and Corinth, who practised the same industry? Why did they not likewise work particularly for export?

Note 1.p.7. On account of certain peculiarities of orthography, it has been proposed to admit that these vases were made at Himera in Sicily (Fick, Homer's Odyssey, see p. 10); but those peculiarities are found elsewhere and nothing gives reason to think that Himera was ^a the centre of ceramic industry, not that it had a great commerce with Etruria. One can give more plausible reasons for speaking in that manner of Cumae, as Dumont has done (Ceramiques de la Grece propre; I, p.293); but we persist in believing that all probabilities are for the fabrication at Chalcis itself. This is also the very decided opinion of Furtwängler, Griechen Vasenmalerei, p. 161 of text. As a specimen of the alphabet common in the colonies of Chalcis may be cited the inscription of an archaic lekythe found at Cumae. A certain Tataie there announces himself as the owner of the little vase that he seems to prize so much. Walters (History of Ancient Pottery, vol. 29, 242) gives a facsimile of this inscription from the example in the British Museum, that he transcribes thus: - (Greek).

"I am an oil flask of Tataie; whoever steals me will be struck by him." The characteristic forms of this text are the Q employed for kappa in lekythos and the λ for lambda, that occurs thrice.

On the other hand, if there is reason to think that potters trained in Ionia or at Corinth perhaps opened workshops in the Greek or Etruscan cities of Italy, it seems that there, far from the centres where burned the most vivid flame of Grecian imagination, they may be produced only works of the second order, and that they may soon have lost the tradition of the gr-

grand style. For ceramics, in the mother country were found the true centres of fabrication, those where the art workers themselves were to profit from day to day by the models offered to them by the creators and great artists, statuary or historical painters. As for the vases which we regard as Chalcidian, while retaining their originality, they recall by certain traits those of Corinth, and by others even more sensibly the Attic vases with black figures. These analogies are scarcely explained if we assume those vases as fabricated in Sicily or Campania. At Chalcis were daily relations with Corinth and especially with Athens. Workmen and cartoons could be borrowed by one from the other of those two cities. Thus in the 5th century the ceramists of Eretria will produce in great quantity lecythnes with white coating, that are distinguished with difficulty from those of Athens.

Scarcely more than a dozen are the vases, which thus bear in the legends their certificate of origin.¹ They further present singular resemblances among them, which have been mentioned but which would appear much more striking still, if one could have them all under the eyes at once, ranged on the same table of a museum. This is first the resemblance of form. Most of these vases are amphoras, all having the same curvature. Their bodies are wider and rounder than those of Attic amphoras. There are also hydrias with an entirely similar contour. One more handle alone distinguishes them from the amphora. Two crateras and one skyphos are also cited. In these vases are divined by several details the fact of being inspired by metal. From bronze vases of the same type are borrowed the flat handles, very badly detached from the body of the piece. One divines there the copy of the bronze band flattened and curved under the blows of the hammer. Where the imitation is particularly apparent is in a hydria at Munich.¹ It cannot be mistaken in the arrangement of the two scrolls, that mark the attachment of the handle on the body of the neck (Fig. 1).

Note 1. p. 8. The list of these vases has been given several times by Kirchhoff, Klein, Kretschmer, etc. The most recent, that reproduces and completes the preceding ones, is found in Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* I. p. 323, Note 2. Klein in the 2nd edition of his *Euphronios* (1896) enumerates and describes as by their legends, bearing the certain mark of their

Chalcidian origin, only 11 vases (p.65). Dumont counts 12 of them. (*Les ceramiques de la Grece propre*. 1888. Vol. I, p. 276-287). Walters reaches 20 (1905). A recent publication allows us to add one number to those lists. This is a fragment of a Chalcidian hydria on which is figured the duel of Achilles and Memnon over the corpse of Antilochos. The sign that represents the chi in the Chalcidian alphabet is found there in the name of Achilles (*Monumenti scelti del museo archaologico di Firenze*, published and illustrated by L.A. Milani (1906). More than twenty years ago was announced as in preparation a collection promised by Löschke of all the vases, that should be attributed to the workshops of Chalcis, either by their inscriptions or the similarity of the style; but will that collection ever appear? Note 1.p.3. Furtwängler and Reichhold. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Pls. 31, 32.

The same close resemblance is yet more significant in the composition of the decoration. The black on the amphoras and the hydrias extends only on the edge of the mouth and on the foot of the vase.² Everywhere on the rest of the field, ornaments and figures rise from a light ground.

Note 2.p.3. On a hydria at Munich (Fig. 1) the entire neck is black.

On the neck is an elegant interlacing of palmations alternately turned up and down, then beneath them is a well known motive of eggs between short beads. On the shoulder is a procession of riders at a gallop, that accompanies the flying bird.³ The horsemen are replaced on the vase by dancers.⁴ A double band separates this accessory from the principal subject, that was borrowed from different myths and develops entirely around the body. Beneath this painting extends a narrow band that furnishes a motive rarely found except on these vases, a series of little oblique zigzags parallel to each other (Fig. 1). Lower on several of these amphoras is a garland on which alternate lotus buds half opened or closed.¹ (Fig. 2). Elsewhere is at that place a frieze of real or fictitious animals.² Finally divergent rays ascend and divide the foot. Some rosettes in a very small number are scattered over the fields, but only on those of secondary subjects, between the horsemen or dancers on the shoulder, between the animals of the frieze, which on one example is substituted for the garland of the lotus.

Note 3.p.9. Two amphoras of Vulci in the Cabinet of Paris, numbers 2 and 7 of Walter. A hydria of Vulci at Munich, No. 9 of Walters.

Note 4.p.9. Amphora of Vulci in the museum of Leyden, No. 7 of Walters.

Note 1.p.10. This is the case on the two amphoras of the Cabinet of Paris.

Note 2.p.10. It is thus on the hydria of Munich.

The technics are the same everywhere. The clay has been carefully prepared. The walls of the vases are very thin. On the exterior the clay presents a beautiful tint of reddish orange. Figures and ornaments are black with broad violet retouches. White coatings are rare. They have ^{been} only employed exceptionally where, as on a vase of the Cabinet of Antiques, the painter desired to produce an effect; for example, this is the case in the group of five bulls and geni that represents the herd which Hercules stole from Geryon (Fig. 3). The black on these vases has a very frank and brilliant lustre. Like the violet, it has endured very well. The whites were laid afterward on the black coating and are less firm. As for the engraving, the painter has made use of it as constantly as the Corinthian ceramist. The external contours of the figures are not outlined by incised lines except where they overlap but the internal details of the modeling of the body and members as well as that of the clothing and accessories, are indicated by these same lines.

We have listed the characters by which are defined in general the group of vases, that are claimed for Chalcidian manufacture. It remains to study the style of this decoration, whose plan we have described. This study alone can furnish the means of assigning an approximate date to these vases and of determining what influences seem to have influenced the painter of Chalcis.

To give an exact idea of the manufacture and appearance of the Euboean vases, we shall first take the amphora of the National Library, that represents the combat of Geryon and Hercules. (Figs. 2, 3).¹ The piece is in marvellous preservation. We have already had occasion to indicate in what order the various motives succeed each other, to which the ceramist had recourse to ornament his work. What are to be appreciated here are the

procedures of the execution. The legends on the vases contain only a single letter characterizing the Chalcidian alphabet, the lambda; but otherwise so similar in form and the entirety of this decoration to those, where is found in the inscriptions, the + c xi and the T cni, that one cannot hesitate to place it in this list, and one is authorized to take it as the type of the products of this fabrication.

Note 4.p.11. De Ridder. Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque nationale, No. 232.

The drawing here is still very conventional in certain respects. Thus without any indication of the pupil, the eye of the men is represented by a full circle between dashes and that of the woman by an elongated oval; but the bodies are in just proportions and well constructed. Movements are rendered with much correctness and freedom. Only some embarrassment and some awkwardness are felt in the corpse that extends between the legs of Geryon and in the arm of a cavalier on the shoulder of the vase, an arm thrown backward and seeming dead and broken (Fig. 4). The work is unequal; but already is marked the lively feeling for form with a sincere effort of reflection. The decorator knows how to compose. In the principal subject is a happy contrast between the tranquil pose of Athena standing behind Hercules, and the furious spirit that casts against each other the hero and the monster. Where this art is most apparent is in the manner in which are grouped the beasts of the herd. Behind are four animals of which are only perceived the thick necks and powerful heads, some upright and the others bending toward the ground. The front bull alone is painted white and allows his rump to be seen, boldly drawn with the firm stroke of the brush. The four bodies drawn as presenting their heads are concealed by the ample form of the bull, that is seen in profile and presents to the eye the entire width of his sides. The contrast of colors with this inversion of lines aids in diversifying the appearance of this group. The oxen in the second plane are black with violet retouches that help to distinguish them apart. On these dark tints vigorously project the white skin of the bull occupying the front of the scene. Everywhere else in the painting is found that harmony in effect, and this happy search for the picturesque details. The combat has already produced two victims, the two keepers of the herd, the

dog Ortnos and the herdsman Eurytion. The painter has been very careful not to give the two corpses the same position. The animal is extended on his back with paws in the air. It seems to struggle in the last convulsions of agony. The man has fallen with hands before him and face on the ground, shriveled on his stiffened members. The principal members are treated in the same spirit and with the same skill. But the compact group of the oxen and that of the two combatants, Athena is quite erect in her long tunic and risks appearing a little thin, but from her egis she detaches the flexible bodies of serpents with heads raised and menacing, extending and coiling before and behind the goddess. It is the same for Geryon. The painter did not give him here, as did some of his successors, three bodies which always join each other badly. He was satisfied to give him three heads and six arms; but to his shoulders were attached great wings with recurved points, which complete the image without rendering it heavy.

The work of the potter of Chalcis is in general far more alive, it has much more movement than the Attic painting perhaps a little later, that represents the same episode of the myth of Hercules. We mean the vase signed by Exekias, one of the makers who seems to have had more fame at Athens in the course of the 6th century (Fig. 5). The drawing of Exekias is more correct; but compared to that of his anonymous predecessor, his painting does not fail to appear injured by some coldness.

On the body, the reverse of the vase is filled by a quadriga over which appears the face of a warrior, seen in front like the chariot, who is crowned by a Corinthian helmet. In the presentation of horses, there is doubtless an excess of symmetry, something slightly restrained and a little 'neralclac'; yet the entirety of the group has its nobility. One cannot prevent finding a certain elegance in the balancing of the lines, in the exact correspondence of the curves turned to the outside and described by the heads and haunches of the two horses on right and left (Fig. 6).

There is still a merit that one cannot refuse to the Chalcidian decorator. This broad space offered to him by the amplitude of the body, he has known how to fill without having recourse to those motives without meaning, that the Corinthian painter scatters at random in the field to fill the void. Deprived

of those useless accessories, the figures thus assume more value and interest.

What is perhaps still better in all this decoration are the figures of the cavaliers that extend in a file on the shoulder. With a single inaccuracy affecting one of these images, the design there has more freedom and certainty than elsewhere. (Fig. 4). Although seated on their horses, that carry them boldly as if to rear on their hind legs, these cavaliers all have the same charm; yet there are slight differences between them. They are not transfers from the same tracing. What suffices to prove it is even the deformation just mentioned. It is explained by the effort made by the artist to place variety there also. For once, success has not crowned the attempt. The same qualities of composition, drawing and the skilful use of color are found, more or less marked, on the other vases of the same workshop, for example on the beautiful amphora also found at Vulci, which represents the combat between the Trojans and Greeks around the corpse of Achilles.¹ The painting that decorates the body presents a singular analogy to that on which is shown the combat of Geryon and Hercules. Athena standing behind Ajax is exactly similar to that on the other vase, who assists Hercules. Same outline and pose, same manner of holding the spear and same serpents rising before the goddess. In the scene of the battle under the walls of Troy, the same spirit, ardor and fire as in the duel of Hercules and the giant. Here are also noted interesting inventions, finds of the painter. To drag into the Trojan camp the corpse of Achilles, Glaucos has tied around the ankle a cord on which he pulled with all his strength, when he was stopped by the spear of Ajax; but Ajax is alone and behind Glaucos struck by death, Eneas and other warriors hasten to the rescue. At the other end of the camp is a group, whose calm attitudes contrast with the violent movements of this fight. These are Diomedes with wounded hand and Stenelos, who have for the moment withdrawn aside. Stenelos has placed his helmet and shield on the ground. He is occupied in bathing the wound of his friend. If as believed, the epic poem of Arctinos furnished the theme of this painting, the painter knew how to select with taste the episodes best suited to attract and retain the eye of the spectator.

Note A.p.14. Mon.dell'Inst. 1833. Pl. Li. Annali, Rivt, p.224.

Baumelster. Denkmäler, p. 3 and Fig. 10 (Pl. I), p. 1937.

If one be tempted to recognize in these two amphoras and perhaps also in another of the Cabinet of Antiques the hand of the same artist,¹ there is a hydria at Munich which is indeed the product of the same art, but which by the choice and arrangement of the motives, still differs from the type which we have described.² There is again the file of young norsemen which decorates the shoulder; but no palmations on the neck; which is entirely covered by a black glaze. Toward the foot is nothing but radiating edges, above being a band on which among rare rosettes marches a procession of lionesses and of birds with men's heads. Under the handles are two lions seated on their hinder parts, turning their heads toward the central painting. That on the body represents Atalanta and Peleus leaning toward each other, having already seized each other's arms and wishing to wrestle and overthrow the adversary (Fig. 7). They stand at the sides of a table on which is placed the head of a wild boar of Calydon, a head offered by Meleager after the hunt to the huntress that at first wounded the beast. The skin of the boar is suspended against the wall before which are made the preparations for the encounter. From the myth of the Argonauts is borrowed the theme of this painting. The funeral games celebrated in honor of Pelias furnished the poets the occasion of placing Peleus, the celebrated wrestler and vanquisher of Thetis, in the struggle with Atalanta. This seems that she would have been sufficiently designated by her name inscribed on the clay with the brush; but this name aroused in the mind of the painter the memory of the exploit by which Atalanta had conquered her fame. The painter then hastened to seize this pretext to introduce in this scene the image of the enormous head of the monster. It was to recall another episode of the epic legend, one that the painters of vases most frequently reproduced. As witnesses and judges of the combat are seven persons, a woman, a beardless youth and old men with beards terminating in a point. Names are inscribed for only two of them, Mopsus and Clytios; the others are anonymous. In the costumes is great variety. Like the young woman, several of the men are clothed in the long tunic falling to the feet, over which is cast the mantle. Two others have for sole clothing only the chlamys placed on the shoulders. Peleus is entirely nude. As for Atalanta, she

has nude legs but the torso is enclosed in a jacket held by a girdle at the waist. This sort of waistcoat ends at the bottom in two rounded flaps, one of which covers the top of the thighs and the lower abdomen.

Note 1.p.15. No. 238 of De Ridder's catalogue. Same decoration as on No.302; interlacings on the neck; horsemen on the shoulder; at bottom a garland of lotus and radiating stripes. The principal subject represents the scene of arming, preparatory to war. Ten persons beside which are inscribed names chosen at random. The vase appears to have left the same workshop as No.202; but it is a less careful work. The clay is of a tone less frank; the colors are less distinct; the drawing is dryer and more angular. Reproduction by Gerhard. *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*. Pls. 190, 191.

Note 2.p.15. Furtwängler. *Die Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Pls. 31, 32; p. 161-163 of text.

The drawing here is of the same character as on the vase of the Gorgon and the amphoras that we have compared with it. Very correct on the whole (see the movement that inclines both Atalanta and Peleus toward each other); it retains dryness and archaic hardness in the trace of the contours. The painter has used white here more than on the amphora taken as type of the fabrication of the Chalcidian workshops. It has served not only for the flesh of women, but also for the tunics of persons of both sexes. Note also a curious detail on this vase. Beneath one handle is a supple lotus stem terminated by a bud ready to open and unrolling its coils on the field, just as the plant does in water when it yields to an eddy of the current. With the Ionian ceramists, their rivals of Chalcis found this motive.¹ Always preoccupied in adorning the decoration of their vases and of diversifying their appearance, they sometimes made happy borrowings from the works of other workshops and sometimes labored to imagine for vases arrangements that would have this air and this taste of novelties. In the reliefs and in the paintings, sculptors and painters scarcely then risked showing their persons otherwise than in profile, and painters of vases, on whom was imposed the necessity of rapid execution, had every interest in using this faculty consecrated by custom. Those of Chalcis, while usually conforming to current practice, no less held to introducing in their paintings some figures seen in front.

Those are presented in the combat around the body of Achilles, the heads of Achilles, Glaucos and Leodocus, another Trojan. It is the same on an amphora of the cabinet which we have reproduced (Fig. 6), for the horses and quadriga, that ornaments its reverse and for the helmeted warrior who mounts the chariot.

Note 1. p. 17. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 480-482, Fig. 228.

The three or four vases on which are based our observations and the seven or eight others comprised in the lists to which we have referred are certainly not the only ones in the series of our museums, that left the workshops of Chalcis. Others have been mentioned in those galleries, for which it seems that one would be right to attribute the same origin. There is found the same technics and the same tone of the clay as in the vases with inscriptions, the same arrangement of the decoration, the taste for the same themes, the same choice of accessory motives, and the same style of drawing. When we possess good catalogues of all important collections, we shall doubtless be enabled to increase the number of anepigraphic vases, that after minute comparisons must be attached to this group; but we cannot here engage in this study, discuss for each piece the question of knowing if it be wrong or right, what it is proposed to place in this series. We must limit our task to make well known some vases, that on the faith of their legends are regarded as authentic products of chalcidian manufacture. These vases and those presenting the same guarantee will serve as types in the researches undertaken for that purpose. New works should be carried to the credit of the potters of Chalcis only if the analogies are sufficiently marked, that doubt does not seem to be required by wise criticism.

These vases are evidences of an art already too sure of its methods and too wise not to give the impression that they were the first, which the ceramists of Chalcis supplied to their patrons; they must have fashioned those more archaic and thus learned the trade. Perhaps also their activity was prolonged well beyond the moment when it gave birth to the works, that we have just described. In the 5th century, Eretria made vases that counterfeited those of Athens. It was perhaps the same at Chalcis. Why would the potters of Chalcis close their shops after having delivered to commerce the amphoras and hydrias that have been found at Vulci? Unfortunately, it is to be feared

that these vases, the most ancient and the most recent, for lack of sure indications that permit distinguishing them, may remain confused on the tablets of our museums in the multitude of those whose true origin remains the problem. In the actual state of our knowledge of that life and production, which may have been long and brilliant, the historian perceives only one moment, only a brief hour. If the vases that constitute the group that we have studied did not come from the same workshop, as one would be tempted to believe, the least that one could affirm is that they are all contemporaries with each other within a few years.¹ The planes of the decoration and the style of drawing are not alike in all these pieces. Does not one see repeated from one to another certain images and certain characteristic motives that are not found elsewhere; The date proposed to be assigned to these vases is the middle of the 6th century. They represent the taste of Chalcis about the year 550, which inspired some master potters, who had then created for export with great profits, types which their nobility of form and their very careful execution would make particularly appreciated by the Etrurian lovers of Greek ceramics.

Note 1. p. 18. Furtwängler. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Notice of plate 31.

This Chalcidian ceramics has its originality, as we have seen; but it was unable to receive the influence of more important workshops, the Ionian workshops, those of Athens and of Corinth.

The Ionian style recalls in very visible fashion the motive that decorates one of the sides of the cratera of the museum of Wurzburg (Fig. 8). Two cocks facing each other enclose a group composed of two serpents with interlacing coils, seeming to menace with their facinorous heads. This original motive, which thus combines two types whose comparison does not result from any resemblance of form or habits, one would almost believe to find its first sketch in the decoration of one side of a cratera of Naucratis that we have reproduced;¹ but at Naucratis is only one serpent. Here the pair has doubled the image and entangled the coils of these two undulating bodies, that are distinguished from each other by a difference of the coat. The motive has thus taken more amplitude and more richness. It is indeed happier. The decoration of the cover of the same cratera

is also in Furtwängler, op. cit. p. 18, plate 31.

is also of rare elegance with its central knob, the divergent rays detached from this, the garland of lotus flowers and buds which cover the first circular band, and the file of wild boars that seem to march on the black fillet which outlines the contour. The drawing of these animals is very correct and very firm. (Fig. 9).

Note 1.p.19. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Fig. 103.

The Chalcidian painter pleased himself by reproducing the proud outline of the cock, whose neck and wings he colored red.¹ There is reason to believe that this beautiful bird was introduced and domesticated in Greece about the middle of the 6th century.² It then had the prestige of novelty. On the amphora belonging to the same Bavarian museum, again between two cocks facing each other is inserted the beautiful motive, entirely fanciful like that of the cratera seen above (Fig. 10). It is composed of palmations symmetrically arranged, around which are scrolled with detached ends long flexible stems which end in lotus buds. Other similar stems likewise carrying a bud seem to float in space over the backs of the cocks. No human figures on this amphora and no animals other than the two cocks. The composite ornament which at first attracts the eye does not fail to offer some analogy to that, which on one of the amphoras of Melos forms the essential element of the decoration. On the Melian vase is also the complex system of palmations and scrolls, which occupies the middle of the field on the body; but there are too horsemen at right and left of this motive, which play at Melos the role assigned to the two cocks by the painter of Chalcis. With about this difference the conception is the same on both. The two decorators have understood their task in the same fashion. I add that on the Chalcidian amphora as on the hydria of the same workshop, one finds floating in some sort in the field these flowering stems, which by their capricious elegance have reminded us of the free use that the Ionian painter made of the plant for filling the surface of his vase. (Vignette at end of Chapter).

Note 1.p.20. The cock is again found on another of the vases described by Dumont as Chalcidian. (No. 4).

Note 2.p.20. Victor Hahn. Kulturpflanzen und Haustiieren. 5th edition. p. 280-287. Native of India, the cock was gradually

distributed in Iran. The Greeks received it from the Medes and Persians, when in Asia Minor they found themselves in contact with the founders of the latest of the great oriental empires. The most ancient mention of the cock and of his song that has been found in Greek writers is in Theognis (verses 863-864).

Note 3.p.20. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Fig. 233.

On the other hand, one cannot refuse to recognize that the vases of Chalcis very much resemble those that the Attic workshops produced about the same time. Athens had perfected this form of the amphora for which the potters of Chalcis had a marked liking. That gave to the design of black figures on red ground that firmness of contour which was again accented by the point of the graver with its lines well placed. For more than one anepigraphic vase, on which some details recall the Chalcidian workman's manner, one hesitates to decide, he asks if it is proper to attribute it to Attica or to Euboea.

If the Chalcidian painter was thus particularly inspired by models found at Athens, he did not forbid himself also to turn his eyes to Corinth. In his work have been mentioned many traces of the effort made to appropriate certain procedures and motives to the use of which the ceramics of the isthmus owed its popularity.¹ For that comes the pleasure that he seems to take in the play and the variety of colors. He uses more freely the white coatings than usually do the Attic decorators. His violet is of a warmer tone. From the Corinthians he takes also their files of real or factitious animals. Perhaps the winged demons of their aryballas suggested to him the idea of attaching to the shoulders of Geryon the great wings that men elsewhere did not have the custom of giving to the triple giant (Fig. 3); but what is still more significant is the method taken by the painter of Chalcis to represent certain monsters. One would believe that detached from some Corinthian vase the winged giant with serpent's tail against which Zeus launches his thunderbolt, as on one side of a hydria of Munich (Fig. 11). This giant recalls an image of a female demon, that we have borrowed from a Corinthian alabaster of the museum of Berlin.² On both are the same broad and raised wings between which is profiled the bust of a person. Below this human torso are the same coils of the serpent tail that rounds and extends in front and

rear, as if to give the figure a broad base.

Note 1.p.21. Willisch. Die Altkorinthische Thon industrie. p.133-135.

Note 2.p.21. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Fig. 323.

From the same repertory the Chalcidian painter took the rosettes which he has scattered in places on the voids of the frielos; but he is far more careful of it than is the brush with which he follows there the examples. Several themes such as races of norsemen, dances of satyrs and of bacchantes, scenes of arming and of departure for battle, combats around the corpse of a fallen hero, etc., and further common in both ceramics, but without having to seek too far, they will have found elsewhere. What is most characteristic is the fashion of the arms. Warriors on vases of Chalcis have the Corinthian helmet. Their shields have the same form and the same signs as on the Corinthian vases.

These resemblances are further entirely superficial. The spirit is different. The first to recognize this are those who Corinthian ceramics has most interested; the drawing on the vases of Chalcis is much less conventional. In spite of what it retains of the defects of rendering in archaism, one feels more the sincere desire to reproduce the inflexions of the living form and the beauty of spontaneous movement. Particularly in composition is marked this superiority of the Eutean painter, his effort to obtain expression, if not also by the character given to the lines of force, at least by the variety of the attitudes. For example, here is a Chalcidian cratera of the museum of Wurzburg (Fig. 12). Hector and Paris, one with the shield on the arm and the other as an archer, take leave of Andromache and Helen. While Andromache is covered by a long veil and has her eyes fixed on the hero that she will never see again, Helen is more freely clothed and turns from Paris, as if to speak to a bearded person that follows her, in whom it has been proposed to recognize Priam with all probability. In the entire routine series of Corinthian paintings, will something be found comparable to this picture, whose author has certainly desired to recall by the difference of the poses given to the two women how both couples here grouped differed in the relations between the spouses? He has remembered and desires

to make a souvenir of this scene of the Iliad, where after the duel without result between Paris and Menelaus, Helen allows to be seen how she scorns her abductor. To throw her into his arms requires the intervention of Aphrodite and the violence that she has done to the will of the weak mortal.¹

Note 1.p.23. Homer. Iliad. III, 393-447.

In this painting one peculiarity merits mention. The painter has here attached little wings to the ankles of Paris, similar to those which art usually gives to Hermes. There is nothing in epic poetry that justifies this addition. Does the artist wish to indicate by this that Paris signalized himself less by his valor than by the rapidity of the course that took him from the perils of the field of battle? One can scarcely credit in this painting in which cannot be mistaken the intention of the painter to take into account the statement of the Iliad, that the wings thus fixed to the feet of Paris may be a simple flourish of the brush.

It is known what part Eretria has taken in the colonial enterprises of Chalcis. In spite of the war between them about the end of the 8th century for the possession of the Pelantine plain, the two cities spoke the same dialect and had nearly the same institutions and customs. Their destinies always remained very intimately connected. We have had occasion to state what the potters of Eretria had produced in the 5th century; but recent discoveries have proved that during the course of the two or three preceding centuries, their workshops were already in full activity. A recently cemetery in 1898 furnished several amphoras, which appear to be nearly contemporaneous with our vases of Chalcis, perhaps a little earlier.¹ What suffices to attest that they were indeed made by Eretria itself is, that in one of the legends that gives the names of the persons, is found one of the characters that characterize the Euboean alphabet. These pieces are not the only booty that came from the trenches. There have been taken out in very great number fragments of other vases, that from the nature of the clay certainly came from the same workshop as the amphoras with inscriptions. There are vases on which the decoration is entirely in geometric style. On others are seen to appear motives, that have been borrowed from the arts of the Orient. The industry

of the painted vase cannot be doubted to date from a very high antiquity at Eretria; it was perpetuated there until at least the 4th century.

Note 1.p.24. Laurent. (Greek). *Ephemeris* 1931. p.173-184, pls. IX-XII.

Yet it does not seem that in this city the art of the ceramist painter was practised in the 6th century by masters equal to those to whom is due the few vases from which we have estimated the merits of the Chalcidian amphoras. These evidence a very superior technical skill. The amphora at Eretria is far from having the happy proportions and the elegant curve which it had already acquired at Chalcis. Here with its high conical foot, its very slender neck and narrow body, it has something narrow and awkward, it lacks body (Fig. 13). Where it is without a foot, it appears heavy and massive (Fig. 14). The workman has not yet found the perfect form. He has yet to seek it laboriously. The handles are entirely straight, are awkwardly attached and close against the neck. It is the same with the ornamentation given to the vase by the brush. Nothing here of that entire subtlety of the decoration, which at Chalcis causes the alternation of the motives of pure ornament and the images that speak to the mind of the spectator. The shoulder is too much effaced for one to cause there those cavaliers and dancers, which on the amphoras of Chalcis amuse the eye without distracting the attention from the principal theme, broadly developed on the ample field of the body. On the amphoras that from the cemetery of Eretria is nothing but two pictures, which have nearly equal importance, one on the neck and the other on the body of the vase. To separate them is a thin sprinkling of stars. In this entirety is not enough air and space. An entirely similar arrangement was adopted on another amphora of the same form and source, but where as on two amphoras that we have attributed to Chalcis, the painter has omitted the human figure in decorating the field. He is satisfied to place on the neck a palm between two marsh birds and on the body a rosette between two winged sphynxes (Fig. 15). We have distinguished the amphoras of Eretria from those which accord with all ceramographs, we have attributed to Chalcis. Another hypothesis perhaps merits being taken into consideration. The cemetery of Chalcis has not been uncovered; so far no discovery has come

to prove that there was at Chalcis an active and flourishing ceramic industry, while for Eretria the existence and long duration of this industry, are attested by the result of several happy excavations. Might not one ask if Chalcis, limiting its ambition to extract from the ground and to work metal, did not derive from Eretria all the vases which its navy transported to Italy? If this possibility be admitted, the differences which we have indicated would no less remain; but what would allow them to be distinguished would be two phases of the production of the workshops of Eretria, the period of experiments and that in which these artisans, skilful in profiting by the examples of their rivals, entered into full possession of all their means. It further is of little importance whether the vases in question, those on which we have so much insisted, were made at Chalcis or at Eretria. What is certain is, that they were made in Eubea, and that they count among the truly interesting works left to us by the art of the Greek ceramists of the 6th century.

Doubtless one cannot state, that the Eubean potters have shown much originality, nor that they have opened new ways to the ceramist; but that of intelligent eclecticism, they made use of the examples given them by Ionian, Attic and Corinthian workshops. They seem to have borrowed most from the technics of the workshops of Corinth; but doubtless due to the models offered them by the Attic vases, they have put into their designs a feeling of life and movement, a firmness that the Corinthian brush scarcely attained, always slightly heavy. At the same time, it seems that they carried into the comparison of their paintings a more marked care to become inspired by the epic myths and of those speaking to the imagination.

Chapter XXIII. BEOTIAN VASES.

In Beotia as in Eubœa facing it, very early was employed plastic clay in fashioning statuettes and Vases. We have given examples of idols that were contained in very ancient Beotian tombs.¹ On the other hand, it is known what vogue was later enjoyed by the elegant figurines of Tanagra, whose moulds were exported even into Asia Minor. The potter was no less active and fertile than the coroplast. Pausanias found still at Aulis a little city in which all workers were occupied in making pottery.² The museums of antiquities contain numbers of vases, whose Beotian origin is not doubtful. What permits them to be attributed to the local industry is, that they have been found in that province and are not found elsewhere beyond its frontiers. Also on several are inscriptions that are read, and are found forms of language belonging to the Beotian dialect, or forms of letters peculiar to the alphabet employed in this province.³

Note 1.p.28. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Figs 28-31.

Note 2.p.28. Pausanias. IX. 19-8.

Note 3.p.28. Kretschmer. Die griechischen Vaseninschriften. p. 52-54.

This ceramics is far from having the importance of Ionian and Corinthian ceramics. What particularly makes the difference is, that the artisans of this country do not seem to have ever occupied themselves in consulting and satisfying the tastes of the foreign patrons that enriched the Ionian potter, those of Corinth, Chalcis and Athens. Their efforts appear to have had no object other than to furnish the people of the country with vessels, that pleased them sufficiently to relieve them from purchasing at Athens or Corinth. There has been found in Etruria or elsewhere outside Beotia not a single vase, that could probably be regarded as the product of any Beotian workshop.¹ Beotia was an agricultural country. The few ports that it possessed on the Euripus and on the gulf of Corinth were only frequented by small coasting vessels and fishing boats. It never had a navy or a foreign and distant commerce.

Note 1.p.29. There is only one apparent exception to this rule. This is a cup in the Louvre found at Vulci and signed by Theozotos. (Élite des mon. ceram. III, 84). The substitution of z for d in the name Theodotos is a peculiarity, that characterizes

the dialects of Thessaly and of Beotia (Kretschmer, p. 53); but this example of a Beotoan vase remaining unique, it is better with Kretschmer to attribute to this vase an Attic origin, not denied by its fabrication, and to believe that Theozotos was a Thessalian or Beotian potter established at Athens. He signed by using the letters which he had learned to use in his youth. (Furtwängler. Berl. Phil. Woch. 1895. p. 202).

Of Beotian ceramics, that best known by most monuments whose source is certain, are those works that date from the time when geometric design reigned as master in all European Greece, also those of the century when by the suggestive examples from the Orient, the spirit of the artist began to reopen to the feeling of nature and of life. We have reproduced some Beotian vases that were contemporaneous with the Attic vases of the Dipylon, where is divined the imitation of the products of that manufacture;² but perhaps we have not sufficiently insisted on a peculiarity that offers a real interest. The style termed Dorian, that style of rigorous and narrow republicanism, does not seem to have come to impose in Beotia its empire so tyrannically as elsewhere and notably at Athens. The tradition of Mycenaean art in Beotia better defended themselves against the method, that in other workshops had succeeded in effacing almost all trace of the past.

Note 2. p. 29. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. p. 212, 213; Figs. 91-95.

Something of these traditions remain here as in Ionia, until on vases where the main lines of the decoration and most of the motives are as if fixed in the stiffness of the system of ornamentation, which the Northern tribes had imported to the south of the Pindus. The persistence of the old habits is there betrayed in many places by a certain detail that could not escape an attentive observer. This is a certain rosette with a red heart and white petals on a black ground, which seems to be a copy of a real flower (Plate I). On the contrary, the motives of this kind, the four leaves found in the repertory of the ceramists of the Dipylon only recall very distantly the plant form that gave the first idea of it. Further, this is an amphora where all the fields are filled by combinations of straight lines, squares, lozenges, chevrons and points, but on the neck are bouquets of elongated leaves like those of the laurel, from

which springs a bud (Fig. 16).¹ At the bottom of the body was placed a wide band that is filled by a motive of the same kind. Again a bud occupies the centre; but it rises between two helices, whose light scrolls recall the tendrils of climbing plants, the vine and the honeysuckle.

Note 1.p.30. Louvre. Hall B, 571. Likewise the rosette with petals alternately black and white, which we have reproduced from another vase of the Louvre. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, Fig 34, p214).

Elsewhere is a motive composed of four leaves that do not conere together as on the vases of the Dipylon, but are only connected together by slight stalks, and which would be termed agitated by the wind (Fig. 17). The contrast is striking between the suppleness of these elements borrowed from plants and of hard dryness of the traces both complex and poor, that result only from geometry.

The conflict of the two tendencies is sometimes emphasized in a manner still more sensible where the animal is enclosed in a strictly linear decoration. Such is the case of an amphora of the museum of Stockholm (Fig. 18).¹ it is unknown where it was discovered; but according to its technics, there has been no hesitation in recognizing in it a product of some Boeotian workshop. At the middle of the body and in a field reserved for that purpose is a figure of a passing stag. Now this figure is not deformed, as are figures of quadrupeds, horses or deer, which the painters of the dipylon inclose in some compartment of their decoration. it does not have the same entirely conventional character. Its movement is easy. Slightly thin, the proportions do not vary from those presented by the living model. If the painter did not draw this image from nature, he borrowed it from some Ionian vase. Here is found the interpretation of this type adopted by the artists to whom we owe the Rhodian amphoras and the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes.

Note 1.p.31. S. Wide. Altgræchische Vase in National Museum zu Stockholm. (Jahrb. 1897. p. 125-127, pl. VII).

Also the bird under the same brass has been able to resist this desired alteration of the contour, that on many Attic vases of the 8th century gives it the appearance of a simple hieroglyph. On a stamnos of the museum of Madrid, see the two swans facing each other (Fig. 19).¹ The triangle separating

them is a conventional form; but the swans are well posed and articulated. They live; one feels that they are ready to run or fly.

Note 1.p.32. S. Reinach. *Apropos d'un stamnos beotien du museum de Madrid* (Rev. Arch. 1902. p.373-386). The source of this vase is unknown; but the technique and the fashion of the decoration leave no doubt of its Beotian origin.

When attention had begun to be devoted to Beotian ceramics, there was indicated as a type peculiar to it certain flat cups with four handles and without a foot.² There it is not the interior of the cup which is decorated, as frequently on cups intended to be placed on the table; it is the outside, the visible surface when the cup is held not in the hand but is hung on a nail against the wall. The favorite motive of the decorators of these cups, which is found on most of these pieces, is an eagle with extended wings, placed within a sort of metope between two concentric circles connected together by transverse bars (Fig. 20). In the extension of his wings and the long feathers of his tail, this eagle has something conventional and heraldic, as it is said; but the general character of the form is well seized. This allows to be divined the power of the impulse that carries through space the master of the air. On that cup selected as one of the best examples of this type will be noted the elegance of the bouquet of leaves and tendrils borne on a wavy stem, that unfolds in these panels within which the brush has not placed an eagle. One is the more struck by this freedom in design than on other cups of the same kind, that aside from the flying eagle only have a purely geometric decoration.¹ (Vignette).

Note 2.p.32. Böhlau. *Boetische Vasen*. (Jahrb. 1888. p.325-361). Böhlau enumerates 12 of these cups, which belong to the museums of Berlin, London and Athens. There are also several at Paris. (Pottier. *Catalogue*. I, p. 243-244; *Vases antiques*. I. Pl. XXI. No. 572).

Note 1.p.33. Böhlau. Fig. 4. There have been found a great number of ^{these} cups in the excavations made by the English school in 1907 and 1908 in the cemetery of Rhitsoma on the site of an ancient Mycalessos, a little Beotian city opposite Chalcis. The journal of the excavations was kept with much care, and there

the inventory of the objects found in the tombs, it appears to recall that the fabrication of these cups with geometric decoration continued in Beotia until the end of the 6th century. (Annual of British School at Athens. Vol. XIV. R. M. Barrows. P. K. Ure. Excavations at Rhitsona in Beotia. p.226-318. Pls. VII&XV. Four. Hell. Studies. R. M. Barrows. P. K. Ure. Excavations at Rhitsona in Beotia. p.308-353. Pls. XXIII-XXVI). We regret not having been able to draw the figures and plates accompanying those articles; but aside from the two colored plates, these are all photographic with very rare exceptions. Photography gives only obscure and confused images of vases, particularly of archaic vases. For vases should be almost completely renounced photography. The least drawing or tracing is preferable to the dark and vague spots almost always given by the use of the lens in such cases.

Several of the vases just presented and perhaps as ancient as such Attic vases on which the ornamentatist seems to have lost even the memory of the types of the organic world. For this reason, they perhaps should be placed where we shall show what a profound change in taste and style was produced in the arts of Greece after the fall of the Achaian royalties; but to this ceramics of Thebes and of Tanagra, because it has obstinately adhered to a past, that in other centres of manufacture might seem then abolished without return, to connect itself to all the plastic work of the reviving Greece, of the historical Greece. In this sense these Beotian vases are transitional; we should then be authorized to compare them to those which will soon there, as in neighboring countries, announce the advent and indicate the triumph of the new spirit. What they then aid in causing to be comprehended is, that by these local survivals of earlier habits, one would be more prepared in some provinces than in others to be affected by the influence of this Ionia, legitimate heiress of Mycenaean civilization and the ingenious imitator of the models supplied by the arts of Asia, would give the signal to awake. The East wind that blew over the Egean sea would thus in places find open passages to insinuate itself gently into countries already well prepared, where its vivifying breeze would soon raise a harvest.

Some of these old Beotian vases show an enthusiastic reception

of the examples given them by Asian Greece by the potters of this country. Here is an amphora found at Thebes, where all, the form of the vase, distribution of the ornaments, character of the drawing of the animals, seems to be inspired by models offered by the pottery of the Dipylon (Fig. 21); but if it be examined more closely, differences are already found.¹ At the Dipylon the black glaze fills the entire interior of the outlines. Here in the body of the bird, the painter has replaced the opaque tone by parallel hatchings, a procedure that we know by the very frequent use made of it by the decorators of Cypriote, Cretan and Rhodian ceramics.² This is also a technique familiar to Ionian potters, that we shall find in the trace of the figure of the horse. His body is painted in black opaque projection, while the head is outlined by a simple line and retains the color of the ground.

Note 1.p.34. Coube. *Notes céramographiques*. p.274-276 (B.C. R. 1898. p.273-302).

Note 2.p.34. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. III. Figs. 486, 509-511, 513, 527-528; VI, Fig. 169; IX. Figs. 210, 213.

The imitation there only affects details of fabrication. Where it is still more apparent is on a vase of rare form, which also came from Beotia (Fig. 22).¹ This refers to a cup without handles supported by three vertical and flat bars. Three cylindrical tenons at top attach each support to the bottom of the cup. On each vertical are two metopes, i.e., two images enclosed between vertical and horizontal lines. The lower image is everywhere a seated sphinx. Above is either a lion, a passing tiger or a flying eagle. The body of the vase is decorated by three paintings separated by the attachments of the supports. a wild boar passing between two sirens facing each other. A swan between two young lions. A siren with wings spread between two other sirens with folded wings. The shoulder of the vase is ornamented by a garland on which alternate lotus flowers and buds. If there be a motive dear to the Ionian decorator, it is this chaplet of exotic blossoms with the regular alternation of bud and flower. This same pair has no less taste for the various types found here, of passing and facing beasts, marsh birds, female sphinxes and sirens.

The Beotian painter then seems to have derived from some Ionian model all the motives except one that enter into his decor-

decoration. Among the motives thus appropriated, he has not failed to insert the flying eagle to which he has vowed a very special affection. This image became in the workshops of this country a sort of collective signature, a true mark of fabrication.

There is also a borrowing made by Ionian painters, of the white dotted line that on a cratera serves to indicate the internal details of the bodies of animals, the floating mane and rounding of the flanks.¹ It is necessary to see here a transitional technique, a survival of the white lines that in Ionian paintings accent the inflexions and projections of the form within the limiting contours. On this vase are two horses on one side facing each other, one mounted by a nude ephebe armed with a spear. Between the two is an elegant palmetum with double volute at the end of a long stem. (Fig. 23). On the opposite surface are two facing cows, and between the legs of each is a sucking calf (Fig. 24). This type was certainly taken from the arts of the Orient by Greek art. We have found it in Egypt and in Phoenicia.¹ Corinthian ceramics did not know it. On the contrary, it was familiar to Mycenaean art,² and we find it on coins of Euboea.³

Note 1.p.37. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. III. Figs. 552-553.

Note 2.p.37. The same. Vol. VI. Pl. XVI, 15.

Note 3.p.37. The same. Vol. IX. Fig. 74.

Here again is another peculiarity that merits mention. The horses have proportions a little less massive here than assigned to them by the painters of the sarcophagi of Clazomenes.⁴ It is the same for the cows, that may be compared with the bulls represented on certain vases and those of Chalcis.⁵ The Corinthian brush lightens them and detaches them much more. Examine the mounts of the riders that race on the body or shoulder of the vases it has decorated.⁶

Note 4.p.37. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Figs. 122, 124, 126, 127.

Note 5.p.37. The same. Figs. 257, 262.

Note 6.p.37. The same. Figs. 337, 340, 344, 348, 349.

Finally, here is a last trait that strongly evidences the influence that we have traced. Eeotian ceramics does not freely imitate the snowy and rather hard colors that pleased Corinthian ceramists, their brilliant blacks and their very high violets. On the contrary it has the taste for a coloring both vivid and light, which slightly approaches that of Eeotian oenocnoes.

Its clay when serving as ground is left in the natural state of a very pale yellow; but the decoration is often applied on a whitish coating.⁷ The Boeotian workmen does not aim at a metallic lustre in his blacks; as for his reds, they verged on a carmine and tended to rose; they combined very well with white. This then allows judging the image that we present of a pretty cup, very well preserved, which belongs to the Louvre. The motives of the decoration are purely geometric and floral, differing from those of Rhodian vases; but the general appearance has something of the variety, softness and gayety, that characterizes the best products of the workshops of Rhodes. (Pl. I).

Note 7.p.37. As specimens of this Boeotian polychrome pottery may be cited here the two cups with feet found at Rhitsona, & the ancient Mycalessos, that have been reproduced with the colors of the original in the Annual of the British School. Vol. XIV, Pl. VIII. The decoration was executed on a coating of creamy white. The colors employed are red, yellow and blue. They have little solidity. A cretera of Rhitsona presents a curious variant of this polychrome pottery. (Jour. Hell. Studies. Vol. 29, p. 334-348). The entire surface was covered by a black glaze on which was placed a white coating. On this ground, that has scaled in places, the brush placed an ordinary subject, a warrior mounting his chariot. This figure is painted in red, yellow and brown.

The dominant influence here was then that of Ionian ceramics. From the beginning this was primarily exerted on the Boeotian potter, and furnished to his composite work the most important contribution. But if perhaps by the intermediary of the maritime cities of Euboea, he received and utilized the products of the workshops of eastern Greece, Corinth was very near and the painted vases of Corinth were no less appreciated on the markets of European Greece than on those of Sicily and Italy. Many of them have been collected in Boeotia. It was impossible that foremen of workshops at Thebes and Tanagra should not also be tempted to seek inspiration from examples of an industry, that realized such great profits. It is certain that on those vases even most like Ionian, the influence of Corinthian pottery is betrayed by the processes and execution. Such is the case for the tripod of the Louvre (Fig. 22). The motives of the decoration

have appeared to us to be nearly all borrowed from the repertory of Ionian artists, but the technique is there rather Corinthian. The paintings are black with abundant violet retouches. Their incisions are numerous and fine. It is the same for the cantharus on which are represented horses and cows (Figs. 23, 24). There also we find the violet retouches and the details engraved with the point. Another entirely Corinthian trait is the rosettes scattered over the fields.

In those workshops in which there was little ambition to procure for the rich farmers of Beotia the means of arranging in their festal halls and displaying on their tables vessels of pleasing and substantial appearance, the painter has not troubled his imagination to seek interesting themes in epic poetry. There are very few Beotian vases on which are recognized the subjects taken from the myths in which Ionian and Chalcidian, Corinthian and Attic decorators found the materials of such varied illustrations. On a cantharus of the museum of Berlin as black figures is represented the adventure of Troilos surprised by Achilles, near the spring to which he had accompanied his sister Polyxena.¹ There is the same awkwardness in the representation. Thus Polyxena is occupied in filling her jar in the basin of the fountain, but is so small in comparison with the other persons, that she could be taken as a dwarf. This is the sole episode of the Trojan cycle that has been found in the work of these ceramists. Their preferred hero seems to have been Hercules, the Theban hero. They have sometimes placed him in combat with the lion of Nemea (Fig. 25),² sometimes with a god of the sea, Triton or Nereus (Fig. 26)³. In this last painting, the painter has complicated in an unusual way his image of Nereus. He has combined there the classical forms of the marine monster and those of the Chimera. There the back of Nereus projects a serpent's head, and a little before the lion's head menaces Hercules. This is a naive fashion of recalling by what a series of successive transformations the inhabitants of the sunny strand have made an effort to escape the grasp of the hero. The image of this god is more simply presented and reappears on the kyathos or cup with one handle (Fig. 27).⁴ The bearded god there holds a fish in one hand and an alga in the other. The coils of his long tail by unrolling cause him to cleave the waves. These are not indicated by any line, but

the three fishes that play on the field sufficiently cause to be comprehended that the scene is in the liquid element. On the lecythe from which we have borrowed the image of Nereus is a figure of a passing lion that occupies the entire lower part of the body (Fig. 28).

Note 1.p.39. Jahrbuch. 1891. Anzeiger. p. 116, No. 10.

Note 2.p.39. Pottier. Nouvelles acquisitions du Louvre.(1899). Rev. arch. 1899. p.5-6. Louvre. No. 822).

Note 3.p.39. The same. Louvre. No. 823.

Note 4.p.39. Couve. B. C. R. 1897. p. 452-453.

Most frequently the Eeotian painter did not take the trouble to seek in the treasury of myths some adventure of gods or heroes to represent. As he did on the cup of the Louvre, he contented himself with representing on his vase some divine type, known to his patrons by its frequency, or by the practices of some local cult. Thus the head of the Gorgon decorates the convex face of a jar signed by Phithadas (Fig. 29).¹ On the flat side, that which rubbed against the body, are only geometric ornaments. The Gorgon is seen in front view. The nose is indicated by a triangle. The raised lips allow the teeth to be seen, between which passes the tongue and hangs down. Nineteen serpents play around the head. This is perhaps the rites and the idol of some temple of Citheron, which is recalled by the image painted on the body of an amphora found in the vicinity of Thebes (Fig. 30).² It is 2.62 ft. high. These exceptional dimensions give reason to think, that like the great amphoras of the Dipylon at Athens, it must have surmounted the ornamented tomb. On the only side of the vase that has received a decoration is represented a draped goddess, that extends the arms above two felines. On its robe is drawn a fish. Around it on the field are gamma crosses, birds, an ox's head, and an animal's thigh. This goddess is the potnia theron, that Artemis who under various names reigned over all ferocious wild animals, that inhabited the thickets of the mountain or the gulfs of the sea, which opened before Artemis Dictymna. In those separated members scattered there around the principal figure, it has been desired to find a confirmation of the etymology that pretends to connect the name of Artemis to the verb artamein, to tear to pieces, from which comes artamos, butcher. The Dorian form of Artemis would be the Ionian form of the same word that prevailed

in the current use of the Greek language.

Note 1.p.40. Pollak. Eine altbeotische Nestervase (Röm. Mitt. XII. 1897. p.105-111). Pollak notes the digamma introduced in the verb *epotese*. (Fig. 29). The same peculiarity is found in the signature of another beotian potter, Menaldas, on an aryballa of the Louvre (Kretschmer, p.53).

Note 2.p.40. Kolters. (Ephemeris. 1892. p.213-243).

This same type of the Asian Artemis reappears under slightly different traits on one of the most curious monuments of Beotian ceramics, on a casket that came from Thebes.¹ On one of the larger sides is a winged goddess with hair hanging on her shoulders, clothed in a long tunic girdled at the waist and falling to her feet; she holds with each hand a swan by the neck. (Fig. 31). Near her is a horse fastened to a post. On the corresponding side is a hunt of the hare (Fig. 32). On the two smaller ends is the same chase and a woman leading a horse by the bridle. On the lid are two serpents facing each other. Each compartment has its border, and the field is encumbered in the Corinthian manner by secondary ornaments, scrolls, rosettes, lozenges, fylfots, and crosses like those now called the cross of Jerusalem. The drawing is singularly awkward. This is already more than pure geometrical. In the figures of the hare and of the dog is divined an effort to approach nature and to attain correctness of movement.

Note 1.p.41. Böhlau. Beotische Vasen. p.356-358.

Is it not necessary to see only a scene of this sort in the painting decorating an oenochoe found at Tanagra and signed by Gamamedes, or indeed must one recognize Hermes in the shepherd that drives his flock before him, rams and a bull (Fig. 33)? It matters little; but the signature is twice repeated on the slope and inside the neck, and suffices to attest an age later than that of the Dipylon. Further if the brush still lacks courage, progress is not sensible, when this scene is compared to the images of the casket. The shepherd walks with a firm step. The general form is well seized in the vases.

Note 2.p.41. Rayet and Collignon. Histoire de la céramique grecque, p. 80.

A plate that came from Thebes represents Athena and Hermes. (Fig. 34). The composition is awkwardly arranged. Athena has nearly all the space and has left little to Hermes. She is

surrounded by serpents; but one does not see where and how these are attached to the body of the goddess. This is a very mediocre imitation of the type offered to us by the Chalcidian vase (Fig. 3).

Beotian potters seem to have had a taste for this form of plate, which was much in fashion in Rhodian workshops. This is proved still by five pieces of this type, which one does not hesitate to regard as Beotian, although only three of these are indicated as of Tanagran origin by the inventories of the museums possessing them.¹ The fabrication of them is sufficiently similar that men have believed themselves authorized to conjecture that all came from the same workshop. The learned man that mentioned and published them was inclined to place their fabrication in the 5th century; but we think that we have the right to place them here as more ancient than we have previously described them. The ceramic industry in Beotia seems to have been very conservative, or one could say rather routine; but there is still here the very apparent mark of the conventions of archaic design.

Note 1. p. 42. S. Kilde. Eine lokale Gattung beotischer Gefäße. (Athen. Mitt. 1901. p. 143, 156, Pl. VIII).

Two of these pieces will suffice to give an idea of the style of the paintings that ornament these plates. On one of them appears that Hercules, which we have already seen was very popular in Beotia. He leans forward in the attitude of attack. His head is protected by a lion's skin; this falls on his shoulders and covers his left arm that holds the bow. The right arm is raised and brandishes the club (Fig. 35). On another wider plate is the image of a woman in whom is recognized a goddess by the polos that surmounts her head and the throne on which she is seated. (Fig. 36). She is clothed in a sleeveless tunic and an ample peplos. A veil is thrown over her shoulders. In the right hand she holds a torch and in the left are wheat ears and poppies. This must be a Demeter, perhaps represented here as by the statue in the temple where the vase was made.

Whatever may be the date assigned to these vases, it is proper to note there the use of a process of execution, that we have already mentioned in more ancient pieces of the same origin. Which is that these figures are drawn in line. In the body and members, the interior of the outline has not been filled

by black color. The brush has used black there only to mark certain details, like the skin of the lion of Hercules or the mantle placed on the shoulders of the goddess. We recall that this is one mode of drawing, whose example had been given by the ceramic painters of Mycenae and of Ionia. It is curious to see the Boeotian decorator there remain obstinately faithful when it is no longer in use, either in the workshops of Corinth or those of Athens.

Like the Chalcidians and Corinthians, these potters have pleased to represent on their vases Dionysiac scenes, dances of satyrs. Here is a deep cup without handles or foot, that was discovered at Thebes.¹ The figures are black on a yellow ground and without retouching colors. A woman is seated on a stool and plays the double flute. Before her run four nude men with the right hands thrown back; the left hand is thrown forward and holds an object that may be a phiale. On all that part of the picture is the painting much effaced. In the other that is better preserved, two persons are similar to the first but move in the contrary direction. Then the bearded ithyphallic Selenus with a horse-tail runs while raising a cantharus with the left hand. Long tresses fall behind on his shoulders. Then comes a person in whom it is doubtless necessary to recognize Dionysos himself. He likewise is in the attitude of running. His right hand holds a knife. With the left he seizes a bird that resembles a crane (Fig. 37). Compared with his acolytes, the god has monstrous proportions. His head is enormous. He is clothed in an ample long robe. He is bearded. His hair seems held on top of the head by a band and falls in a mass on the nape. Before him are three other runners, two having in their hands flowers or a cantharus, a last one playing the flute.²

Note 1. p. 44. Couve. Notes ceramographiques. p. 283-293 (B.C.H. 1338).

Note 2. p. 44. There are also seen three dancers represented between two sphinxes on a cantharus of the Louvre. (C.A. 1339).

We cannot terminate this enumeration without mentioning the tripod found at Tanagra, that belongs to the museum of Berlin. (Fig. 38).¹ In spite of its assured origin, it was formerly described as of Attic fabrication.² One might be mistaken in this before the recent discoveries; but now men no longer hesitate to regard it as having issued from a workshop established

in the same city, whose cemetery has restored it to us. What in fact especially causes its interest is the great number and diversity of the motives, that the brush has spread over all the surfaces of the vase, on the cover, the body and the supports. In this overloaded decoration is found at least an example of each species of the themes, which the Boeotian potters employed according to their idea of the time for decorating their works. There is a sort of summary of all their current repertory.

Note 1.p.45. Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium. No. 1727.

Note 2.p.45. G. Löschke. Dreifuss aus Tanagra (Arch. Zeit. 1881.p.30-52. Pls. IIIIV).

On the middle of the cover is the hunt of the hare with two dogs running, that drive the animal toward the band near which waits the hunter. On the periphery is a band of real or factitious animals treated in the style entirely conventional. They are divided in two files that march in opposite directions and are separated by a triple palmatum at the point of meeting. Crosses are scattered on the field. Thus some purely fanciful motives are found below the body. Here is the lion devouring a bull (Fig. 39), there are two winged monsters with birds' tails facing each other. Between them are two lotus buds. Elsewhere in the same place are two winged female sphynxes. Here is a mythological subject. On top of one vertical is Perseus; his name is inscribed behind his head (Fig. 40). Bearded and draped, covered by the petasus, with wings on the ankles, he flees before the Gorgons. Two of these are represented on the two other supports. On these same feet below the goddesses are genre subjects, here two wrestlers (Fig. 41), there two pugilists entirely nude, and a dancer that springs before a draped person holding a sceptre (Fig. 40). Also a genre subject is the theme that is divided in three compartments and decorates the top of the body. This is the celebration of a Dionysiac festival. A flute player and sacrificers with branches in their hands lead an enormous hog to the altar. This advances majestically without seeming to fear the knife (Fig. 42). There are five nude men led by a flute player, who execute grotesque dances (Fig. 43).¹ Finally in the third panel is the banquet

with which the festival concludes. Two male and female couples lie before the tables between them being a flute player. Servants draw the wine from the crateras and pour it in the cups. (Fig. 44).

Note 1.p.47. On this Bacchic dance, see M.A.Reincks. *Le cordax dans le culte de Dionysos* (Rev. arch. 1911. p.1-5).

Here as on all other Beotian vases, we find the trace of the various influences that affected these potters of Tanagra and of Thebes. The sphynxes, lions, sirens, the combat of the lion and bull, the lotus buds, came in a direct line from the vases or oriental Greece. Scenes taken from the exercises of the palaestra were perhaps suggested by Athenian paintings, where they are often represented. On the other hand, these are doubtless episodes of some local festival representing the sacrifice, dances and banquet. The Bacchanals that were celebrated on the Citheron mountains are known. The form of the vase was borrowed from some work of the Chalcidian bronze-workers. As for the technics, it is entirely Attic, and this explains the opinion expressed by the first editor. No violet or white retouches. The figures are black on a light ground.

We have indicated nearly all the themes of the decoration of Beotian ceramics, at least all that have so far been found in what products of this manufacture that have come to us. Further, it is improbable that later discoveries could modify much the idea that we have been led to form of the resources and character of this repertory. It seems really poor, when one thinks of the richness of the repertory of each of the great Greek ceramics, of the diversity of the paintings that the Ionian, Corinthian and Attic painters caused to pass under the eyes of their patrons, so as to arouse in each memory the remembrance of the most beautiful tales, in which disported the imaginations of the poets. The ceramic painter in Beotia had not conceived such high ambitions. He was satisfied to be very good and too cheap; but the potter was much superior to him; he had no very inventive mind. He was not satisfied to appropriate the forms of the Dipylon, sometimes colossal like the amphora (Fig. 21), like the Corinthian pyxis (Figs. 19, 29), or the Rhodian plate, that had been tried and approved elsewhere. He created what appeared properly to belong to him. Such are the cups with

four handles (Fig. 30), that are seen to originate with him by way of progressive development from a cup, on which was at first to allow suspension only two flat projections of the border. (Vignette at end of chapter). There is again a type that seems peculiar to Beotia, that of the chantharus with flat raised handles (Fig. 23). It is true that this form is common in the Italian series of bucchero nero in Greece, except in Beotia, at least before the 5th century. There is every reason to believe it necessary to give the honor of it to the Beotian workshops.

In the same workshops appeared to originate, to perfect itself by a gradual evolution, a type of oenochoe characterized by the flat and very slender handle, that at about the middle of this height, is joined by a tenon to the long neck of the vase to acquire more stability. The oenochoe signed by Gamedes can pass for the model of the kind (Fig. 33). There is a curious variant of this type in one of the oenochoes where the bust of a woman is detached in relief on the neck at the side opposite the handle (Fig. 45). The use of these attachments is familiar to Corinthian ceramics. Perhaps from that it ^{was} borrowed by the workmen that modeled this vase.

This care for pleasing the patron and for thus gaining his custom by ingenious and novel arrangements is again felt in other vases already cited for the paintings forming their decoration. For example, such is the case for the kyathos on which Nereus is represented as entirely surrounded by fishes (Fig. 27). It presents various peculiarities. The handle is a sort of spur at its base; it is divided at its middle by a projecting band ornamented by two eyes painted black at the extreme point. Opposite the handle, the vase has a beak that projects like the prow of a ship. A head of a wild boar surmounts a sort of horn. As much may be said of the tripod of the Louvre, that another tripod strongly resembles, possessed by the museum of Berlin (Fig. 35).

These chiefs of workshops in the effort made to vary the forms of their pottery were much aided by the models offered to them by metal vases. These models were furnished to them in abundance by the flourishing industry of their neighbor Chalcis, that great metallurgic works. From the types created by the

bronze-workers of Chalcis were copied by Beotian potters in plastic clay, those of the oenochoe, cantharus and tripod. Imitation betrays itself in the entirety of the slender and disengaged forms, as in the entire action of the members of the vases, in these light and flat handles that affect the part if a strip of bronze drawn and flattened under the hammer, and even in the mode of attachment of these handles. It is even carried to an exact copy of details, that on the painted vases cannot be explained by the process of modeling the clay. Thus on the tripod of the Louvre, the workman has faithfully reproduced in their roundness and projection the heads of rivets, that on the bronze furniture which inspired him, served to connect the vase to the verticals that support it.(Fig. 22).

We have described a number of vases that we have believed could be credited to the Beotian workshops. Duly attested sources have been one of the elements of information, which we have caused to enter into the account; but they did not suffice to decide in all cases the question of origin, for there have been found in Beotia many Corinthian and Attic vases. What prevents the confounding of these imported products with those of the local ceramics, are the well defined characteristics by which are distinguished the pieces that we have placed in this last category. These characteristics have already been indicated in connection with the pottery of the geometric style.¹ We now are able in a measure to give a clearer idea.

Note 1.p.50. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII, p.213-214.

What is first striking is that the clay is prepared here with less care than at Athens or at Corinth. It contains many little bits of limestone. The turning also shows a certain inexperience. The walls of the vases are thick and their contours are often irregular. The design lacks firmness; it is fluent and a little loose. The lines limiting the figures are often broken. One of the peculiarities best characterizing this ceramics is the use that as in Ionia, the potters here made of a white coating on the clay; but this covering is here thinner and of a less frank tone, than on the vases of Rhodes. Where this coating is lacking, the clay is of a pale and dull yellow. These artisans did not know how to obtain the beautiful red paste of Attica by mixing red ochre with the clay; they did not know t

the use of the glazes to revive the tones of both the figures and the grounds.² Their blacks lack lustre. Especially in those of their works appearing most recent, this is a ceramics in pale colors, as might be familiarly said. Where it appears at most advantage is in its earliest creations, on those cups without feet on which the painter boldly used red, yellow and white (Pl. I). When later the workmen renounced this luxury of fresh and varied tints, his pottery became dull, with its thinned colors, it has a gray and slightly sad appearance.

Note 1. p. 51. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 351-353.

As for the motives of the decoration, they but rarely have the merit of presenting a plastic translation either of the local myths, or of the most popular episodes of epic poetry. They generally remain very insignificant. At the time when the art of the ornamentist tended to depart from the rigor of the purely geometric style, the Boeotian painters had adopted as a sort of blazon the flying eagle enclosed in a panel. When they later tired of that image, they substituted for it nothing original. The only motive that seems to properly belong to them at the bottom of fields on which are grouped figures, is a file of little zigzags in the form of an archaic sigma, that are not inclined as on Chalcidian vases, but are arranged vertically. (Fig. 46). The other ornaments are borrowed nearly everywhere. We have attempted for each one, to return to the models that supplied them.

The vases for which we have given the honor to Boeotian potters appear to be of the 7th century or the 6th. We incline to think that the fabrication of painted vases ceased very early in the workshops of this country. Men had done well there, so that the native potters in Boeotia only had to count on the competition of Corinthian pottery. They consequently attempted to steal from those formidable rivals some of the secrets of technics; but there came a time when it was no longer possible to maintain the contest against the foreign producers. This was when Athens from the time of Solon and of Pisistratus began to launch its beautiful vases with black figures with such careful execution in material, form and decoration. Soon after the artisans of *Keramikos* at Athens introduced a new method of vases with red figures, whose success was very rapid. With the great number of modelers and of skilful painters at their command,

with their perfected equipment, Attic manufacturers must have been able to supply choice products at prices that perhaps did not exceed those which Beotian potters in less advantageous conditions of work had to demand for their merchandize. Athenian fabrication must end in killing Corinthian manufacture in the 5th century, in spite of the vast patronage that it had created and the force of fixed habits. For a stronger reason it had no difficulty in taking the market from this Beotia near Athens, where the art of the decorator had never been carried very far. It seems that to profit better by this conquest, Athenian potters established themselves in Beotia. There have been found at Tanagra crateras and canthares covered by a very lustrous black glaze with figures in white on black, on which is read this signature:— Teisias Atnenaios.¹ The forms are those in fashion in Beotia. The artist conformed to the taste of his patrons for whom he desired to be appointed as furnisher; but by this inscription, he certified to them that although these vases were made at the place, they were indeed the work of an Attic master. From the form of the letters, they were made about the middle of the 6th century. The journal of the excavations of Rhitsona attests that in many of the numerous tombs opened by the English explorers on the site of Mycalessos were found Corinthian vases, Attic vases with white figures on black ground, or black figures in red ground, and also red figures on black ground.² It is even believed that at Rhitsona was found a piece of Naucratic origin.³

Note 1.p.53. Klein. Die griechischen Vasen, etc. p.212-213.

Note 2.p.53. Annual. Vol. XIV. p.295, 361; Journal. Vol. XXIX, p. 325, 326, 334-333.

Note 3.p.53. Journal. XIX. p. 332, Pl. 15, Pl. XXI.

Vases with black figures in the advanced style and vases with red figures are not represented in the material from Beotian cemeteries by examples, that the nature of the clay and other accessory signs permit to be attributed to Beotian workshops. Thus there was then in Beotia only one manufactory of painted vases, that established near the temple of the Cabires near Thebes, which appears to have worked only for the devotees of that sanctuary, who consecrated there as offerings deep cups with two handles and dedicatory inscriptions, wares that this

workshop certainly continued to furnish until the end of the 5th century and even later. This is not the place to describe this curious series.⁴ If we mention it, this is because there is seen the ancient method of black figures on light ground surviving by itself as on the Panathenaic amphoras, when it had been abandoned everywhere else in current production. All further attests there a very recent date; this is both the free and fluent drawing of the character of the images. In these the mythological representations are changed into caricature.

Note 4. p. 53. Walters. History of Ancient Pottery. Vol. I, p. 391-392. Athen. Mitt. 1888. Pls. IX-XII; Jour. Hell. Studies. Vol. XII, p. 77 et seq., pl. IV.

For the time we only have to occupy ourselves with the old school of Boeotian potters, whose beginning dates in the period of the geometric style, and whose activity seems to have been arrested about the year 500 by the victorious competition made with it by Athenian fabrication. This school neither left us and merely never produced masterpieces. It had some originality, that is revealed only in the choice of forms. Also for even the happiest of those forms and the newest in appearance, like those of the cantharus and oenochoe, these are rather a new adaptation than an actual invention. The potter had scarcely any merit other than to skilfully transfer on clay types born in metal.

Chapter XXIV. ATTIC CERAMICS.

1. The so-called Proattic Vases.

We owed a place in this history to the works of Chalcis and of Eretria, that produced beautiful works which commerce carried even into Etruria, and also to Boeotian manufacture, that worked only for local purchasers. This last school was no less interesting to study as a secondary or provincial school so far as this term is proper for this Greece which never had a capital in the modern sense of the word, of this Greece where no city, whatever momentary preeminence it had acquired, could assume that by itself alone the useful work of the nation, no more in the domain of art than in that of poetry or of philosophical speculation. In examining and describing works of the sort of archaic vases of Boeotia, that one best comprehends what efforts were made in those States of Greece not made illustrious by the genius of great artists, to ornament and enlighten by a ray of elegance and of beauty utensils, that among other peoples always retained an almost vulgar effect. These efforts were sincere enough for some Boeotian potters to believe that they should sign their works. It is probable that later discoveries will add some names to those already known, of Eumedes, Philadas and Menaldas.

After long digressions, we find ourselves at this Athenian ceramics in which is summarized and completed the entire effort of earlier Greek ceramics. As we have stated in regard to sculpture, Athens set itself in motion and on the march only long after Ionia;¹ it had even delayed behind Corinth; but once that it had taken this start, it very quickly regained the lost time. That one of the arts of form first developed at Athens was the art of the ceramist, due to the excellence of the clay, whose beds were in the vicinity of Cape Colias. This had already attained in that city a high degree of technical skill, when in the 9th and 8th centuries were fashioned those enormous amphoras that the Eupatrids erected as steles over their family tombs.¹

Note 1. p. 55. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 529-531.

Note 1. p. 56. The same. Vol. VII. p. 55-56.

The repertory of the decorator of pottery was then very poor, even where the painter allowed linear ornament to invade the greater part of the field, and had multiplied the figures without

being able then to free himself from the stiffness of the geometric style. Even when his eyes were opened to see the nature that he had lost out of view, this painter seemed to ignore the imaginary world ^{that} ~~had~~ already been created by the rich fancy of the epic singers. He knew nothing of the gods, of heroes or of their marvellous adventures. All his ambition went only to represent scenes of real life, the exhibition and procession of the dead of noble birth, chariot races and dancing choruses, combats on land and sea. Especially by vases found in the cemetery of the Dipylon are known and defined the products of this fabrication. Its action seems to be long continued without other change than a slow progress in tracing images, where gradually the contour became flexible and rounded; but the subjects and the taste remained the same. It is believed that about the end of the 8th or in the first years of the 7th centuries was felt the breath of a new spirit. Potters yet remained faithful to the forms that they were accustomed to mount on their wheels; but they progressively modified their proportions and curvature; soon they created types previously unknown or restored to non- or those fallen into disuse. At the same time their collaborators, the painters, were emboldened to diversify their decoration, to seek by preference the data in the rich treasury of the national myths. They quickly understood that these would supply them with themes more interesting and more varied than those which they could demand from the monotonous repetition of funerary ceremonies, files of hoplites and naval battles.

What about this time came properly to suggest to the ceramist the first idea of introducing in his repertory elements that had for his patrons the attraction of novelty, was the vogue in the cities of eastern Greece, then beginning to be enjoyed by the products of oriental industry; this was the pleasure that he saw taken around him in the novelty of the motives admired on the fabrics, which the shuttle of the weaver of Chaldea or the needle of the Phoenician embroiderer had decorated by sumptuous ornamentation, bouquets and garlands of flowers, supple foliage, palmations with elegant and complex curves, monsters and winged genii, real or fictitious animals. There are certain of those motives which we have already seen appear on two cups, that have seemed to us should be placed among the

most recent products of what we have termed the manufacture of the Dipylon.¹ On one two lions were occupied in devouring a man, whose body was suspended in their jaws. On the other a sphynx and a winged centaur faced each other. From some tapestry or a veil imported from Asia, the painter had borrowed these groups; but he had inserted one in a dancing chorus and the other in a scene of adoration, where they have nothing to do with the rest of the decoration. By the design of the figures as by the entire choice of the filling ^{of} motives which encumber the fields, he still rises from the school of the geometrical style.² There is then incoherence and awkwardness; but digressions of that kind were sure indications of the renovation prepared. So that the decisive step should be made, it was necessary for the artist to finally take the part of deriving from exotic themes what charmed in the elements of his decoration. Such is the case for the great vase in the form of a caldron, known under the name of the Burgon lebes.

Note 1. p. 57. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII. Figs. 88, 86.

Note 2. p. 57. As much might be said of the curious fragment found at Athens in the excavations of 1891 and published by Pernice (*Athen. Mitt.* 1895. p. 111-121, Pl. III, 1). There are seen bearded sphynxes marching after each other. On the tops of their heads is a crest with double volute; long hair falls on their shoulders. The type of the sphynx is of foreign origin; by this is it a new element introduced into the repertory of those potters of the Dipylon; this fragment belonged to a vase which otherwise appertained to their work by the entire character of its decoration and design. The figures are thinned and elongated even to emaciation. The entire field is encumbered by linear motives leaving no voids between them.

Note 3. p. 57. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, Fig. 152. The Englishman Burgon was one of the first explorers that recovered vases from the soil of Greece. A contemporary of Fauvel in 1813 he made at Athens excavations that furnished him with the most important pieces of his collection. This has been incorporated with the British Museum.

There are figures only on one side, two lions facing each other, the mouths open with hanging tongues. Their tails end in spear heads. Each raises a paw above a flower widely opened,

that rests on a stem terminated by a double volute. In all the rest of the field is nothing but geometric ornaments, of those found on the vases of the Dipylon. Also those that recall the heaviness of the form of the lebes as well as the flat and dull tint of its black. Yet in spite of the resemblances that connect this vase to the past of Athenian fabrication, it is much rather this future that is presaged. What is new there is certainly not only ^{the} exoticism of the principal motive, but is also the entire process of execution. The bodies of the lions no longer have that exaggerated thinness, which the painters of the preceding age gave to every animal form. In the tracing of the rump, thighs and paws, is felt some effort not to vary too far from the truth, to imitate at least a good model. The figure is no longer presented here entire, as in geometric decoration, in the state of an opaque silhouette. If it is so for the body, the contour and the details of the head are drawn in line on the light ground.¹ This is the example of the Ionian painters that is followed by the Attic painter. He seems to have also taken from them the divergent rays that start from the foot of the Vase; but there is every reason to believe that this vase was made in Attica. It is not covered by one of those coatings which the Ionian potter loved to place on clay. Finally, there are found many tales that on the one hand connect it to the products of the earlier workshops of Ceramicos, and on the other to those that form the series which we shall study, that of the vases termed protoattic.

Note 1. p. 58. Another example of the same procedure on one of the fragments described by Pernice (Athen. Mitt. 1895. p. 121-126, Pl. III, 2). On one of the circular zones as a file of winged sphynxes; on the other is a procession of deer.

This term lends itself to criticism. The true protoattic vases are the vases of the Dipylon. Yet we shall not scruple to use this term; its sense is fixed by usage. In the current language of archaeologists, if it does not designate the first clay vases which the Attic potter decorated with the brush, at least those dating from the beginnings of the marvellous developments of industry and of art by which Athens, from the second half of the 6th century, ensured to itself for a very long time the monopoly of the manufacture of vases of luxury, the

privilege of almost alone supplying Greece and the barbarians. Taking in its entirety this period of intense and fruitful effort, this is represented by the So-called protoattic vases, and these are the slow years of experiments and of trials.

The same persistence of geometric ornament, but with traits by which are marked the gradual emancipation in a vase found at Athens on the road to Piraeus.¹ This is borne on a very tall cylindrical foot, a bowl in the form of a cratera, analogous to that surmounting the metal tripods. Only fragments of it were gathered. The restoration comprises too many gaps to be of interest in reproducing. It suffices to mention the passing winds whose file covers the zone placed at the bottom of the cratera, as well as the cavalier that gallops while lying on the neck of his horse.² In figures of women the hair hanging on the nape is no longer suppressed as formerly, or merely recalled by the dryness of a single line³ or by the heaviness of a compact mass.⁴ There is a sensible effort to render the movement of thick and floating hair (Fig. 47).

Note 1.p.59. Pernice. Geometrische Vase aus Athen. (Athen. Mitt. 1892. p.205-228, Pl. X).

Note 2.p.59. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Fig. 130. We have already given an opinion of this vase in treating of the pottery of the Dipylon. It is on the frontier, if one may so speak. It can be indifferently referred to either the Dipylon or the protoattic.

Note 3.p.59. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Fig. 8.

Note 4.p.59. The same. Figs. 95, 96.

A piece still more closely connected with the Burgon vase, which shows the same taste and the influence of the same models, as the jar with three handles discovered at the place called Analatos halfway between Athens and the quay of Phalerum (Fig. 48).¹ By its technique, it recalls the vases of the Dipylon. Without any incision, these are the same browns laid on a light ground. The same arrangement of the decoration in horizontal superposed bands that for the entire height of the neck one of those panels that seem intended to receive a painting. Here the painter has placed in the frame a dancing chorus, the women at one side and clothed in a tight tunic and the men at the other. Also reduced at the waist and as emaciated as in the Dipylon

figures, the men's bodies have even 11 heads in height (Fig. 49). The ornaments scattered in the field, parallel zigzags, fringes, square lozenges, great points symmetrically grouped and nooks, are still those which several generations of painters have repeated to satiety. On the other hand, nothing more of the geometric style remains in the motive developed on the highest band enclosing the body (Fig. 50). These are only volutes with bold curves from which project lanceolate leaves, like the sepals of the flower with a large calyx. Various animals are cast into the voids of this plant decoration. Those are here thinner and more conventional than those of the Burgon vase; there are two lions facing each other in the same attitude, with a paw raised over the fan of the palmatum. On one of the handles is a wading bird, a swan or a crane, that with a very natural movement bends his flexible neck and with his long beak seems to seek insects on the leaves. On the backs of the palmatum separating the two lions are perched two birds of prey. They throw back their heads and with their crooked beaks dress the feathers of their tails. Above the two lions are two other birds of the same type. To represent these birds of prey and most of the leaves of the palmatiums, the painter has employed the process of line drawing on a light ground. The brush has only placed there inside the contour scattered points close together to indicate the solidity of the material. Otherwise in this part of the composition is a fancy, which surprises the more, since the exact symmetry of the drawing of the ancient school persists everywhere else, in the circle of the dancers, in the multitude of little birds, all like each other, that run between the middle band and that near the bottom of the body, where pass deer, whose images seem as if traced by a stencil. Between the principal decoration and what passes as an accessory is a marked difference, almost a contrast. Did two painters divide the task? This painter was inspired by some oriental fabric, and has freely entered into the spirit of an art, whose prestige had conquered him. For all the rest of the decoration, he has used old patterns and has reproduced mechanically the motives that his apprenticeship had placed in his hands.

In the same style and more awkward and stiff, the same passing lions with raised paw, the same hinds, the same palmations though heavier, the same filling ornaments are found on a cratera discovered at Thebes, but which must be of Attic fabrication (Fig. 51). On one side, that shown by our Fig. are two centaurs represented in the ancient way by bodies of men to whose backs are joined the rump and tail of a horse. The heads of the centaurs and those of the lions are drawn in line. There will be noted near the bottom of the vase motives currently used by Ionian potters, and a row of posts, divergent rays separating the foot from the piece.

Note 1.p.82. We recall only from memory an amphora found at Picrodaphni near Phalerum and described in Combe (B.C.H. 1893. p. 25-26, pls. II, III). With its winged figures kneeling before a plant on the neck, with its wild boars filling on the body, it recalls the cratera of Thebes. The same influences are exerted on the painter but the execution is here more awkward and more childish.

This eclectic style, where a new taste struggles against the empire of the traditions of several centuries, we see developed and strengthened on a great amphora found on Hyettus (Fig. 52). These fields are cleared there. Scarcely are some weak traces of zigzags and lozenges so long heaped there. All the place at his disposal, the painter has reserved for men and animals. What he inserted in the intervals between these images were curvilinear motives, whose scrolls recall the flexibility of the plant. On the neck and body are duels of warriors fighting on foot. They have helmets with visors surmounted by a tufted plume. They carry the round shield, held by a strap in which passes the left arm. Their lower legs are protected by greaves reaching the knee. On the shoulder of the vase and at a smaller scale are horsemen and chariots racing. Below the principal subject is a procession of passing lions.

The advance here is very perceptible. The technique is more complex than on the vases previously described. To color his figures, the painter has used only black. He had recourse to a reddish yellow to strengthen on the ground the greaves, the bell and plume of the helmets. The lion's heads are detached in light and enclosed in a frank outline. The drawing tends to become more correct, to adhere more closely to the living

form. The brush has made an effort to mark on the heads, the eye and nose, the lips and the point of a short beard. If the bodies are still long and strangled at the waist, if the contours remain angular and dry, in the general indication of the movements is accuracy and a certain vivacity. Finally, if the palmations and lions have been entirely taken from models imported from Asia, the essential themes of the decoration, the file of chariots and the pairs of warriors in combat have the national character indeed. The infantry represented there are Greek hoplites, covered by armor which made them the men of bronze, that the oracle had announced to Psammetichus.¹ What evidences also the skill already acquired by the hand of the painter are the little figures of wading birds, which he scattered between the legs of the combatants. Those marsh birds have been seen on the vases of the Dipylon, following in long files on the narrow bands between which are enclosed the large paintings; but there they have an appearance entirely schematic, a false air of hieroglyphics. On the contrary here, if these are only slight sketches, the form and poses characterizing these species have been very vividly seized.

Note 1. p. 64. Herodotus. II. 152.

To the same phase of evolution appears to belong an entire group of vases called vases of Phalerum,² from the site from which they came. Most of them were found in the lower depths of the cemetery, i. e., in the most ancient tombs, hollowed out there by hundreds in the sides of the rock near the sea. These vases with bistre drawings on a ground of yellowish clay are nearly all little jars with heights varying between 1.97 and 9.84 ins. Their form is awkward. The neck is too long; it is not frankly detached from the body, that lacks width (Fig. 53). Same awkwardness in the decoration, that seems traced by an uncertain hand. There is sometimes difficulty in divining what it was designed to represent (Fig. 54). the artisans that executed this pottery also suffered the same influences as their rivals, to whom are due the most careful and longest pieces. As on those, there is sometimes around the neck of the pitcher a painting enclosed in a frame. The rest of the surface of the vase is divided in zones of unequal height, either filled by images of men or animals, or by ornamental motives. In general,

these are current motives of the decoration of vases of the geometric style; but on these pitchers from Phalerum, that by the entire ornamentation most recall the pottery of the Dipylon, two dogs chase the hare. On the neck in the panel is the image of a cock. We have already found this image at Athens on funerary steles;¹ we shall again find it on a proattic vase that must have crowned an interment. No ancient text informs us concerning the precise name given to that emblem; but the evidence of the monuments suffices to prove that in some manner the figure of that bird has become the symbol of some one of the fancies or hopes that inspired the cult that Athenians rendered to their dead. Then there at the same time, on the same vase an image suggested by the Hellenic religion and a motive, the chase of the hare, which according to all appearance the Greek decorator borrowed from his Asian predecessors. Certainly in their repertory the Attic painter sought the winged horse, that also here filled the entire field of the panel (Fig. 55). A very small oenochoe has for principal ornament great lotus flowers, half opened. Of all these pieces the most curious is also that reproduced after 1869, first called attention to this strange manufacture (Fig. 56).² On the foot are divergent rays; on the body are ornaments very carelessly drawn, the elements of incomplete frets. The painter seems to have devoted his entire effort to the triple image placed on the light clay of the neck (Fig. 57). He has there two heads with smooth cheeks turned to the right, placed on rectangles inside which are scattered large dots. A painted beard is detached from the chin. In front is a third head of the same size, but which is attached to a body, or rather to an embryo body, entirely enveloped in a vestment which falls to the feet, that are seen to project from its bottom. By this vestment and the absence of a beard is divined a woman. She has the arm extended, the only one represented; but no indication permits the meaning of the gesture to be known.

Note 2. p. 84. A. Dumont appears to have first distinguished and defined what is termed the type of Phalerum. (*Les céramiques de la Grèce propre*. I, p. 101-103). On the same vases see Böhl. *Frühattische Vasen*. p. 44-58.

Note 1. p. 85. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. Fig. 333. On what may be divined of the reasons that caused the adoption of this

motive of the cock for funerary representations, see G. Melcker, *Höhne auf Grabstelen* (Athen. Mitt. 1805. p.206. Also see Couve. *Ephemera*. 1837. p. 68-69.

Note 2.p.65. Dumont in *Rev. Arch.* 1869. p.213.

What the brush proposed to represent there, it is impossible to form an idea, considering the looseness of the drawing and the lack of all significant details; but what is certain is, that the profile of the two male heads with their much arched noses have in the highest degree the character of the Semitic type. It is probable that the workman had under his eyes some Phoenician or Assyrian image, and that he amused himself by reproducing certain traits of it, without attempting to faithfully copy the whole, which his inexperience would also not have permitted. Men erroneously desired at first to see caricatures there. Caricature could not be the sport of an art already wise, of an art already enough master of form to feel itself capable of voluntarily deforming it, of altering a certain line so as to produce the impression of the grotesque.

With these pitchers were collected in small number in the interments of Phalerum some vases of other types, for example of goblets with one handle, of quite happy effect. Their decoration is similar to that of the oenochoes. On the body of one of them is seen a lion pursuing two stags with long horns. (Fig. 58). The motive is of oriental origin; but the drawing has retained all the stiffness of those of the geometric style, from which also came the accessory motives, which are scattered in the field or form the frame of the painting (Fig. 59).

To it must be referred a more advanced stage of the same development; vases which came from another cemetery, that of Vourva situated on Mesogea.¹ The influences suffered by the ceramist author of those, that we have seen exerted on the artisans who made the pitchers of Phalerum; but this workman has entirely shaken off the yoke of the traditions of the geometric style. He has retained of that style only some rare motives, triangles that with opposed vertices and those oblique zigzags that we have found on the vases of Chalcis (Figs. 15, 16). The ornaments discreetly scattered by the brush on the field are nearly the same that pleased the Etruscan potters, and divergent rays near the foot of the vase, the rosettes, bouquets of leaves, fringes, composite palmations connected together by light cords;

but what especially permits measuring the advance made is, that in the drawing of real or imaginary beings that here form the chief element of the decoration, the hand of the painter has retained scarcely nothing of the former hardness. The forms are no longer compressed and angular, like the oenochoes of Phalerum. They begin to assume a roundness that we have not yet seen on Attic vases. This is noted both on the great cup on which are represented swans (Fig. 60) and on the amphora, where on five superposed zones there follow in files or face each other in pairs, lions and birds with women's heads (Fig. 61). It is the same on two plates where on the broad band around them is seen to march in file wild boars, lions, deer and rams.² The craft has become more skilful. Here are the first Attic vases where the internal details are indicated by incised lines.¹ In places, for example on one of the plates are touches of red laid on the black.

Note 1.p.87. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 75-82. *Stais*. Athen. Mitt. 1890. p. 318-329, Pls. IX-XIII).

Note 2.p.87. Athen. Mitt. 1890. p.325-326.

Note 1.p.88. Yet there are already some incised lines on a fragment of more archaic character published by Pernice (Athen-Mitt. 1895. Pl. III, 2).

Note 1.p.89. B. Gräff. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. I. Nos. 472-583. Gräff mentions as more especially near the pottery of Vourva by the character of their style, the fragments numbered 536, 537, 544, 561, 562, 567, 568. We have reproduced one of those fragments in Fig. 62.

All that we have so far seen of this ceramics shows a sustained effort to perfect the technics and to give the decoration more interest and variety. In this way, the potter made a decisive step on the day when he was no longer satisfied to project on the clay of his vases figures that only aimed to amuse the eye by their singularity, the day when the thought of demanding subjects of his paintings from the fables which enchanted the imaginations of his contemporaries. This is evidenced by some vases that cannot be later than by a few years after the hydria of Anaktos and the amphora of Hymettus. The procedures of execution there are not entirely those employed by the first representatives of the new art; they are more complex and more k

knowing; but what particularly makes the difference is the choice of themes. Thus making their appearance then on the Attic vases no longer pass out of fashion. The ceramic painter will retain his preference for them until the worn brush falls from his hands.

If there be a vase which gives a just idea of the character, which the most careful of those works then commenced to take, which were produced by the workshops of Ceramicos, it is that discovered at Athens in 1890, which is known under the name of the vase of Nettos.¹ It is one of those great amphoras that seem to have been made to be placed over a tomb.² That this actually fulfilled that purpose, all concurs in attesting. The fragments of this vase were ^{not} collected on the level of the bottom of the tombs of the cemetery; it was higher and among the scattered rubbish on what must have been the ancient level of the soil of the cemetery. This amphora with its solid handles, which the hand had trouble to seize, was not made to serve for domestic uses. Further, like most of those vases that were exposed, this has a front and a back like the steles. It must be seen from only one side, from the side at which the tomb was reached. The face is richly decorated. On the back is nothing but a coating of black glaze. The black is here more firm and frank than on the vases previously described.

Note 1. p. 70. *Antike Denkmäler*. Vol. I, pl. LVII, p. 46-48.

Note 2. p. 70. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 55-62, Fig. 4.

To give more effect to this decoration, the painter has employed with assured ease the procedure of red touches and that of the incised line. No rule has governed the distribution of the colors. Represented on the image that we reproduce (Fig. 63) by a gray, the touches of red have been laid on the black glaze, sometimes on the clothing and sometimes on the nude of the flesh. As for the incision, it was executed in places, as on the wings of the Gorgons, with a compass point, elsewhere with a free hand, where the form to be drawn did not permit the use of that tool.

The plan of the entirety of the composition is the same, more than one example of which we have found. It comprises two paintings, one of which is a panel and serves to ornament the neck, while the other develops into a wider field on the entire half

of the body. Hercules avenges the abduction of Dejanira on the centaur Nessos (Fig. 64). The hero has caught the ravisner with his left hand and has seized him by the hair. In the right hand he holds a sword that he will plunge into his back. At the same time he rests his left foot on the loins. Under that push as under the restraint of the strong hand that holds back the head of the monster, the latter has not attempted to struggle longer. His bust yields and turns, his horse legs bend as if broken at the joints. With an instinctive gesture, he extends his arms toward Hercules' thigh, as if to beg for mercy. The same would be sufficiently clearly by itself; but perhaps to fill the field better, the painter has written the names of the persons on the clay. At the left of the figure of Hercules, the legend Heracles forms a curve that follows the movement of the shoulder of the hero. Similarly arranged, the legend Netos is rounded before the breast of the centaur. Net(t)os in the Attic form of Nessos.

The subject represented on the body is the exploit of another hero slayer of monsters, that of Perseus the conqueror of Medusa; but just as Dejanira is not present at the struggle in which she is the stake, the protagonist of the other drama, Perseus, is not represented near his victim (Fig. 65). It would be said that the painter badly calculated the ratio to be established between the dimensions of his figures and that of the field at his disposal, and that he has not known how to include all the persons that this field should contain. He has placed there only the three Gorgons, Medusa decapitated and falling forward, and her two sisters in the twisted attitude by which archaic art claimed to express the movement of the race, spring forward in pursuit of the murderer. Below this scene and separated from it by a double fillet are swimming dolphins. They are there to recall that Perseus accomplished his prowess at the ends of the world, on that distant shore from which in the evening the sun is seen to plunge into the abyss of the ocean.

There is still much unskilfulness in the figures of these two paintings. Faults in drawing abound. The Gorgons have the head and bust in front view, the legs in profile. The same error is in the image of the centaur. Nothing is more awkward than the twist by which Nessos throws back his arms and extends them to

the face of Hercules to whom he turns his back; but at the same time, what spirit is in the figure of Hercules, in the play of all his members, that act together to give the enemy the mortal stroke! Doubtless his legs are too long. It is an improbable distance between them; but what a happy gesture is that of the foot applied to the hollow of the loins of Nessos as if to break his spinal column! What a find is also that weakening of the four legs of the monster, which seem broken by the shock received by the body to which they belong! There is truly divined the intelligent and sincere effort of an artist, who is still subject to traditional conventions, still uncertain of correct proportions, and yet embarrassed in rendering certain complex flexures of the living form, already seeks to become inspired by nature and allows to appear through all his errors a very lively feeling for beauty and movement.

If the painter thus betrays his inexperience when he attacks the figure engaged in an action imposing on it a violent and strained attitude, he makes proof of a rare mastery in the choice of arrangement of ornamental motives. I do not believe that even on vases of more recent date, there is found a decoration better composed or in better taste than this. A file of aquatic birds is also drawn by a very sure hand, and lends itself well to ornament the narrow border of the mouth. Scrolls on which appear bosses in low relief at regular intervals, fill the hollow connecting this mouth to the neck of the amphora. In its entire height, the image is enclosed by a double vertical band, a fret and a series of equidistant rosettes. Between this painting and that of the body, an ample scroll forms elegant palmations joined together by multiple and flexible cords. Below the dolphins is another band of panels in which are inserted very small palmations. Finally, quite at the bottom and above the enlarged foot on which is placed the vase, a crown of lanceolate leaves is detached in black on the light ground of the clay. The two wide and flat handles, with the firmness of their curve and the richness of their decoration, add to the effect. A fret surrounds them and divides them in two compartments. In the upper one is an owl; in the bottom one a swan opens its wings. As a last memorial of geometric ornamentation, there is farther on the entire surface of the amphora only some hooks and bits

of chevrons cantoned by paints; but like the rosettes borrowed from other models, these motives have been scattered in the fields of the paintings only in a very discreet manner. From this time, the Attic painter has begun to understand, that of he attaches some importance the subjects themselves of his paintings, if he wishes to give value to his figures, he has every interest in disengaging them from the confusion of parasitic motives, in which they were long buried and lost. If to fill the void over the Medusa stricken by death, he has placed a bird that descends with outstretched wings, this is not a senseless filling. This bird has a crooked beak, and is a vulture that hastens to taste the blood shed in waves by the open neck of the Gorgon.

Very little is to be said of the traits and costume given by this painter to his persons. It is natural that on Hercules and on Nessos, the great round eye is in front view on a profiled head. No nudes except on the centaur; these would have increased the difficulty. The Gorgon and Hercules are clothed in short tunics that leave the legs and arms free for combat and racing. Hercules has neither the lion's skin, the bow nor the club, no proper attribute to distinguish him from other heroes. As for the Gorgons, with recurved wings, thick eyebrows, enormous mouths, cleft from one ear to the other, fully opened and filled by long teeth, it reproduces a type created early by archaic art, and which we have already seen in the bottom of a cup, playing a purely decorative part.

The fragments of a vase, that must be nearly contemporaneous with the vase of Nessos, were collected at Egina. This vase was a great bowl or lebes with two handles.¹ If it could not be entirely restored, at least the entirety of its form was established by calculation of its dimensions and finding the plan of the decoration (Fig. 66). It was divided into three zones. The upper one of the thickest three was the only one in which the painter inserted a theme whose data he derived from the fable. There were represented two myths closely connected together, that of the Harpies pursued by the Boreades and that of the murder of Medusa by Perseus. The handles divide in two the field reserved for the figures. At one side the Harpies and at the other the Gorgons, who both personify the destructive tempest. On each side the persons were grouped in pairs within a

frame composed of a double fret. Of the painting of the front, there remains only one of the groups. Here are two Harpies running (Fig. 67), and there behind Perseus is his protectress Athena (Fig. 68). Covered by a Phrygian cap and with a sword at his side and little wings on his heels, Perseus is in full flight. Athena is clothed in the long tunic and draped in a mantle that covers her head.

Note 1.p.75. Furtwängler. Schlüssel von Egina. (Arch Zeit. 1882. p. 127-208. Pls. IX, X).

These images strongly resemble those of the vase of Nessos.

One subject is common to the two pieces and for the execution, the analogies are striking. Same mixture of black and of red spots, and the same use of the incised line. Beside the persons are legends arranged in the same fashion and written in the same characters as those of the amphora. On both vases are the same wings attached to the shoulder of the deities of the storm, the same short tunic that covers all the actors in the scene except Athena. The drawing is very firm, slightly angular, correct in the general indication of the movement and has the same character in both. If in the intermediate zone are entirely conventional types, such as birds with women's heads and lions of singular heaviness, quite otherwise is the case of the animals which the painter could observe alive with his own eyes. There for the bulls and the horses, all is well seized, the entirety of the form and the attitudes (Fig. 69).

Here on the amphora of Nessos is the same combination of motives of the geometric style and those produced from the conventionalized plant. The scrolls of palmatus with interlaced stems are almost the same in every part on the two vases. It is difficult to affirm that the decoration of both pieces was the work of the same painter, at least one would be tempted to believe that they came from the same workshop.

Also from Egina came a fragment that seems detached from a great amphora of the sort of that of Nessos.¹ There is found on the neck a file of sways. On the body is a painting of which remains nothing but a bearded head, itself incomplete. The ornamental motives are those which have already been found on proattic vases. Same technique, except that here appears some touches of white beside the red retouches. This is perhaps from a lekythos like that of Egina, that forms a part of a piece found at Phal-

Phalerum.² There is seen a great bird that falls pierced by several arrows, and a bearded head, which suggests a very probable conjecture. What the painter represented there was the exploit of Hercules delivering Prometheus from the continued bite of the vulture. Motives, tone and execution, all further bears the certain mark of the workshop that occupies us.

Note 1.p.77. Benndorf. Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder. p. 104-105, pl. LIV, 1.

Note 2.p.77. The same. p. 105-106, Pl. LIV, 2.

It is necessary to place to the credit of the same fabrication of vases, whose fragments were found in the excavations at Athens on the site of the gymnasium of Kynosarges.¹ With its perforated and flat handles, one on the neck and the other on the body, this was certainly one of those amphoras, that had the function of the stele in cemeteries; but it lacks so many pieces that its restoration is conjectural in many places. Yet are determined the three themes chosen by the painter to form his decoration. He placed on the neck two nude wrestlers leaning forward and clasping their shoulders, while a third person aided the combat, only his extended hand remaining. On the shoulder could only be a decoration on one side --- are two deer facing each other with noses to the ground. On the body is a chariot drawn by a winged horse at a walk. The chariot bears two persons. One is perhaps a woman that holds the reins, while the sex of the other is indicated by a long pointed beard. Instead of looking in the direction of the chariot, both turn their heads toward a third person of indecisive sex standing on the ground behind the chariot. No inscription to give the meaning of the scene. It has been proposed to see in the bearded person a dead hero. Adapted to the new taste, this was a variant of the theme dear to the potters of the Dipylon. They painted the deceased as an inert man lying on the funeral chariot. Here the dead is aroused indeed by the artist no longer embarrassed by the living form; he has for the moment returned to life; with an expressive gesture, removing the sadness of the last adieu, he takes leave of his family and of his wife, that weeps for him. The widow is taller than the other figures. In the paintings as in the archaic reliefs, the artist has the superstition of symmetry, and causes the heads of all his persons to be sensibly on the same level. This is what we have

termed the law of isokepnaly.²

Note 1.p.78. C. Smith. A proattic vase(Jour. Hell. Studies. 1902. p. 29-45, Pls. II-IV).

Note 2.p.78. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p. 633.

On this vase the ornament has the hybrid character already mentioned on other monuments of that age of transition. Rosettes and palmations are there near zigzags and lozenges with triangles. Particularly in the decoration of the handles has the artist made proof of rare virtuosity. There is a complication of curves that certainly required the use of the compasses, of which one image alone could give an idea (Vignette at the end of the Chapter). The painter here disposes of a diversity of tones, of which the ceramics of Athens has not yet offered an example. In a fringe extending entirely around the mouth alternates black and white. Black and red touches served for the body of the horse and those of the passing deer. As for the human figures of the neck and body, all the nudes are there drawn in line and their outlines are filled by a creamy yellow, that shows but feebly on the slightly warmer tint of the clay ground. The coloring was more varied here than on any other vase of the same workshop; but the drawing has less amplitude and firmness. Few incisions. The workmen used the point only to indicate some details of the modeling.

In spite of this enrichment of the palette that characterizes it, this vase is then not one which we should be inclined to regard as the most recent of the vases of this series, as that on which the art of the decorator appears freest and most advanced. This honor falls to another amphora, much better preserved and of exceptional dimensions, found at Piræus (Fig. 70).¹ This is at first entirely recommended to the attention by its form, which is already nearly that most freely reproduced by the Attic potter during two or three centuries, while he fashions on his wheel vases of this type. He will later make them smaller to be better suited to the needs of commerce and the household, when instead of placing amphoras on tombs as steles, they will only serve to contain and transport the oil and wine of Attica; but he will retain their beautiful proportions and elegant curves already given to them by the workman.

Note 1.p.79. L. Couve. Ephemeris. 1897. p.37-82, pls.V-VI.

On the only side exposed to the view of the passes, the plan of the decoration is that already described on more than one occasion. The principal subject is developed on a little more than half the body. On the neck is a second painting, whose field is necessarily more restricted. Here in a sort of panel is the image of a cock between two wide fringes. On the side of the body are two chariots, each harnessed with two horses, in each chariot stands a person holding a whip in the hand. One of them is bearded and the other beardless (Fig. 71). Before the first of the two chariots is a crouching lion with open jaws, that seems to bar the passage. There is further nothing here but the attitudes to indicate a hunting scene. The group is purely decorative. Hundreds of monuments that could be taken by chance in the products of the different schools of Greek ceramics show the pleasure found then in the representation of chariots racing or walking slowly. The exotic type of the lion does not enjoy less favor.

As for the ornaments enclosing the figures, there is felt that duality of origin already mentioned on other vases of the same family. If one zone of oblique zigzags serves to ornament the mouth and is repeated toward the bottom of the vase, if an ample fret forms a band below the principal painting, if thin rectangles and triangles are also scattered in the field that they occupy without obstructing, from another source came those motives that here most strike the eye: the rosette, fringe, a spiral between palmations. There are lanceolate leaves on the front edges of the handles. More slender ones are on the rounded shoulder. Likewise they are in two stories near the foot. In this arrangement is felt a very sober and refined taste, that of a decorator very sure of his means. This artist begins to know how to draw the figure. His lion is doubtless copied from some foreign model; but this model has been chosen and he has known how to give each correct accent to certain parts of the image, to the indication of the muscles of the shoulder and of the leg, especially to those of the paws well placed flat on the ground. A conventional arrangement is that of the two horses, one of them covering the other so well, that only the head of the second is seen, with the outline of the breast and legs; but still long in Ionia as at Corinth and Athens, this entirely schematic mode of representation is not shocking.

There is further already precision in the drawing of the elongated necks, thin legs and firm roofs. The pose of the drivers of the chariots does not lack ease; but where the painter shows well what he is capable of doing, when he works freely from a living model, is in the image of the cock. That is well placed, well grown and of proud appearance.¹

Note 1.p.82. I shall mention only from memory two vases sometimes proposed to be added to this series of protoattic, the vase signed by Aristonoos or Aristonothos (Walters, History of Ancient pottery, Vol. I, p. 297) and the vase of the warriors of Mycenae (Histoire de l'Art, vol. VI, Figs 497-498). The attribution of these pieces to Attic industry leads to serious objections. The first was found at caere in Etruria, and the second in Argolis. Now the vases to which they were compared all came from Attic cemeteries. They seemed to date from the time when the products of Athenian industry were not yet exported to foreigners. The vase of Aristonoos is signed and no signature has been found on any protoattic vase. Finally, in the presentation of the two scenes represented there, there is a search for the picturesque detail, that would rather make one think of some Ionian workshop. As for the vase of Mycenae, the handle with the water birds painted on its base indeed presents a curious analogy to that of the cratera of the Dipylon; (Histoire de l'Art, vol. VII, Fig. 49); but nowhere in Attic paintings is found the very peculiar form of the helmet by which the warriors there are covered. No more than on the vase of Aristonoos is seen scattered in the field those linear ornaments, which the Attic decorator liked to scatter there after the 7th century. Doubtless men wished to make too old the cratera found at Mycenae; but why not admit that it was made in Argolis itself at nearly the time when were made at Athens the vases which we are studying? The vase of Aristonoos was reproduced in Wiener Vorlesungsblätter. 1888. Pl. I, and in part in Rayet-Collignon, Fig. 22. Pottier (Catalogue, p. 580-581) does not decide. The last archaeologist that considered it, Ducati, believed it made at caere itself after Attic models (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, etc. Vol. XXXI. 1911. p. 33-74, Pls. I-III). Furtwängler inclines to attribute an Argive origin to the two vases in question (Berl. Phil. Koch. 1895, p. 200-202). The excavations of the Heraeum of Argos have yielded no-

nothing to confirm this conjecture.

With vases such as this amphora and that of Nessos, we have come to the end of the period in which the Attic potter, after having exhausted the entire series of motives that could supply him with these combinations of lines and points, began to attempt to make an increasing part of his repertory of the different types of the living form. In the course of this period, the Athenian potters did not cease to give multiple proofs of a singular openness of mind, of a curiosity greatly aroused and always ready to profit by all suggestions that could bring them models from outside. Thus they have hesitated for the heads and nudes of their figures between the method of line drawing on a light ground, that Ionian painters had inherited from Mycenaean painters, and that of opaque silhouettes, which tradition had left to them from the painters of the Dipylon. They seem to have come to the latter with the most recent vases of this series.

During the entire time that this effort lasted, the decorator tried to make his fingers more flexible, having been stiffened by the too long habit of the geometric style. For him the progress, whose steps we have found, consisted especially in that gradual suppling of the hand. That as the workman became conscious of it led him to the taste for attacking the living form, that of the plant, animal and of man. Henceforth to make the most beautiful place for the figures, that he wished to derive from the most interesting types of organic life, he imposed on himself evermore the restriction of the part given to linear ornaments, to relieve the field from them, to reserve them for the panels in which therewould be distributed his persons and his floral motives. In utilizing all disposable surfaces, he thus comes to obtain large spaces in which, profiting skilfully by examples given him by the sculptor and painter, he represented scenes of the real life of the Greek people, and more freely still, scenes taken from the most popular episodes of those beautiful tales in which youthful Greece sought and believed that it read all the history of its past.

The Attic ceramist thus seems about this time entirely occupied in conquering his independence, in loosing successively all bonds of tradition connecting him with his ancestors, the potters of the age of the tombs of the Dipylon; but even when he seemed most devoted to this task, he remained in certain

respects the continuator of those distant predecessors. From them he had learned to choose well his clay and to work it with care, to fashion vases 3.6 ft. high like the amphora of the E Piraeus, and 3.24 ft. as that of Nessos.¹ the making and firing of pieces of such dimensions presented difficulties over which only rare professional skill could triumph. What he still retained of the heritage were certain linear motives employed for enclosing these paintings; but it was especially the general arrangement of the decoration, an arrangement characterized by the instinct of a rhythm, that made one think of that in architecture. This is the method of dividing the visible surface into several bands with coloring and height subordinated to the position that each occupied on the vase. As if to give more apparent solidity to these parts of the whole, the foot and sometimes the neck of the vase were entirely covered by a brilliant black glaze. Elsewhere on the contrary, the band was enlarged, and to make it ready to receive the figures, it retained the light tone of the clay. Between the spaces so reserved extended narrower bands with ornaments whose amplitude and lightness varied according to the place assigned to them by the brush. Sometimes elsewhere on the body and almost always on the neck, they were cut by vertical lines. In its main lines this symmetrical arrangement recalls in certain respects that of a Greek edifice. From one part to another, from bottom to top is the same succession of bands parallel to the ground. What on the vase would correspond to the moulded projections drawn on the surfaces of the temple are fillets, hollows and cymas, would be the current motives, such as fringes, frets, posts and scrolls of flowers or of leaves. Between them on the neck, shoulder and body, open fields more or less spacious, comparable to those on the same building extending between the plinth of the substructure and the entablature, then on that are formed below the cornice by the broad bands of the architrave and frieze. Not without reason have men compared to the metopes of the Doric frieze the panels of the neck, and thus by tracing vertical bars, the brush has sometimes arranged in the horizontal zones on vases of all forms.

If in the course of this period and even later, the works of the Attic potter thus retained in the main lines of their decoration the permanent impression of the primary idea of art by

which were inspired their predecessors, which led it in the past to renew its repertory and to enlarge its styles, were the examples that came to it from outside. When it was tired of the abstractions of geometry, it did not go at once to study nature. When that began to reveal to him and to make him feel its attraction, this was by the intermediary of actual products, where it only appeared as interpreted by the artist, already conventionalized. Oriental fabrics and other objects of luxury made in Egypt, Phoenicia or Chaldea, certainly had their part in this awakening of the feeling of life; but in this education of taste and this initiation into the procedures of a superior industry, it is again to the ceramics of other Greek tribes, more advanced in their evolution, that belongs the principal role, that having the most beneficent efficiency.

The workshops of Athens then suffered a twofold influence, those of the workshops of Ionia and of Corinth. According to all appearance, there was borrowed from them the method of incision, which the potters of the isthmus certainly practised very early. This was also where they obtained the taste for inscriptions placed near the heads of persons. While they lived on their own ground, the ceramists of Ionia neither used the engraved line nor explanatory legends. They employed these two procedures only later, when the frequency of exchange made them fall into the common domain. Much before that time, Attic industry had borrowed them from its neighbors at Corinth; but this is all that it seems to have taken from the same source. When it commenced to clear the fields of these vases, this was not to replace there the motives left it by the potters of the Dipylon, those great rosettes in violent tones, which it pleased the Corinthian decorator to multiply and to crowd against each other. The heaviness and heaping of these forms did not please Attic taste. The painter did not yet leave all the ground free around the images, as he would do at another time for vases with red figures; but what he still persisted in scattering in those spaces with increasing discretion, with some intersections of straight lines that seem the crumbs of geometric ornament, were motives of an entirely different character, such as simple spirals or spirals enclosed by composite palmettes, whose elements were supplied by the leaf and flower, light rosettes, whose quite distant petals recall those of the corolla

of daisies. All these ornaments are taken from the repertory of Ionian ceramics. Is there anything more truly Ionic than the stem on the amphora of the Piraeus (Fig. 70) rising with its wavy scrolls and the flowers that it bears, between the legs of one of two horses of the chariot? Entirely Ionian also, although this arrangement was then imitated and adopted everywhere, those lanceolate leaves similar to those of the laurel or olive, from which the vase seems to rise as from a basket of foliage, and which also sometimes in a double row with points turned down, surround the shoulder with a crown that falls and lies on the body (Fig. 70). Also Ionic is the fringe, dear to the Assyrian ornamentist. Ionic are those lotus flowers and buds that the ceramists of Miletus and Samos sought in Egypt to string them in garlands around the feet and necks of their vases (Fig. 69). From the same masters the Attic painter learned to draw in line on a light ground the heads and nudes of his animals and persons. No more than the opaque silhouettes of the figures of the Dipylon, it was not Corinthian ceramics that could suggest to it the idea of making a trial of this method. The brush of the Corinthian ceramists always laid one tone, black, red or white, within its contours.

The procedure in question had already been employed in a little different fashion by the Mycenaean painter. He did not like to cover the entire interior of the outline of his figures with a flat tone; but if he left in reserve a head or a wing, he filled the rest of the body with parallel hatchings, as if to mark well that there was a thick layer of resistant material. He shaded but did not color.¹ The Ionian painter more frankly opposed the parts left clear to the tinted parts, and this was also done by certain of the protoattic ceramists. Then the latter did not take as models vases that escaped the wreck of the old Achaean civilization. They had applied this method as it had been resumed and modified by the potters of Ionia. It has been desired to find in the decoration of the vases more than one motive which we have already found under the brush of the potters of Argolis and of Crete; but in our opinion, it was by the intermediary of Ionian industry that all these motives, like the method of line drawing, came to the knowledge of Attic painters and entered their repertory. That the Greek tribes which established themselves in Asia Minor after the Dorian in-

invasion carried with them traditions and the taste of Mycenaean art, what they had retained of it in the first creations of their brilliant genius, we have had more than one occasion to state. On the contrary, if there were a country where the geometric style had triumphed without contest, and seems suppressed in the decoration without recovery, this was indeed Attica. I know no monuments that in their entire character differ more profoundly from each other than a Mycenaean vase and a vase of the Dipylon. In what subterranean channels was concealed in Attica during a century and a half the generous vein of the imagination of the artists of the prehistoric age, to suddenly appear after that long disappearance to gush from the surface of the ground by some inexplicable miracle, and to fertilize there a dried up land? The other hypothesis is far more satisfactory; when the Attic master went to the school of the Ionian masters, he took all from them in block; he received from them all at once what they had innerited from Mycenaean civilization, and what their inventive minds had added to this first fund of ideas and motives.

Note 1.p.87. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI. Plgs. 465, 467, 474, 486, 489, 495, 496.

Then to the painters of Ionia, those of Athens in this renewal owed the examples and suggestions which seconded them in their effort. The excavations begun on the Acropolis in 1850 confirmed the justice of the conclusions to which we led on this point the study of the decoration of vases. There were gathered with care the remains of the shattered pottery in the rubbish, which represented the layer of ruins created by the destruction of the edifices burned by the Persians in 480. We have since applied ourselves to examine and classify all these fragments, and here is what has resulted; the fragments of Corinthian vessels were only found there in very small number, while there were found in much greater quantity the fragments of vases similar to those of Rhodes and of Naucratis.¹

Note 1.p.88. B. Gräf. Ueber die allgemeinen Ergebnisse der Vasenfunde von der Akropolen zu Athen. (Jahrb. 1893. Arch. Anz. p. 13-19) p. 18). B. Gräf. Die antiken Vasen von der Akropole zu Athen, etc. with P. Hartwig, P. Wolters, R. Zahn, published by B. Gräf. 1909-1911. For Corinthian vases, nos. 415-449, Pl.

XV. From the so-called Miletan vases, 450-475; Pls. XV, XVI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV. The fragments of Ionian vases collected there seem to have belonged to vases more important than those representing Corinthian ceramics, and there are certain nos. of the description, notably No. 468, that correspond to an entire group of fragments, which seem to come from the same cup. (Pl. XXII).

A last question is proposed concerning the vases described above. What date is to be assigned them? When began and ended the geometric style, the work and essays that they represent? How long was that effort prolonged before ending in the adoption of a technique, that of vases with black figures and incised lines, on which harmony existed for nearly a century between all the workshops of Athens? This can only refer to an approximate date. None of these vases offers an inscription or image that permits the establishment of a synchronism between the work of art and known persons or events. Yet here are some indications to be noticed.

According to the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles and from that of the shield of Hercules attributed to Hesiod, from the time when these poems were composed during the 9th and 8th centuries, the artist knew but a single mode of covering a surface of some extent. The arrangement that he adopted was always that whose modeling had been supplied to him by the Phoenician cups of bronze and of silver, the division into parallel circular zones on which the figures followed in files on the entire length of the band. This traditional cup still persists in the most ancient Ionian and Corinthian vases; it dominates on the most recent vases of the Dipylon, on those which complete the series; but here is what appears on several of our protoattic vases, another mode of distribution of the images. The parallel bands still extend in continuous figures entirely around the shoulder and the body; but there are on the neck one or more figures enclosed within a firm panel. Even sometimes the bands of the body are cut by frets or by other ornaments which divide it into several paintings. Men have desired to find a relation between this system of decoration and the part taken about the end of the 7th century by the lyric poets like Stesichore, who chose certain episodes in the long tales of the epic poems to treat them separately.¹ Perhaps the

there is some subtlety in the comparison that men have thus attempted to establish between the procedures of plastics and of poetry; but what is more significant is, that this division in panels is that adopted for one of the most celebrated monuments of archaic Greek art, the coffer of Cypselos; now about the year 600, rather before than after, the Cypselids consecrated at Olympia this masterpiece of contemporary chasers in memory of the founder of the dynasty. There appears reason to attribute nearly the same age to the vases where Attic potters in their decoration do their part on a new plan by this mode of paintings detached from the entirety.

Note 1.p.89. H. Brunn. Griechische Kunstgeschichte. I.p.170-1.

For a stronger reason should one in this investigation take great account of another fact, of these legends which appear for the first time with two of our vases in the ceramics of Athens. On the vases of the geomtric style is nothing similar. The sole inscription so far furnished by this ceramics is on a jug. That linear decoration found at Athens, a hemeter, from which it results that the ewer must have been given as a prize, doubtless filled with wine, to him who danced best in a Dionysiac festival or in a feast, after some joyous definance uttered by one of the guests.² But this text is scratched on and may be very much later than the vase on which it was placed. That was preserved in a temple or a house of an Eupatrid; perhaps this air of venerable antiquity caused it to be chosen as a stake. An uncertain hand hastende to engrave with a point the formula, that would make its possession a title of honor for one of the competitors. The only inscriptions necessarily contemporaneous with the vase on which they are read, are those traced on the clay before firing and by the same brush to which is due the rest of the decoration. Now only on the so-called protoattic vases does one begin to find these painted inscriptions, that will soon abound on vases with black figures. Also in signatures.¹ We have there only names of persons. But the presence of these on two pieces of this series suffices to prove, that henceforth among tradesmen like potters and their assistants, the writing in current use was employed. On the other hand, no Greek inscriptions have yet been discovered on stone, bronze or any other material, thought to be earlier than

the second half of the 7th century. One of the most ancient now possessed is that of the Ionian mercenaries of Psammeticus; between 650 and 611 these adventurers engraved it on the legs of a colossus of Ipsambul to perpetuate the memory of the expedition, that had taken them so far from their native country into the upper valley of the Nile. The most competent epigraphists are agreed in dating at the end of the same century the texts discovered in European Greece, that have the most marked archaic character in the forms of the language and especially by those of the letters.²

Note 2.p.89. Athenion. 1880. Supplement to the first part. Furtwängler. Zwei Thongefässe aus Athen. (Athen. Mitt. 1881. p.108-113, with a note by Kirchhoff). Studniczka. Die älteste attische Inschrift. (Athen. Mitt. 1892. p.225-230). The excavations made in the tumulus containing the ashes of the dead at Marathon have furnished a curious example of the preservation of an ancient vase in a family. Among the fragments of vases, that were broken in honor of the dead on the day of the funerals, with the fragments of pieces that all appear nearly contemporaneous with the battle, have been found those of a great Corinthian amphora that cannot be later than the middle of the 6th century (Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p. 37).

Note 1.p.90. One might be tempted to carry back to that period the little cup signed by Oikopheles (P. Gardner. Ashmolean museum, No. 189, pl. XXVI); but it seems to Pottier to be rather of a careless style than truly archaic, and he does not believe it to be earlier than the 6th century. (Catalogue, p.561).

Note 2.p.90. S. Reinach. Traité d'épigraphie grecque, p. 7, 11-14. It is probable that, since the Thera alphabet is near the Phoenician alphabet, certain funerary inscriptions of that island are much more ancient. perhaps some date back in even the 8th century; but a certain time was necessary for the use of writing to extend in continental Greece.

We also have another reason to think that none of the Vases described under the name of protoattic is later than the end of the 7th century or the first years of the 6th; this is because of these vases some were found in Attica or in the island of Egina quite near. None of them came from the cemeteries of Sicily or of Italy. These vases then date from the time

when Athens, that had never yet started an impulse of genius, led an isolated and sedentary life, while the initiative of progress and of invention and technics as well as that of colonial enterprises belonged to cities that Athens will eclipse later, to the rich cities of Ionia, Corinth, Chalcis and Egina. When its potters fashioned these vases, Athens still was retired and as if enclosed in itself. It will shake off this half slumber only on the day when the wise laws of Solon shall have ended its internal troubles, and will entirely awake about the middle of the 6th century under the intelligent rule of Pisistratus and his sons. Its potters profited by the models offered them by statuary and painting and commenced to produce works, that the elegance of their forms, the richness and variety of their decoration caused them to be sought for. Athens still had neither a commercial nor a war navy, and will not then export at this time the products of its Ceramics, but at this time the ships of the Eginetans, Chalcidians and Corinthians, and perhaps even those of the Etruscans will come to Phalerum to load these vases to carry them away to place them in Egypt, Sicily and Italy.

Here then under the reserve caused by the inaccuracy of these data, now could be established the chronology of this history of the progress of the ceramics of Athens. During the course of the 8th century the geometric style reached its climax and produced those of its works best representing it by the complexity and ingenuity of the combinations that it had imagined. It had thus attained its limit and demonstrated its final importance. This then ended by being vaguely evident to the ceramists. Their style then commenced by relaxing as if to soften and become animated. From the last years of the century and the first of the following one dated the vases on which abruptly appear sometimes in an unexpected and awkward way, among the slim figures of paintings dear to the potters of the Dipylon, the wild beast and winged monsters of Asian ornamentation. During the 7th century, led to the conquest of a freer and more living art by the examples given them by the vases imported from Corinth and Ionia, they courageously labored to create a style for themselves with a repertory properly their own. In the course of this prolonged effort, they attempted various procedures which they saw applied in the models that inspired them.

At the end of the century their choice was made. With the line drawing on a light ground, they had found the method that would later triumph on vases with red figures; but then did not stop there, they decided for the opaque silhouette, varying its appearance by the use of red and white retouches. The reign of vases with black figures opens about the year 600. During about three fourths of a century, Athens fashions by thousands and distributes in the entire Greek world, vases on which the decoration is still of an archaic appearance by what is conventional in the drawing of the images, but which by the nobility of their forms and by the entire finish of the execution already bear witness to a rare mastery, and are completed works in their way.

Chapter XXV. ATTIC VASES WITH BLACK FIGURES.

1. Vases with circular zones. Attico-Corinthian Vases.

When one seeks to follow in its progressive evolution the movement of an art that is seen at first timid and awkward, but passes forward step by step toward the kind of perfection suited to the requirements for the work and the resources at command, he is always much embarrassed to make somewhere a division in the uninterrupted course of that history. The effort of Athenian ceramics was continued for one generation to another in the workshops, where from master to apprentice and very frequently from father to son was transmitted an entire equipment of models and cartoons with the secrets of the trade. For a notable change to occur in the production of a workshop like an Athenian workshop, it was necessary to open a new workshop founded by an ambitious owner, who excited by innovations the desire of arousing the curiosity of the public by the superior quality and originality of the works furnished, and to thus create a patronage at the expense of the workshops already known on the place.

Of these incidents that must inspire all the people of the working group in the two quarters called the interior and the exterior Ceramicos, we know nothing by the literature. In spite of the profit that the city drew from that industry and their talents, the potters were too small persons for history to register their deeds and acts. If in the long series of monuments that all appeared but do not date from the same time, one undertakes to trace lines of separation by means of which he will take account of the successive phases of the same development, this will be to vases alone that he must resort to establish these divisions. By careful examination of these vases and by minute comparisons, he will succeed in divining the moment when was produced one of those shocks, that gave the signal for a step, or better said, of a bound forward. One of those starts must have been produced at Athens about the year 600. By the critical study of the monuments, we have been led by other historians of ceramics to state, that there are very sensible differences between the vases that we have called protoattic, between the anonymous vases of which the most ancient are connected with those of the Dipylon, and the vases with black fig-

figures which the makers had the honor of signing, and that during an entire century will make the reputation and future of the Attic workshops. Without insisting on the quite approximate date, this permits us to mark a sort of frontier, that separates the period of preparation from that of the full flight in which its climax was attained by the form of art represented by the names of Ergotimos, Amasis, Exekias and Nicosthenes.

A first trait by which are distinguished from their predecessors the vases that seem to us by the character of the manufacture to form the beginning of the new series, is that unlike all the preceding, they were not found in Attica itself or in the provinces of Hellas adjoining Attica. They came from the cemeteries of Italy. Most of them were discovered at Caere in Etruria. It was this circumstance which brought them the singular name that the ceramographers wished to give them, who first occupied themselves with them. They proposed to call these amphoras Tyrrhenian or Tyrrhenian-Egyptian. They were called Tyrrhenian because they were collected in Tuscany, and because they were believed to have been made in the same city in which they had served to equip the tomb. If they added the mention of Egypt, this was to define by that label the style of these vases, to indicate the place held in the decoration by motives borrowed from the art of Egypt and of Asia. Now there was no more reason to seek there the work of a Tuscan potter than on many other vases of a very different style, that likewise issued from the cemeteries of Etruria. As for these elements of oriental origin which play so great a part in the ornamentation of the painted vases of the archaic age, we have on more than one occasion have shown, that it was not by a single route and by a single intermediary, that these offered themselves to the artists of the West, when those aspired to free themselves from the dryness and poverty of the geometric style. There is then no motive for placing to the credit of the Egyptians alone the service thus rendered to the European ornamentist. The Etruscans had been merely the purchasers and distributors. As for the workshop from which they issued, it can be named with certainty, and it is the same in stating what influences were exerted there on the potters, whose work they were. It is then difficult to understand why in the last study taking this group of vases as its subject, the author retained that name, while

admitting and proving that these vases were made in Greece.¹ He says that this is because no other is proposed than that in current use; but this has the grave fault of seeming to consecrate a twofold error. It is then preferable to renounce, once for all this deceptive label, and to seek for these vases another name that better indicates their character.

Note 1.p.95. H. Thiersch. *Tyrrhenische Amphoren. Eine Studien zur altattischen Vasenmalerei.* 1899.

We know nothing of the migrations of the pottery that is the aim here, but we no less came to the conclusions here. Without being informed of their source, considering the amphoras on which it has been desired to impose the name that we have criticized and avoided, it is perceived that the execution of the decoration is there characterized by certain peculiarities, in which we have not observed on the vases of the same or different forms in which we have recognized the earlier products of the fabrication from which came the amphoras termed Tyrrhenian. For example, here again. Until then the Attic painters only employed white touches in certain cases to supplement incisions, to indicate certain details by light retouches. White had been only a change.² In the series whose study we are beginning, an entirely different use is made of white. In the imitation of the Ionians and Corinthians, the painter employs white by broad touches for the drapery, the nude of the flesh, especially that of women. His palette is thus enriched and his decoration assumes a richer and more varied appearance.

Note 2.p.95. On these white retouches, some examples of which are already on the pottery of the Dipylon, see Pottier, Cat. p.561.

There is further only one of the signs announcing the change that is preparing. In studying this group of vases, we shall see announced new types, both in composition and in drawing, the advance that will soon be accelerated, to stop only on the day when by the adoption of the light figure reserved on the black ground, a revolution will be accomplished in the art of the ceramic painter.

All concurs in proving, that from the Attic workshops came the vases to which rightly or wrongly it has been desired to attribute an Etruscan origin. The proof of this is made by the inscriptions traced by the brush on these vases. Those having a meaning are written in the Attic dialect, and which is often

the case, where are merely false legends, letters scattered over the fields to amuse the eyes, these letters are still those of the alphabet then employed at Athens by engravers on bronze, stone or marble. The evidence of these inscriptions is decisive by itself. Yet there is reason to recall various indications, that very properly confirm it. It is first a fact that the fragments of amphoras in this style have been collected in sufficiently great number in the rubbish on the Acropolis of Athens.¹ There is also the appearance presented to the eye by these vases. When they are surveyed, the color of the clay is seen to be modified, from those appearing most ancient to those seeming most recent. These are still very pale in the protoattic vases; it is still in general in the amphoras succeeding them; but already in some of those pieces it is warmer, and tends to take that beautiful tone of very dark yellowish orange or of a vivid red, that is admired in the vases with black figures of the best time. Finally, if the list of the myths be made, which have furnished the subjects of their paintings for the decorators of these vases, it is found there that a certain myth not employed by the Ionian or Corinthian painters, but which on the other hand we shall see figure among the themes that the Attic painters of a later generation will treat with marked preference.² This is the case with a scene, the birth of Athena, no trace of which have we found in the earlier ceramics. This idea was suggested to the Athenian artists by their devotion to the goddess, who since the distant age of Erechtheus, from the height on which she had her dwelling, watched over the city to which she had given her name. Those who first pleased themselves by representing the daughter of Zeus springing from the paternal head in clay before doing so on marble on the pediments of their temples, adult and with spear in hand, beneath the eyes of all Olympus marvelling. We shall see this then reappear as many as four times.¹ The painter takes no less pleasure in representing the struggle against the Amazons sustained by Hercules and the heroic companions of his adventures. On about 70 vases referred to this series, on six are represented this battle.²

Note 1. p. 96. B. Gräff. Die antike Vasen, etc. I. Nos. 472-582. Remains of great vases decorated by bands of animals mixed with

sphinxes and sirens . Rosettes on the field.

Note 2.p.26. H. Thiersch. Tyrrhenische Amphoren. p.26-28.

Note 1.p.27. Louvre. Hall F, 852, 861; Berlin, 1704; London, B, 147. Catalogue. II. Black-figured Vases.

Note 2.p.27. H. Thiersch. Tyrrhenische Amphoren. p. 21.

Already very frequently the potters of eastern Greece and those of the isthmus had projected on the sides of their vases the image of Hercules. They had shown the hero in combat sometimes with the monsters that made the earth uninhabitable, sometimes with the brigands who infested the roads of Greece, or that cruel tyrants like Eusiris, who repulsed and massacred strangers that the storm had cast on their coasts; but almost never in their paintings had they placed him in combat with the warlike virgins of Thermoion.³ Everywhere on the Asian coast, in the islands and on various points of European Greece were shown mounds to which were attached the name of Amazons, were said to have perished in the course of an expedition which they had undertaken with the Scythians to conquer the countries of the West, but nowhere had this legend so much occupied the imagination, and had ended by taking such a completed form as among the Athenians. At the origin of these tales, was there a vague memory of the invaders, that in very remote times came from the north and east by sea or land, to ravage the coastal plains of the Saronic gulf? It is difficult to say; but what is certain is, that the Athenians claimed to know how the army of the Amazons had operated in the plain of Athens. They saw these female warriors establish their camp on the hill of the Aeropagus, from which they issued to assail unsuccessfully the Acropolis. To judge of this by the most ancient vases, it was at first to Hercules that the local tradition attributed the honor of having led the Athenians to victory on that occasion. They later and about the end of the 6th century, Theseus from a secondary role as companion of Hercules, passed to that of the national hero, and it was Theseus that artists, poets and orators celebrated as the protagonist of this fabulous combat, as the true conqueror of the Amazons.¹

Note 1.p.98. E. Pottier. Pourquoi Thesee fut l'ami d'Hercule. Revue de l'art ancien et moderne. Jan. 1901. p. 1 et seq.

In the Athens of Solon and of Pisistratus, it was the artists,

perhaps painters of frescos, in any case the ceramic painters which were first engaged in maintaining these traditions. They were pleased to present them to their fellow citizens in paintings that flattered their patriotic vanity, and when these vases took the route to Italy related to strangers, that the Athenian people had before others been the champions of Greece, that it had first been able to defend it against the attack of the barbarians of Asia. The images of these liberating combats unceasingly appeared on Attic vases about the end of the 6th century. Thus soon afterwards, the emotions and the victories of the two Median wars did not fail to give to those tales a renewal of popularity.

Note 3.p.37. The combat of Greeks and Amazons is not without an example. Corinth. (De Ridder. *Revue des universités du Midi*. 1896. p. 385).

Cultivated minds in Greece, with very rare exceptions, could not clearly distinguish fable from history. As for the multitude, it never had a suspicion of any difference to be made in that material. Thus after the days of Marathon and Platea, it was pleased to compare the perils from which it had just escaped to those run by its ancestry, the prowess of Miltiades and of Themistocles to those of Hercules and of Theseus. These conceptions seem very naive to us; but what attests the empire that was exercised over the minds was even their persistence. A century after the battle of Salamis, Isocrates in his *Panegyric* praises the service which his native city rendered to Hellenic civilization, and emphasizes almost as much on the defeat of the Amazons as on the rout of the Persians. He speaks of them in the same tone.² Thus did also the orators to which are due the two funeral orations, one attributed to Lysias and the other to Demosthenes.³ The old potters of the Ceramikos with their still incorrect art already powerful, thus supplied the material of commonplace oratory to the writers, who will later celebrate the glory of Athens in wise and cadenced prose.

Note 2.p.38. Isocrates. *Panegyric*. Sections 63-70.

Note 3.p.38. Pseudo-Lysias. *Epitaphios*. Sect. 4. Pseudo-Demosthenes. *Epitaphios*. Sect. 8.

The birth of Athena and the battle of the Amazons are also not the only themes which the Attic ceramists appear to have

first treated, at least so far as we can judge from the entirety of the vases that have reached us. Among the subjects that we shall find on Athenian vases with black figures, here are also some that to this day have been found neither in Ionian ceramics nor in Corinthian. These are the combat of the Centaurs and Lapithes, the deliverance of Prometheus, Polyxena sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles, Niobe punished for her pride, the vengeance of Alcmaeon, and perhaps the list is not complete.¹

Note 1. p. 99. H. Thiersch. *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*, p. 27.

Thenceforth it is seen, that if the Attic ceramist frequently returns to the themes which his predecessor borrowed from the treasury of myths, that by virtue of the epic poetry had become the common patrimony of all Hellenes, he began to create for himself a repertory into which entered new elements. In the number of the scenes that he was first to represent on the sides of his vase, some are counted whose vogue is explained by their close relation to local cults, or by the satisfaction given to the national vanity; but for others of these themes we have not the same resource, and it is asked why they had not before them tempted decorators of clay, and why they found favor only at Athens. The reason for this phenomenon has been ingeniously sought in the depths and bottom of the Attic soul. It has been said, that this had henceforth a taste for strong emotions, the taste that it will later manifest by the creation of tragedy. Before the hour when it offers the pathetic to the theatre, it will have demanded it from the arts of design. By the character of the subjects that it there preferred, the ceramists will have been the precursors of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.²

Note 2. p. 99. H. Thiersch. *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*, p. 23.

We fear much that there may be an excess of subtilty. Before the Attic soul had assumed equilibrium with the wisdom of Solon, before it had been stimulated and pushed to action by the lively genius of Pisistratus, and especially before it had been roused and ennobled by the shock of the Median wars, we know nothing of it, so to speak. In most cases it would be a useless labor to seek the reason for the success of a certain subject of a painting at a certain time in the workshops of the potters. To bring it into fashion, it perhaps sufficed that the idea of

using and fitting it to the panels of their decoration may have been suggested to those artisans by the sight of some work of the major arts, that made a sensation in the city, a fresco just painted beneath some portico, a series of figures in low or high relief just born under the chisel of a statuary to fill the frieze of a temple or the field of the pediment.

With the group of vases by which Athenian manufacture precluded an active and brilliant production, which will make the fortune of its workshops, the repertory of the painters who lent their aid had already acquired a certain originality in what concerned the choice of myths, that supplied them with the subject of their paintings; but for the general arrangement of the decoration and of the motives of the ornamentation, the painter is also aided much by the models offered him by the earlier ceramics. There are numerous reminiscences; he imitates much; he has not yet conquered full independence. This is stated by all historians that have occupied themselves with these vases; hence they have been termed sometimes Attic-Ionian and sometimes Attic-Corinthian. We prefer the latter appellation. The influence of Corinth, it seems to us, is more apparent here than that of Ionia. Doubtless one cannot refuse to see here in certain details the stamp of Ionian taste. For example, there is a certain subject dear to Ionian painters but foreign to Corinthian ceramics, which frequently returns beneath the brush of the first Attic painters; this is the adventure of Troilus surprised by Achilles, of the combat fought around the corpse of this young man, with whose life was connected the fate of Troy, according to the oracle. The relation of Affiliation seems only very feebly marked in the motives of ornament. We shall nowhere meet here certain motives that seem proper to the Ionian ornamentatist, the net of cords with its knots, that appears fixed around the neck of a vase,¹ the crescents pressed against each other at the lower part of the body, etc.² Garlands of alternating expanded flowers and lotus buds are very rare here.³ There is found only on a single amphora those crowns of ivy and branches of myrtle or of laurel to which the Ionian brush gave so much grace.¹ As for the pointed leaves that radiate around the foot of the amphora, it appears that the Ionian painter first thought of placing them there; but the

motive seemed so very appropriate to the place thus given to it, that all ceramists of Greece hastened to adopt it. The Attic potter did not need to seek it in Ionia; he also found it at Chalcis and at Corinth. Likewise the amphoras and hydrias of Chalcis offered to him numerous variants of the motive, which served him to decorate the neck of nearly all his amphoras, with ornament where the flowers of the lotus are connected by the flexible stems of large palmations with leaves expanding in the form of a fan (Fig. 72).

Note 1.p.100. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 381-382, 504, 507, fig. 189.

Note 2.p.100. The same. Fig. 225.

Note 3.p.100. On all the rich series of amphoras of this type possessed by the Louvre, I only find this garland once.

Note 1.p.101. On an amphora at Florence, Inghirami. *Vasi pit-tile*. Vol. IV, pl. 300. For this ornament in Ionia, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, figs. 253, 255.

The Attic potter to whom we owe these amphoras certainly had under his eyes Ionian vases and Chalcidian vases; but they were especially inspired by other models. The mode taken by them had been suggested to them rather by the works of Corinthian fabrication. They had borrowed from those as a principle of their decoration this division in superposed zones, that characterizes all amphoras of the so-called Tyrrhenian type. It is true that the ceramics of Rhodes has furnished us with more than one example of this division, but the Ionian potter used this arrangement only in his earliest works, those where he was contented to imitate the tapestries and embroideries of the Orient, and did not yet give any place to the human figure.² When he had conceived higher ambitions, and desired to insert in the field of his vases scenes borrowed from the myth or real life, he devoted to the representation of these scenes nearly all the surface disposable usually without adding anything but geometric or plant ornament, frets, stars, fringes, garlands of buds and flowers, the caprice of leaves and spreading of palmations. It was not the same at Corinth. There also the Corinthian potter began with vases whose decoration resembles in nearly all parts that of Rhodian oenochoes, except that the execution of the images is coarser.² At Corinth as at Rhodes, from the neck to the foot of the vase, these are only parallel zones on which

file real or factitious animals, mixed with sphynxes and sirens; but there as soon as the painter has resolved to ornament his vase by paintings, whose subjects he either takes from the scenes daily presented to his eyes or from mythology, he separates himself from the Ionian decorator. He does not decide to renounce the files of animals. He always uses this motive to fill the entire lower part of the body. Above and at top is placed his painting, whatever the subject.³

Note 2.p.101. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Figs. 212, 223, 224.

Note 1.p.102. The same. Figs. 233, 250, 253, 270, 272.

Note 2.p.102. The same. Figs. 304, 322.

Note 3.p.102. The same. Figs. 305, 318. Louvre. Hall E, 623, 627, 628, 629, 630, 633, 634, 635, 636.

The Attic potter whose work is described here proceeds in the same manner. A motive very convenient in use was these files of animals, of which so many variants were offered by Corinthian ceramics. The potter then commenced by multiplying the bands filled by these images. On those of his vases that one is inclined to regard as most ancient, zoomorphic ornament occupies the greater part of the field. It even fills three bands and only leaves a very restricted place for the painting, whose short persons are crowded against each other on the narrow band extending beneath the neck. It is so on an amphora where the painting represents Dionysos in the midst of the Menads (Fig. 73). Elsewhere the number of these bands with images of animals is reduced to two (Fig. 72), and then to one. The painting assumes more importance. The painter has reserved at least two thirds of the surface to distribute there persons of higher stature and spaced more apart. This is the case for an amphora on which he has placed Hercules on combat with the Amazons. (Fig. 74). The arrangement is then entirely similar to that of Corinthian vases of the same shape.

It is further not only by the entirety of the arrangement that this Attic pottery recalls Corinthian pottery and appears to be connected with it. Here is another trait of resemblance, no less significant. Ionian ceramists, so far as then worked only for local patrons, never wrote on the clay of their vases. we have found inscriptions in only very small number on merely the most recent vases, credited by us to Ionian workshops, on those dating from a time when the master potters continuing

the tradition of these manufactures must have resolved to borrow some things from their competitors that they men in the markets of the West.¹

Note 1. p. 103. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p. 465-468, 555-557.

It is entirely different for the Corinthian potter. He set himself to decorate the clay when writing had already become in more current use than at the time when the potters of Miletus and of Rhodes had lighted their first kilns. a great exporter of painted pottery, he occupied himself in pleasing the patrons which he sought and found on the coasts of the Mediterranean. He believed it pleasing to them to multiply these explanatory legends, that aided them to seize the sense of the paintings with which he decorated his vases.² Also the Attic potter, when in his turn he undertook to work for the foreign patron, hastened to imitate this loquacity of the Corinthian ceramics. He placed legends on nearly all his amphoras. When the care of decorating a piece was entrusted to a workman more illiterate than his comrades, instead of writing correctly the names of persons near their heads, he placed groups of letters meaning nothing. The chief no less sent the vase to Caere or Clusium. He believed that the Etruscan purchaser would not look too closely, that he would purchase and pay for the vase before attempting to decipher its legends.

Note 2. p. 103. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 559-560.

In the workshops from which came our amphoras, they tried to place it in a measure to compete with Corinthian pottery in the even the markets where this had long been the master. There were made specimens of this pottery, which they tried to fashion in vases, which in appearance should keep very near the types, which had found favor in Italy among the rich patrons. This is almost a kind of counterfeiting. Here is a detail permitting us to seize in the act the effect which modeling exerted on the artisan inspired by it. The museum of Berlin possesses one of the amphoras called Tyrrhenian that represents the birth of Athena.¹ It is entirely covered by legends. The names of the gods present at the prodigy are written on the clay in letters of the Attic alphabet; but with these letters the brush of the scribe has mixed two signs proper to the Corinthian alphabet, the E for the epsilon, the Q which replaces the kappa.

this intrusion of Corinthian characters into the Attic alphabet was premeditated, or indeed without attaching any importance to it, ^{did} the workmen allowed themselves to throw on the clay those forms of letters, because they had on their tables a Corinthian vase on which they appeared to his eyes? It is difficult to say; but what is certain is that the presence of these letters in the legend concurs in giving the vase an appearance, that might at first sight attribute to it a different origin than the true one. ²

Note 1. p. 104. Furtwängler. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Antiquarium. No. 1704.

Note 2. p. 104. What makes me believe in premeditation is, that in the two legends where they appear, these two Corinthian characters do not play any useful part. They merely double the Attic letter. In the name of Zeus, the B precedes an E; in the epithet given to Hermes (Greek) the Q follows a K.

In these conditions it seems difficult to contest that the chiefs of the workshops to which are due the amphoras called Tyrrhenian proposed to create a pottery to appear as Corinthian, and could hope to replace it, because while exciting the curiosity of the purchasers by the variety and novelty of its themes, it did not mislead ordinary patrons in Corinth. Further the resemblance is not only in the general plan of the decoration and in the abundance of the legends. It is found also in the entire fabrication and in many peculiarities of the execution. As for the motives of pure ornament there, they are all found among those used by the Corinthian decorator. In those motives with primary data borrowed from the plant kingdom, here as at Corinth is a vague memory of the leaf, flower or fruit, from which came the first suggestion. As for the factitious types and the animals that the Attic potter caused to file on the multiple zones of his decoration, those are nearly the same images placed on those bands by the Corinthian painter. There is only lacking the griffins, for whom the Ionian painter had a marked preference,¹ and that are sometimes though very rarely found on Corinthian vases. In both series the siren and winged sphynx are great favorites. All the difference is that on the flesh and the wings, the Attic painter usually places white retouches where that of Corinth uses red. The fauna are alike

in both. Thus to take but one example, the panther has the same appearance in both. If it is not marked by white spots scattered on its skin by the Ionian brush,² it is distinguished from the lion near it by the absence of the mane, by the more slender neck and the position of the head, always fronting the spectator.

Note 1.p.106. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Pl. XIX. Figs. 223, 231

Note 2.p.106. The same. Pl. XX.

Same family air in the male and female figures of the two ceramics. On those of Attic amphoras with the most ancient appearance, the figures have a certain heaviness. They present slightly thickset figures, which are often those of Corinthian figures. This is especially observed on amphoras with 4 or 3 zones. The brush there merely places in the upper zone more than the common scenes so frequently found there on Corinthian pottery, groups of warriors fighting in pairs, the burlesque Comos, Dionysos between the Menads (Fig. 73), etc.³ It is otherwise when the number of bands is reduced to two. Then in the painting that occupies most space on the body, the painter endeavors to evoke the memory of some popular myth. Thus he feels himself surer to interest the spectator, than if he had made the continual repetition of the commonplaces of current decoration. At the same time that even by the choice of the theme, the work shows a more marked effort of reflection and invention, the execution becomes less imperfect. The figures become larger and are more slender. Attic taste begins to appear and already allows to be divined the interpretation that it prepares to give to the human form.

Note 3.p.106. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Figs. 305, 318, 320, 342, 353.

From one amphora to another is seen the progress made by the artist. He is seen to succeed in finding arrangements for putting in the scene the chosen theme, that are happier and clearer than those he had adopted. For example, here is an amphora with four circular zones, where on half the upper band the painter has desired to place one of the myths dearest to the piety of the Athenians, the miraculous birth of their august patroness, daughter of the mind of the master of the gods (Fig. 75). The hour has arrived for the accomplishment of the prodigy. All the goddesses and gods are there, ready to acclaim the new

inhabitant of Olympus, as soon as she springs into life; but when the painter has sought a form to render visible to the eyes the marvel of this birth, he has found nothing. To escape embarrassment, he has renounced the representation of this birth. He has stopped at a moment before it. Moved, the imagination of the spectator will represent at his pleasure the appearance of the goddess. At the centre of the painting is the bearded Zeus seated on his throne with his feet placed on a footstool, holding in his left hand the thunderbolt and in the right his sceptre. Before him and standing on the same stool and lifting a crown with the hand is one of the attendant goddesses. Behind him the other goddess Eilythia supports his head in both hands. At the left and right of the god, on one side are Dionysos, Aphrodite, Ares and Leto, at the other being Poseidon, Amphitrite, Hermes and Hephaistos, holding in his hand the axe which is to cleave the brow of Zeus.

Here is another vase on which there is at the bottom only a single band of passing animals, and on which is treated the same theme (Fig. 76). There again at the middle of the painting Zeus sits on his throne between two goddesses, assistants to lying-in women, one in front and the other behind, caressing that head that will be shocked by the stroke of the liberating iron; but here above the skull of Zeus is seen to appear the little head and a part of the bust of a helmeted Athena. One cannot say that the effect is very happy; but the painter has solved in a way the problem of which his predecessor had not found the solution. He has not evaded the difficulty. What showed that he was in advance of his predecessor is the scene decorating the other side of the vase. The movements of the players of the lyre there are correct and easy (Fig. 77).

There is mentioned as the largest and most richly decorated of these amphoras, that of unknown origin possessed by the museum of Florence. (Height 1.64 ft. Extreme diameter of the body 1 foot). Only one zone of animals are at the bottom. All the rest of the vase is covered by persons engaged in very varied actions. On the neck at one side is a combat around the corpse, and at the other is a warrior replacing his armor before going into battle. On the shoulder at one side is the departure of Amphiaros, at the other being a chariot race. Below is Hercules

fighting with the Amazons, and on the other side is Dionysos surrounded by sirens and nymphs. The most interesting of these paintings are those on the shoulder. In the scene of the departure of Amphiaraos is an evident effort to attain expression, if not by the lines of the face --- these were not reached for a long time ---, at least by the poses and gestures, which all concur in manifesting the sorrow felt by those present in seeing the warrior depart, that it was known would never return alive to his home (Fig. 78). At the left is a woman that brings on her shoulder the youngest son of the hero, who holds his arms out to his father. Then Alcmeon tries to retain Amphiaraos. The latter hastens with long strides to his chariot, already shaken by the horses that move their raised heads. The group of the father and son is also confused. The painting there has scaled. Only the intention of the painter is seized. A more distant woman touches the chin of the driver to beg him not yet to give the signal for departure. Before the team is a crouching old man that seems to wish to prevent the horses from going. Behind him are five women, that like mourners at funerals, thrust their hands into their hair to rumple and tear it.

The painting that forms a pendant to this scene is less well preserved (Fig. 79); but in spite of the gap at its middle, one can appreciate that the brush has placed there accuracy and vivacity in the movement of a horse thrown on the ground near a broken chariot, as well as in those of the horses, who rear on reaching the goal, marked by a heavy Doric column. Behind the latter are some persons that in part represent the crowd of spectators. They are seated on steps, some above the others. These steps ^{not} appear to rest on a bank of earth, but on a masonry structure. Black and white squares represent the stones of the masonry. This is the most ancient image of the Greek stadium that we possess. Perhaps it is necessary to see there a sketch of the stadium, where were celebrated the games of the Panathenaic festival. The painter has placed at the very end of the field and beyond that structure a great tripod, the prize of the race. Here as in the adjacent scene, the painter has undertaken to make the gesture expressive. All the spectators have their arms extended toward the arena. Thus they express the emotion caused to them by the accident to one of the chariots

and the arrival at the goal of a competitor in which they were interested.

The vases just described are all amphoras. "The structure of these amphoras recalls that of the amphoras of Chalcis; but the handle is more uniformly round and is attached lower near the neck. Instead of being black, the neck is always decorated by a rich ornamentation of interlacings, of palmations and lotuses, where the flower with three distinct petals plays a predominant part. The body is slightly elongated and pyriform in the most ancient series (Fig. 72), and becomes larger and plumper as the style is perfected."¹ The last numbering of these amphoras allows us to count up to 77 of them.²

Note 1. p. 110. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p. 565.

Note 2. p. 110. Thiersch. *Tyrrhenian Amphoren*. p. 153-161. Shorter lists have been given previously by Dumont and Hohlwerda.

By the curvature as by the general arrangement and the execution of the decoration, these amphoras much resemble each other. Thus without improbability, one could ask whether all did not come from the same workshop; but in this hypothesis, it is necessary to admit that the activity of this workshop continued very long, so that from the founder of the shop to his heirs, potters and decorators gained much in freedom of hand and in inventive animation. In two paintings taken from an amphora in Florence (Figs. 78, 79), the painter is seen to endeavor to express by gestures the feelings of the actors in the scene, placing a certain pathetic effect in the composition. There is a very marked difference in that respect between the two paintings and that of another amphora of the same series, which represents Polyxena sacrificed on the tomb of Achilles (Fig. 80). The material execution is careful there in rendering accessories, costume and armor; but the painter neither felt nor has sought to arouse any emotion in the spectator. The painting disconcerts one. Nothing can be imagined colder and more brutal. Three Greek warriors marching in step as at drill carry the body of the virgin like a plank. Neoptolemus pulls her hair to extend her neck, and bleeds her like a hog over the altar. Two other Greek heroes, Phoenix and Nestor, impassably assist this slaughter. It seems difficult for this painting to be from the same hand as that representing the departure of Amphiaræos,

which was not earlier than it.

Note 3.p.113. Walters. On some black figured vases recently acquired by the British Museum. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1898. p. 281-301.

How far one feels himself here from the version, that later in his Hecuba, Euripides will present of the same episode of the Trojan myth! The poet will soften the horror of this ritual murder by the noble words placed in the mouth of the virgin, happy to die to escape the miseries of servitude, and wishing to walk free to death. The son of Achilles himself, who to obey the orders of the paternal shade must strike the victim, has not an insensible soul. He is seized by pity. His hand hesitates before the neck that he is to cut. Not even the soldiers of the Greek army restrain their admiration and compassion in the homage that they render to the corpse of the young girl.

These feelings that contend with each other, the relief should doubtless express as did the poetry. This is an undertaking in which would fail even painting that disposed of very different resources, than this painting on clay with such limited means. However, we shall see this art introduce the pathetic and cause to gleam a ray of beauty in the representation of scenes entirely similar to this, for example in the painting of the murder of Cassandra; but the painter here is still unable to give the impression of beauty. In his paintings, the faces with their prominent noses and projecting chins, their great round eyes, are truly ugly. The clothing of the persons, tunic or mantle, sticks to the body and falls straight like a cope. The brush and the point do not yet attempt to indicate the wave and folds of the drapery.

Thus all concurs in allowing us to recognize, on these amphoras the first works that the master potters of the Ceramicos of Athens threw on the market, when they persevered on hearing of the great profits realized by the manufacturers of Corinth, they resolved to labor also for the rich Etruscans, who were so fortunately infatuated by Greek ceramics. All here evidences both the happy intentions placed at the service of their ambition, and of a certain inexperience whose mark is still borne by their work. Heirs of potters with kilns burning for at least two centuries, they knew how to shape and fire great pieces, to properly prepare the clay, to give it a free tint and to

employ a beautiful black glaze. With open and wise minds, they require from borrowing discreetly made the elements of success by which is explained the prosperity of the wares which henceforth they claim to rival. The workshops of Ionia and of Euboea supply them with more than one useful suggestion; but they are especially inspired by Corinthian pottery. Besides the warmth of its polychromy, they take from it that arrangement in parallel bands with files of animals and monsters, which permit filling the field well while scarcely having to take the trouble of invention nor to draw figures of great size. They take from it inscriptions that spare the purchaser the trouble of seeking the meaning of the scene represented. These legends were there so much the better, because the Greek potter while doing his part in the decorations with known themes, applied himself to introduce others not before treated outside Athens, or to revive by ingenious suggestions those with which men were already familiarized. Thus he allowed to appear the desire to renew and diversify the repertory of the ceramic painter.

There are many promises for the future, indications of talent and of taste that permit one to see henceforth the future fortune of the ceramics of Athens; but what is still left to be desired in these attempts of an art precluding the conquest of its originality is the professional skill, what may be termed the trade. Everything ^{there} ~~that~~ shows a rapid execution, to which haste gives an air of negligence. The brush is pleased to multiply those touches of white not used by the Attic potters when they worked for their fellow citizens; but it applied them unskilfully, it filled the entire outline of its figures with black, and on this black it placed its white covering in some places. Not thus was it taken by the masters from whom they believed that they had stolen the secret of their effects. When the painter at Corinth established his figure in black and in red, reserved its place to be in white, and this being directly applied on the clay, it has most frequently adhered almost as well as the other colors. On the contrary on the old vases of Athens, the white covering did not form a body with the glaze on which it was laid. In time it was almost always detached from that. On many of those amphoras is no longer perceived a vestige at first sight. To be convinced of this, as on Corinth-

Corinthian vases the nudes, and especially nudes of females are painted white, it is necessary to take the vase in hand and observe it very closely. When it is found that on the parts of the image usually covered by white, the black has not the same tone as on the rest of the figure. The white which for some time covered the glaze has become dirty and changed. Then in many cases by this minute examination of the colored surface, one could replace the white where the brush formerly laid it, thus presenting a restoration of the painting without anything conjectural. We have indicated this in the drawing that we have given of the birth of Athena. (Fig. 76). The dotted areas of the faces correspond to the traces that the coating has left on the coating of the vase.

In the design is the same kind of defects. This is not that the painter is short of ideas, often happy ones. In certain of his compositions, he has placed much movement and even an intense expression given by the pose; but especially when his figures are numerous and are engaged in violent action, he sometimes commits a singular oversight. Among all the bodies of members confused together, some of which partly cover the others, he is perplexed. The embarrassment then experienced is particularly that figures in the second plane, that have to pay the cost. Some of them lose an arm and another a leg, one even a trunk. These errors have been already mentioned in the painting of the departure of Amphiaras (fig. 78), where it is difficult to discover the hero in the group of which he should form the centre, a confusion that cannot be entirely imputed to an alteration of the painting; but where these errors and negligences of the brush are even more apparent is in the painting of a dinos in the Louvre, which like other pieces of the same type is closely related to the so-called Tyrrhenian amphoras, and must date from nearly the same time.¹ There is found one of the favorite themes of the decoration of these amphoras, the battle of Hercules and the Amazons. This painting extends entirely around the vase, and of it we give only two extracts; (Figs. 81, 82); but these images that a rigorous fidelity suffices to confirm what we have said of the habits of the painter and his blunders. The eye at the first glance at this combat finds nothing to disconcert it. It is rather struck by the

correctness and variety of the attitudes, which fully give the impression of an infuriated struggle; but taking figure after figure and examining them separately, discoveries are made which do not fail to surprise one. Here Telamon has but one leg (Fig. 61); there an Amazon finds herself in the same case, and further her bust is concealed by that of a warrior in the first plane and has evaporated (Fig. 82). In this same person will be noted another mistake of the same kind. In the first plane, the arm of a Greek warrior is profiled before the arm of the Amazon; it cuts that in the middle. Now very little attention is necessary to perceive that there is no accord between the upper and lower parts of the member thus partly concealed. The forearm does not continue the line of the humerus.

Note 1. p. 114. Louvre. Mall E. 875.

One cannot be much astonished by these oversights of the decorator. His workshop where such novel ambitions were aroused was not yet equipped as will be that of the master potters of the following century. He had not yet had time to collect portfolios, as we would say, and to form a collection that the chief of the workshop had under his hand and kept at the disposal of his workmen. It was necessary to improvise, aiding himself especially by foreign models, and the painter did not yet have the resource of inspiring himself by the masterpieces of grand art, as he could do later. Pisistratus and his sons had not yet ornamented the Acropolis and the lower city by those edifices on which the sculptures of the friezes and pediments, where the frescos of the temples and porticos then offer the artisan in quest of suggestive ideas for paintings, happy groups of numerous and well placed figures. There were the assistance and the indirect lessons on which the ceramic painter could scarcely count at the beginning of the 6th century. Particularly when he was emboldened to treat novel subjects, he was then compelled to invent all, to derive all from his own stock, the data for the representation of the myth as for the movements that must be given to the actors in the scene. As his successors will do, he sought his composition on the clay itself;¹ but since he had not then a very sure knowledge of form, he made mistakes and perceived them; he redrew it there several times. On the dinos of which we have represented two fragments, it is

found by the aid of the lens, that the painter has left several sketches. There are found in places very light vestiges of a first sketch ~~with~~ the point, which were not followed, then those of a second sketch in color, to which the brush has not adhered everywhere. It has sometimes freed itself from this, either to modify the direction of an arm or to enlarge the boss of a shield.

If the painter did not yet feel himself at ease when he had to place the human body in action and to make it move its members, he already had a singular skill as an ornamentist. He very skilfully appropriated all the forms that had been created by Ionian and Corinthian potters to decorate those forms, he utilized and combined with much taste the most elegant of the ornamental motives which the best masters of those two manufactures had brought into fashion. For example, this is what he did in the decoration of a great cratera without handles or a dinos found in Etruria, that entered the Louvre with the high support ~~with~~ projecting toruses which served it as a foot. (Pl. II). The total height of the whole is 3.05 ft., 1.94 ft. of which is for the foot.

The dinos and this support are covered by figures, flowers and palmations, from top to bottom. There are counted on the dinos itself six zones, one of which is for ornaments. On the upper part of the cratera, the artist has arranged a great circular zone, on which he has distributed persons that are widely spaced. The painting comprises two subjects, although there is no marked division. At one side is seen the death of Medusa and Perseus pursued by the Gorgons. The bearded Hermes holding his caduceus and the draped Athena with head covered by a veil, look toward decapitated Medusa, whose legs bend and is ready to fall, while the blood spurts from her neck in parallel jets (Fig. 83). Before her run her two sisters, the Gorgons, hideous with heads forward and tongues protruding, their hair crowned by erect serpents. At the right is Perseus, bearded like Hermes, saving himself by great strides. By an ingenious arrangement the hero seems to direct himself toward a waiting chariot, while this chariot really forms a part of the succeeding subject (Pl. II). This second subject is nothing but one of those scenes of combat, whose commonplace image appears so often on Cor-

Corinthian vases. Between two battle chariots, each mounted by a squire and proceeding by steps, two hoplites fight, casting their spears at each other. The lower zones are occupied by ornaments and files of animals. At bottom the cratera rests in the little basin terminating the support, so that our general view does not give the bottom. Here is this bottom in a view reproducing only the four last bands of the decoration (Fig. 84). There is noted the small person kneeling between two lions, a motive that the Corinthian painter loves to put in this place. Rather from the Ionian ornamentist has the painter of the dinos borrowed the crescents radiating below the lowest zone, and which form the termination of the rich decoration.

The persons have much greater importance on another dinos, which has come to us without its support (Fig. 85). There are but two zones. On the lower one that is much lower, is a subject known to us from having seen it on Corinthian vases, the race of ephebes that the prizes, tripods and lebes or caldrons placed near the judges of the competition;¹ but in the principal subject, the combat of the Greeks led by Hercules against the Amazons and the Scythian archers, the confusion of the melee and the fury of the battle, at the cost of some inaccuracies already mentioned, are rendered with a vigor and spirit not previously attained by the best Corinthian models (Figs. 81, 82). This ardor of the passionate and murderous contest, all poses tend to express. In the movement by which a scythian archer kneels and bends his bow is felt the effort made by him, that his arrow shall go as far as possible and shall reach its aim (Figs. 81, 82). Some warriors are stretched on the ground. The painter has not given them the great round eyes of Greek heroes or the almond eyes of the Amazons. He has placed in their faces only a double incised line, that represents the two lids brought together. Perhaps he recalled there the formula by which ends so frequently in the Iliad the tales of these duels.

Note 1. p. 119. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Fig. 349.

"Darkness veils the eyes." On the same corpse is noted the position of the lower members. The right leg is extended and is stiff; the left one is bent and contracted. This is indeed the probable effect of the last convulsion.

This series is closed by a vase to which an unskilful restoration has given an appearance differing a little from what it

had on leaving the workshop. There has been inappropriately added a high neck and a foot which never belonged to it (Fig. 86). This was also a dinos. The field is there divided in three zones of unequal height. On the bottom one are racing norsemen, a motive that the Corinthian decorator constantly places in this place. On the entire middle of the body is a painting of a battle; between the combatants is no difference in costume or armor.

This is perhaps of the Greeks and Trojans, which the painter desired to represent. Chariots run in the midst of the struggle and thus recall the Homeric tales. The execution is distinguished by the same qualities of invention and spirit as on the dinos, on which is represented the battle of the Amazons; but here on the band of cavaliers, the painting has suffered greatly. What is best preserved is the band on the shoulder. It seems that the painter desired to show his knowledge and talent by assembling there almost all the subjects which the Corinthian ceramist had loved to treat, the ambush and Achilles and Polyxena at the fountain (Fig. 87), the file of warriors marching to battle, the cavalier followed by the flying bird, the combat of the Lapithes and the Centaurs (Fig. 88), the Komos and the Bacchic dancers, the return of Hephaistos to Olympus, brought on the back of a mule by Dionysos and the troop of Silenes, the banquet scenes with dogs lying under the tables. It is like a little repertory of subjects by turns familiar and heroic, from which drew the manufacturers of that time. The brush had traced as joyously those light sketches, so cleverly made, so spirited that there is felt a slightly cynical spirit, while in the great central scene the artist has placed all the sincere ardor of his conviction.¹

Note 1. p. 121. Pottier. Catalogue. Etc. p. 573-574.

That the variety of its themes, this decoration of the shoulder comprises more than 60 persons. We can give only specimens here; but these suffice to justify the judgment pronounced on this entirety. In the combat of Centaurs and Lapithes, the painter has successfully tried to vary the poses of the Centaurs, that have blocks of stone as arms by which they crush the Lapithes. There is much correctness in the movements by which the equine rumps of these norsemen are associated with the movements of the visible torsos and the heavily loaded arms. In the

ambush arranged for Troilos as a happy contrast between the scene of murder prepared for and the tranquil attitude of the young girl in this place far from the plain, where an entire landscape of freshness and peace is indicated by the fig tree, that extends its branches over the fountain, on the top of which is perched a familiar bird. This recalls the landscapes

which Ionian painters love to sketch in the paintings of their vases.¹ Thus is found in this band the trace of the two influences which still affected at that time the ceramists of Athens. Sometimes one or the other dominates, according to circumstances and the character of the subjects treated.

Note 1. p. 122. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 559-560.

There was found on the Acropolis of Athens in the layer of rubbish left by the fire kindled by the Persians, remains of several dinos and crateras similar in form and decoration to those just described and represented. One of them could be almost completely restored.² This type appears to have been very much in favor then.

Note 2. p. 122. B. Gräff. *Die antike Vasen der Akropolis*, No. 808, p. 89 of the text. There are three zones of figures, separated by bands and ornaments of flowers. At the bottom are animals. Above is a charge of mounted archers at a gallop. At the top is a file of warriors mounted on chariots with four horses. Nos. 807, 814 are remains of vases of the same kind.

To complete the series of those amphoras and crateres may also be taken two hydrias of the Louvre (Hall E. 869-870). The earliest is an ovoid form with handles attached very low, that represents the Nereids and Thetis bringing his arms to Achilles. On the shoulder decorated by a file of animals and monsters is read near one of the images this curious inscription, "I am the Siren" (Fig. 89). The other belonged to an epoch when the structure of the vase, the color of the clay and the black lustre have taken the appearance, that will be given to them by the industry of the succeeding age, but it still presents in the archaic subjects of the combat and of the burlesque Comos, traits of intimate relationship to the Corinthians. (Fig. 90).

In the course of the study that we have devoted to the first vases made in the workshops of Ceramicos for export, we have caused to be noted what a great place the amphoras held in the

group in question. They are in much greater number than vases of a different type, such as crateres and hydrias. This predominance of the amphora type is perhaps explained by one of those economic phenomena to which historians of the civilizations of antiquity have not always given the attention that they merit.

Attica passed in Greece as the natal land, as the true native country of the olive. It was related that on the Acropolis of Athens, the spear of Pallas Athena caused to spring from a cleft in the rock the first shoot of the nutritious tree, which was propagated by cuttings, and in the valley of the Cephissus mingled the silvery gray of its foliage with the verdure of the poplars and plane trees, then gradually ascended to assault the low slopes of Hymettus, Pentelicus and Parnessus. In the role assigned to the goddess by this tale, in the gift that she was thought to have made to her favorite city, what is to be seen as translated into this language of the myth, always dear to the Greek imagination, is the memory of the obscure and persevering effort, which in spite of the remote epoch in which it was accomplished, did not fail to aid in preparing the grand future of Athens. When already the Ionian cities in Asia Minor and in European Greece, Corinth and Chalcis, devoted themselves to industry and maritime commerce, Attica still was only an agricultural country. All the authority there was in the hands of the nobles, who lived as rich rural proprietors. Some in the plains of Athens or of Eleusis, others in Mesogea or Paralia. For them the peasant's hoe stirred the stony soil among the olive trees several times in the year, and then he dug around the foot of each tree the basin intended to receive and retain for some days the rains of autumn and of spring. In those great domains in which all labors were executed under the eye of the master, they did not fail in attempting to produce an oil as pure and savory as possible. The quality of the oil was a matter of care. All depends on the selection made of the fruits which go to the press and the treatment to which they are subjected. It is necessary to have lived in the country where the food is seasoned with oil to know what difference is made in the quality of this liquid by the process of manufacture, the olives being everywhere nearly the same. When in my youth I lived in Greece, I found myself very well at Athens with cookin

on oil. I went to pass some months in Crete, and I can say that nowhere have I seen olive trees as vigorous and beautiful as those of Selino; but the oil that they produced and which was served to us in the villages was detestable. I needed the stomach of twenty years to become accustomed to digest the rice pilau, soaked with that rancid and stinking oil. This odor of oil for greasing machines, I found much later in dining rooms of Spanish inns, where it frequently destroyed my appetite.

Better prepared and more agreeable to the taste than that of the adjacent provinces, the oil of Attica soon found foreign purchasers, which led to multiplying the olive trees where they succeeded so well. Attica did not delay to derive from its presses more oil than it could consume. That is implied by the law of Solon, which forbade the export of all products of the soil, excepting for oil alone.¹ Occupied as he was in developing the prosperity of a country which appeared in many respects very little favored by nature, that legislator foresaw that it was particularly interested in the olive. He prescribed himself the best methods of planting, regulating the distances that should separate the trees, so that they should not injure each other.²

Note 1.p.124. Plutarch. Solon. 24.

Note 2.p.124. The same. 23.

A single culture farther could not suffice to occupy a people entirely devoted to labor in the fields. Now to the production of cereals could not be devoted the activity of the peasant of Attica. The arid ground of that land could never furnish its inhabitants with the grain needed for their subsistence; but where wheat gave but a short and meagre harvest, the vine like the olive could flourish as desired, provided that the hand of the laborer gave it the necessary attention at the proper time. That is what Virgil states in one of those picturesque and colored verses, which abound in the Georgics. (Latin).

"The sweet vintage ripens on the rocks warmed by the sun." Labor was then divided between the olive and the vine in Attica. This permits one to divine what place was conquered there by the vine on the sides of the hills connecting the mountain to the plain, and this is the importance taken in the entire extent of the territory belonging to Athens by those festivals of

Dionysos, from which would come comedy, tragedy and the satiric drama. Dionysiasts were in the city and in the country. The god of wine was honored in spring, when there floated over the hills the light and delicate fragrance of the flower in which was sketched the future grape. He was also honored in winter, when the must had fermented in the cellar, and men began to relish the sweetness of the new wine.

The prohibition decreed by Solon against the export of any product except oil must soon have lapsed because of the effect of the increased harvests and the persistence of the demands. Perhaps the prohibition was removed by Pisistratus. Twice exiled, he had sojourned on the shores of Thrace and Asia Minor, in Euboea and at Naxos. Everywhere he created relations that he showed himself careful to maintain when he became the undisputed master of Athens. All his acts show, that he tried to elevate Attica from the moral and economic isolation in which it had previously lived. The culture of the vine must have particularly interested him. He was a native of the deme of Icaria in Diacria, where was localized the myth of Icarios and Ephegeia, that recalled the first introduction of the cult of Bacchus into Attica. This canton must have been one where prospered the vine dear to this god. Perhaps Pisistratus was a proprietor of vineyards.

Like literature, art evidences the place held by these two cultures in the life of Attica in the 6th century, that of the olive and of the vine. Ceramic painters then frequently amused themselves by representing the gathering of the olive and the grape. There is a certain one of those paintings, which at first sight leaves some uncertainty in the mind. To render more visible the fruit detached by the climbers, that follow it from branch to branch, the painter has greatly magnified the fruit. He has made of it a great white ball in which is not found the form of the berry which yields the oil; but in the tree that bears the fruits is recognized the olive tree by the pose of its trunk, by the curve which that makes in ascending.¹

Note 1. p. 126. It is so on an oenochoe of the Louvre where the work is very summary. (Hall F, 334). The olive harvest is figured with more care on another vase with black figures of the British Museum (catalogue. II, B, 226). There are seen gatherers armed with long poles with which they beat the branches,

and a nude youth collects the fallen fruits to place them in a basket. In the following century this subject is treated in nearly the same manner on a vase with red figures. (Saglio. Dictionnaire des antiquités. Fig. 5385.

Where the vine is concerned, the image is more definite. There also the painter has purposely exaggerated the size of the fruit; but he has retained for the grape the contour that characterizes it. This is noted on one side of an amphora of the Louvre (Fig. 91). The execution of this painting is quite negligent; but there is in the composition of the scene a facile spirit, which does not lack charm. The vine was then cultivated in Attica as it is still cultivated in Italy. In this painting a great knotty stock coils around the trunk of a great tree, that extends its branches in all directions, each of which is accompanied by a vine branch attached to it. In these branches are perched vintagers among the broad vine leaves, who gather the heavy bunches of grapes. From the top they are passed to their companions that remain on the ground. One of these places the bunches in a basket, and the other throws them into a sort of caldron, that briefly represents the great vat into which they are to be cast soon, and the entire vintage to be crushed by the feet.

How did the farmers of Attica export their wine outside? Doubtless they frequently enclosed it in ordinary amphoras of gray clay, whose fragments are found on all sites of the ancient world. Thousands of handles are known, remaining from broken vases, on which is read as stamped in the clay a brief inscription, that indicates the source of the liquid contained in the amphora, and also sometimes the date of the harvest, by the addition of the name of the eponymous magistrate; but it does not seem that in particular for this famous oil of the olives of the plain of Athens, men were always satisfied at Athens with that rude container. Do we not see that with us, commerce adopts for certain great vineyards and for many very fine liquors certain forms of bottles, that vary from the ordinary type? This is a mode of informing the purchaser, warning him that the goods thus offered are of exceptional quality. This is what the Attic producer did, when he entrusted his wine and his oil to a vase, which the artisans of Ceramecos had decorated by colors, varied ornaments and figures.

What proves the exportation enjoyed by that limpid oil among all is the habit contracted by the city, of giving as a prize to the victors in those great Panathenæic games to which Pisistratus and Pericles after him tried to invite all Greece in the third year of each Olympiad. To the gymnastic games that had formed the first foundation, they had added competitions in Rhapsodies, playing the flute and the cithar, and choruses. For the gymnastic games and for those of the hippodrome, the prize consisted of a certain quantity of oil made from the sacred olives of the Academy, which passed for having come from shoots taken from the olive tree of the Erechtheion, the same which Athena had caused to rise from Athenian soil during her quarrel with Poseidon on the subject of Attica.¹ Guests of the Athenian people, foreign athletes enjoyed the privilege of exporting without paying export dues the oil received by them as a reward of their exploit. This privilege had its importance, judging by an inscription of the 4th century, which indicates to us the value of each prize for a certain list of competitors. For the pentathlon, the victor had the right to 40 amphoras filled with oil, for the chariot race 104, and for the foot race 60. The second prize for all these competitions comprised from 40 to 8 amphoras.

Note 1.p.128. For the régime to which were subject those sacred olive trees and the rules prescribed for their protection, see Article *Moriari* in *Dictionnaire des antiquités*. References are made to all texts concerning them. Those trees were placed under the supervision of the Areopagus and of the archon.

Note 2.p.128. Corp.inscr.att. II, part 2, No. 265.

It does not seem probable that all the amphoras thus given to the winners were painted vases; but certainly each victor received as evidence and souvenir of his success a part of the oil to which he was entitled in one of those vases called Panathenæic amphoras by the archaeologists.² All in their decoration recalled the victory perpetuated on these vases in an archaic form.

"For games of Athens," since according to this legend, the image of the goddess was armed with the spear and the egis.⁴ On the other side of the vase is the image of the contest in which the athlete had triumphed (Fig. 9). Evidence of a crown

won in one of the great games of Greece, these vases were a title to honor for those who had obtained them. They were carried away with pride; they were religiously preserved in the family of the victor, and no more precious offering could be made to the dead than to place ^{it} on his tomb; thus they have been found in the cemeteries in nearly all parts of the Hellenic world.¹ The poets mention them, and in the allusions made to them, they do not forget the precious liquid that filled them. Pindar recalls that an Argive athlete, whose Nemean victor was sung by him, had precluded his triumph by two prizes obtained in the festivals of Athens.

Note 3.p.128. According to the number of measures of oil to be distributed, if each must be enclosed in a painted vase, the workshop charged with their supply would have had to deliver for each celebration of the great Panathenaic games several hundred amphoras decorated by the brush.

Note 4.p.128. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Plg. 433.

Note 1.p.129. Computing the total of the Panathenaic amphoras that had been indicated up to 1905, Walters arrived at the number of about 130 examples (*History of ancient pottery*. Vol. I, p. 389). On their modifications in the course of 3 or 4 centuries, the form of these amphoras and the style of the figures that decorated them, on the names of the magistrates read on them up to a certain time, see the study devoted to these monuments by De Witte (*Vases panathénaiques*, in *Annali*. 1887, p. 294-332; 1878, p. 276-284; and for the figures, *Monumenti*, Vol. X. Pl. 47, a, b, c, d, e, f, g; Pl. 48, i, k, l, m, n. The most recent work devoted to the Panathenaic amphoras is that of G. Von Brauchitsch. *Die panathenaische Preis Amphoren*. 1910. The author justly, we believe, excludes from his study the amphoras, which while being decorated by the image of Athena, do not bear the official stamp, "From the games of Athens." Those were counterfeits intended to amuse amateurs of vases and to furnish their dining rooms. Those deducted thus from the count pieces which were only imitations, in the *Catalogue* that he drew up with much care, he arrived at the number of 130 authentic amphoras. The most ancient panathenaic amphora that has reached us seems to be the Burgon amphora (*Brit. Mus. B*, 130). It dated at about 630. At the beginning of that essay (p.1) will be found a list of all works so far on the subject of these amphoras.

"By him," he says, "the fruit of the olive was carried among the valiant people of Hera in vases of terra cotta ornamented by varied paintings.¹ Simonides in an ode of which only two verses remain to us, expresses himself thus on the subject of the athlete, which he celebrated:— "Five times successively, he gained prizes at the Panathenaic games, amphoras filled with oil."²

Note 1. p. 130. Pindar. Nemean. X. 35. (Greek).

Note 2. p. 130. Fragment 135. Edition Bergk. (Greek).

When to offer this oil as a gift, as a rare and precious material, the Athenian State invited the brushes of its artists to decorate the vases containing it, this gave an example by which private men could not fail to be inspired in the effort made by them to sell with profit the same product in foreign markets. They had every advantage in giving it an appearance recalling that of those Panathenaic amphoras under cover of which the oil of Attica went to all the coasts of the Mediterranean to collect the approval of gourmards. In the curvature and decoration of these vases in which were offered the oil and wine of Attica, the Greek or Etruscan purchaser would recognize the style of the potters of Athens which Pallas invited to enhance by their intervention the splendor of the festivals celebrated in her honor. This resemblance would be for all that foreign patronage as a certificate of origin, which would ensure everywhere a good reception for the merchandize offered in that engaging form.

The distribution through the world of Panathenaic amphoras and the prestige enjoyed by them could not fail to contribute to favor the movement of these beautiful amphoras, which the workshops of Ceracicos made during the entire course of the 6th century, and that they sent to Italy by thousands, filled with oil or wine. Yet there is reason to believe that the so-called Tyrrhenian amphoras are earlier than the most ancient of the Panathenaic amphoras known to us. To contain their products thus, the farmers of Attica had not awaited the time when the festivals of Athens assumed the importance under Pisistratus, which they had not previously possessed. They only had to follow the traces of the industrious Corinthians, so to speak. The latter were stimulated by the advantages of the position

which they occupied between two seas, before undertaking to supplant the Phoenicians as the regular furnishers of those perfumes and fragrant oils, whose use was made necessary by the requirements of the female toilet, by the care to be given to the long hair of both sexes as well as by the practice in the gymnasium and by the rites of burial. To contain those unguents and oils, they did not have those flasks of alabaster with golden veins and of glazed terra cotta, that were made in the cities of the Egyptian Delta and at Sidon. For those vessels with the appearance of luxury, they had undertaken with some success to substitute vases of clay, on which the brushes of their painters designed in vivid colors elegant palmations, figures of animals and of monsters, of gods and of warriors. Of their pyxis aryballas and their alabasters, they had thus made real objects of art.¹

Note 1. p. 131. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 535-533.

The Athenians followed this example when the progress of their agriculture enabled them to export with profit the products of their soil. Long before, they had workmen skilful in preparing and firing the excellent clay, which they possessed in their own territory; but it was perhaps the needs of their commerce which decided their potters to attempt to become artists, to fashion vases, whose decoration would chance to please the public in whose ranks Ionian and Corinthian potters had found faithful patrons. The first elements of their decoration were borrowed by these beginners from the repertory of their predecessors; but they soon wearied of the role of disciples and imitators. Obedient to the movement which then carried Athens to new destinies, they did not delay to manifest an originality evidenced by the vases, which will succeed in these pages those already described.

In our modern world, in which the generally use of machines permits the unlimited reproduction of a given type at very small cost, industry and commerce usually require from the cases in which to enclose their products only to provide hermetical enclosure and convenient use; but where the workman only creates units, he was powerfully tempted at each repetition of his professional work, by the desire of putting into the new work that left his hands something, which would distinguish it from

the works of the same hand that he had already furnished. This was his manner of diverting himself, of avoiding the monotony of a routine repetition. He sought amusement in the addition of an ornament, that is very rudimentary, which always became more complex, and by degrees rose from the purely geometric motive to the figure, the descriptive or narrative figure. This innate taste for decoration, for some ornamentation, manifests itself from the Mycenaean age in the rudimentary designs by which the entire surface of those clay vessels is covered, of those pithos found by hundreds in Crete, in the cellars of the palaces of Cnossos and of Phaestos.¹

Note 1. p. 132. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Plg. 131.

What still aroused the Greek worker more not to defend himself from this temptation, was the constant use made of clay by the civilization to which he was connected, for all the uses of life. Greece is not a country rich in metals like Egypt and the interior of Asia. The precious metals remained very scarce there until the time of Philip and of Alexander. In spite of the deposits in Cyprus and Euboea, even copper did not abound. In many cases in which we have recourse to metals or their alloys, in others where we use wood, the Greeks preferred to employ clay, that the potter found everywhere at his feet. Now clay lends itself with marvellous facility to take all forms,, on which the brush threw at once the images of various types of organic life by the aid of colors then fixed by the fire of the kiln, types of organic, of plant and of animal life.

Of this clay were made all the vases that in one way or another aided in the work of feeding. Even by their purpose, these vases were those, which in all families endowed with some comforts, and in what we would term secular assemblies, were exhibited to the eyes of relatives and assembled friends gathered for a common repast. Some, like the amphoras and crateras, played their part in the preparations for the feast and furnished the dining room or its vicinity. Others, like plates and oenochoes appeared on the tables, before the beds, or passed from hand to hand among the guests. To that sort of work, one should not be surprised that the decorators of clay devoted themselves with most perseverance and ardor. They ended by giving to these works such elegance of form, and by painting pictures on them with such masterly execution and such a variety of subjects,

that some effort is necessary for us to seize them and to never lose sight of the true character properly attributed to these vases, when it is sought to replace them in the surroundings where they were created. By seeing them arranged in the glass cases of our museums, one would easily believe, that among the ancients they were made to be shut up as objects of luxury and for collection in the secret chambers of opulent mansions, or to ornament the walls of reception rooms. That would be to form a very false idea of the products of this industry. "They were neither trinkets nor Chinese vases in ancient houses, no more in Italy than in Greece."¹ Examine the views of interiors and of banquets that supplied the ceramic painters many themes of their pictures. You will see that in the repast were actually used cups, oenochoes, cantharas, skyphos and rhytons of painted clay as drinking vessels. Made of the same paste and covered by the same ornamentation, the crateras and amphoras were the great pieces of these vessels. These in spite of the poverty of the material were by their decoration vessels for use; but perhaps among the rich vases, they were not used every day. Have we not ourselves in well furnished houses services of Sevres porcelain, also Chinese and Japanese, that do not appear on the tables except at dinners of ceremony? Athenian life as described by Xenophon and Plato further comprised these frequent reunions, where to do honor to his guests, the master of the house placed in their hands the most beautiful pieces recently delivered to connoisseurs by the best dealers of the workshops of Ceramicos. The Greeks have always taken and still take a lively pleasure in conversation and discussion; never has one been more pleased than to talk of politics, philosophy and poetry around the festal table, than in the Athens of the 6th and 5th centuries. We can affirm that the contemporaries of Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles drank the wine of Attica in these cups signed by Euphronios and Erykos, that we preserve in our galleries, protected by a glass case, as masterpieces of Greek painting.

Note 1. p. 133. Pottier. Musée du Louvre. Catalogue, etc. p. 608.

Here is what completes informing us that these vases were used by their owners for the purpose of domestic life. "On those contained in our museums are very frequently found traces

of ancient repairs, clasps of bronze or lead skilfully placed to unite two pieces or to arrest the progress of a crack. The junction is not always done with much care. Cracks remain through which the liquid can escape; but it was easy to fill these crevices with resin, that after so many centuries has been preserved."¹ What is divined in these repairs is the desire that the owner of these vases had to keep in use as long as possible pieces, that if thrown with the rubbish would have made his table service incomplete.

Note 1.p.134. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 609-610.

In spite of all that time has destroyed, the work of the Athenian manufacture is preserved to us, especially in the cemeteries of Tuscany, yet presents itself to the historian of art as very rich, with much genius and great variety. By it more than by any other documents, does one succeed in forming some idea of what could be the spirit of composition and the style of design in the paintings of the most famous masters of antiquity. Then no one will be astonished that we have held to rendering an account of the conditions in which were made the first attempts of these potters to contest with their Ionian and Corinthian rivals the patronage of the Greeks of Sicily and Italy as well as that of the opulent Etruscans. We have explained now in Attica the progress of wise and intensive agriculture had favored that of an industry, which until then had possessed only moderate ambitions, and developed very slowly. recompensed and encouraged by the fine profits, these exports gave to this industry the signal for a fruitful activity, that for two centuries contributed no little to enrich Athens, to make felt and accepted everywhere the ascendant of its genius and its art.

These vases which were first sent from Athens into Italy, we have distinguished and recognized in the booty taken from Etruscan tombs, by indications that do not allow their true source to be mistaken. Still, when we have sought a term, that would give some idea of their character as a brief definition, we have believed it necessary to coin for this purpose a compound word, one of whose elements affirms that Attic origin. To that we have added another, which intervenes there to show that the Athenian potter had not conquered his full independence, when

he fashioned those amphoras and crateras. If he inherited from his fathers the art of preparing the clay, of placing it on the wheel and firing in the kiln pieces of great dimensions, on the other hand, when he had to decorate his vases, he was still in large measure tributary to those Ionians and especially to those Corinthians that he aspired to oust from the market. He was for the use of engraving and retouching colors. He was still more for the choice of the motives of the decoration and for their distribution on the field.

This situation further could not be prolonged. With Solon, Athens entered into new paths. The measures applied by him to the extinction of debts drew the people out of the misery of servitude. He created a new monetary system, that ensured to the natives the advantages long since enjoyed by the Athenians and Corinthians. He attracted to Athens foreign merchants and artisans by giving the metics, as they were called, better conditions than they had found in other Greek cities. Pisistratus continued his work.¹ He enlarged and embellished Athens. If one may so speak, he completed the opening of the doors and windows of Attica; he gave light and air to it. He invited the sculptors of Ionia and the islands to decorate together with the artists of Athens the edifices by which he ornamented the Acropolis and the lower city. He convoked all Greece to the splendors of the grand Panathenaic games, to the display of strength and beauty presented to the eyes by the games of the stadium and the solemn processions.

Note 1. p. 135. This work of Pisistratus has been explained elsewhere with more detail. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 546-551.)

Thus everywhere then in this awakened and transformed Athens were offered to the ceramic painters scenes and models of which they could not fail to derive benefit. It further appears probable that about this time the workmen of the workshops of Ceramicos must recruit useful assistants among the artisans that left Ionia, invaded and ravaged by the Persians. In some of the potters and painters that signed Attic vases have been supposed to be divined, by the form of their names which are not of those borne by the citizens of Athens, metics originally from Miletus, Clazomenes or Phocæa.¹ The Ionian decorators of clay

were inspired by the works of masters, that in their mural paintings had early attacked grand subjects. They were then in a measure able to give the Attic workmen very suggestive lessons. To initiate himself in the art of an ingenious and well ordered composition, from whom could the workmen demand better advice than from the authors of paintings like the murder of Eusiris by Hercules and the weighing of silphium on the cup of Arcesilao.

Note 1.p.136. We mention particularly under this head the names of Amasis and of Lydos. By Herodotus are known the intimate relations, that the great philhellenic Pharaoh of the 26 th dynasty maintained with the Greek colonists established in Egypt, and with the Greek cities of Asia Minor. It would be very natural for the name of this popular king to be carried to Naucratis by freed slaves or by men of the lower classes. There are also signatures of Lydos, who is the Lydian, the man originally from that Lydia, which was the hinterland of Ionia. Kolchos and skythes, who also signed vases, likewise cause the thought of an Asian origin.

Note 2.p.136. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Pls. XX, XXI.

On the other hand, technical skill had until then been carried farthest. It is then very probable that some workmen, chosen among the best, were called from Corinth to Athens to teach the Attic workmen certain tricks and secrets of the trade, particularly those of the combination of colors and of the application of red and white touches. They taught them also to fill without fatiguing the mind the parallel bands of the decoration of their crateras and amphoras, to distribute there with rapid strokes of the brush the commonplace images of great wild beasts and of factitious monsters.³

Note 3.p.136. See above on p. 104 what we have said of the presence of letters peculiar to the alphabet of Corinth on some Attic vases.

In the first attempts of Athenian fabrication, in the first works produced with the idea of trying the chances of export, which enriched the potters of Corinth, a great part was then given to borrowings and to imitation; but this was then a brief period while the experiments of the copyist sought nearly everywhere motives to be taken, in order to appropriate them for himself by skilful procedures in combination and adaptation to

the panel. This was merely a preparation, in which the industry could not be delayed in the Athens of Solon and of Pisistratus. In that Athens which initiated itself in the life of poetry and of art, the decorators of clay began to find among the statuary and the fresco painters, models of an interpretation of form by which they could be aided, when then desired to give a body to these popular heroes of epic poetry, whose exploits and adventures formed on the day of the Panathenaic festival the subject of the recitations of Homeric rhapsodies. One or two generations of artists were engaged in this preparation; then represented by a number of workshops with chiefs rivaling each other in invention and taste, there was seen to appear an entire school of ceramic painters, whose works will henceforth present a faithful reflection of the creation of contemporaneous sculpture.

2. The Cratera of Ergotimos and Klitias.

The amphoras and the beautiful crateras just described and figured evidence the favor enjoyed by the system of decoration by parallel zones in the workshops of Athens about the beginning of the 6th century. The potters and their patrons were accustomed to it. Both had taken a taste for those Ionian and Corinthian ceramics, whose products made themselves appreciated outside much before Athenian fabrication could enter the line. What further concurred in causing a love for this mode of decoration was, that it allowed the painter to employ the entire field, if he so desired, for placing figures and therefore presenting to the eye figures of a more pleasing variety. Again on this plan was arranged the decoration by the two artists to whom we owe the great cratera, on which are read the signatures of the potter Ergotimos and of the painter Klitias. By its dimensions and the diversity of the scenes represented there and by the finish of the execution, this vase may be regarded as the most accomplished work left us by the Athenian ceramists contemporary with Solon. Between the little band decorating the shoulder and the oinos of the Louvre, a band from which we have detached two episodes (Figs. 87, 88), and the paintings of the cratera of Ergotimos is a close resemblance; but what makes the difference is, that in the latter work the painter, while taking from his predecessors certain ornamental motives

that have a happy effect, no longer borrowed from foreign models the elements of his representations. To those files if real or factitious animals so much abused by the Corinthian brush, he would no longer consent to give more than a single zone, which is hidden near the base of the vase, where it has the least diameter. On all other zones is no longer a commonplace filling, no longer horsemen racing, Bacchic dances, nor duels that place anonymous warriors in combat; but everywhere are pictures, each presenting to the mind a clearly defined sense, some recalling the memory of the myths of epic poetry and others perhaps suggested by popular tales.

The artist has conquered entire independence. With matured reflection he disposes in the panels that he has chosen the themes which appear to him to present most interest to the public. Like his thought, his hand has taken more certainty. Whether he uses the brush or the point, his drawing is stronger. He has assumed qualities of precision, that we have not found in the same degree in the first attempts of the Attic workshop. Those are the merits that strike us in the vase, which we propose to study in detail as the supreme representative of the group of vases, whose decoration has for principle the superposition of several circular bands.

This typical vase is the celebrated cratera of the Etruscan museum of Florence, that by archaeologists has been been assumed the habit of calling the Francois vase. By this name it perpetuates the name of an excavator, Alexandre Francois, whose sagacity has rendered to archaeology the greatest services. The skilful explorer of the cemeteries of Tuscany made this find in 1844, after many other discoveries at Fonte Rotella near C Chiusi, the ancient Clusium. The tomb which yielded this prize had been pillaged in antiquity. The vase had been broken and its fragments were scattered. In spite of the care with which these were collected, they were not all recovered. If later searches have restored some that were not found at first, there is no part of the vase, whose continuity is not interrupted by some gap.¹ Yet the entirety has been restored. If some figures are lacking on each band, it was easy to follow the development of the action in all the scenes. Several reproductions were given of these images, and commentators have labored to seize the thought of the artist, to find the connection joining them

together in his thought the different themes that he had compared. No work of Greek ceramics excited a more lively interest.² Thus consternation was general in the world of archaeologists, when it was learned that on Sept. 9 th, 1900, a museum guard in a foolish fit of anger had thrown with all his strength a heavy stool at the poor vase, which he broke in pieces.¹ When the bits were gathered, 635 were counted. At the first moment, it was believed that the vase was destroyed forever. Yet there was the virtue of never despairing; a new restoration was attempted. This lasted for two years, but by the skill of the master workman entrusted with it, it appeared to have been very successful. Doubtless in places the ancient clay had been reduced to dust, and small portions of the decoration have thus disappeared; but on the other hand, in cleaning and adjusting the fragments, details have been caused to reappear that had sometimes been concealed beneath the cement, when the work of restoration was executed about the middle of the last century.² One is assured that the vase has rather gained than lost by the disaster which struck it. Yet we cannot desire that other monuments of ceramics should be subjected to the same test.

Note 1.p.138. On the circumstances of the discovery, see the letter of Alessandro Francois at the beginning of the Article by Braun. *Annali*. 1848, p. 299-382.

Note 2.p.138. The first reproduction at actual size of the figures was obtained in *Monumenti*. Vol. IV. Pls. LIV-LVII. A reduction of these plates was given in *Arch. Zeit*. 1850. Pls. XXII-XXIV. Later the director of *Seminaire archæologique* of Vienna undertook a new reproduction of these paintings by the draftsman Michalek under the supervision of K. Reichel, and published it in *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*. 1888. Pls. II-IV. Some errors of the first drawing were corrected in that copy, where the figures were reduced about a third. But Furtwängler proved (*Jahrb.Arc. Anz*. 1890, p. 24), that this copy was not sensibly superior to the preceding. There were still many inaccuracies in transcribing the figures and legends; but particularly the pencil of the copyist had not rendered with sufficient fidelity the style of the Greek painter and the character of his drawing. Also when Furtwängler and Reichhold decided to reproduce the principal masterpieces of Greek ceramics in conditions of size

and absolute accuracy not earlier realized, they arranged that admirable publication by offering a new copy of the paintings of the Francois vase (Griechische Malerei, etc.). From those beautiful plates are borrowed the partial reproductions that we give of those paintings (Pls. I-III, XI-XIII).

Note 1.p.139. On the accident and these results, see a note by the director of the museum. L.A.Milani. Il Vaso Francois. (Alene e Roma. 5 th year. Oct. 1902).

Note 2.p.139. Reichhold (Griechischen Malerei etc. Tex. p. 11) remarks also that the abuse of plaster and retouches that the brush at the first restoration concealed or altered many lines of the original painting.

Although the vase was found in Etruria, no one thought for an instant if seeing in it a product of Etruscan industry. In the vessels fabricated by Tuscan potters or families of Greek potters established in Italy, and inspired by models imported from beyond the sea, many indications permit the imitation to be divined. The inaccuracy of the legends, errors made in representing the myths; especially something uncertain and lax in the fabrication. Here on the contrary, is recognized at first one of the most careful works of one of the best workshops of Greece proper, a shop that cannot be other than an Attic workshop. All attests this origin. Of the myths figured here, several are those recalled with most satisfaction by the imagination of the poets and artists of Athens; but what is still more decisive is the character presented by all inscriptions read on the vase, that concern the signatures of the two authors of this beautiful work on which are legends, some of which give the names of the persons and the others define the accessories which have found a place in these paintings. In all these texts, the letters are those in use at Athens and the forms of the language are those of the Attic dialect. It is not doubtful that we have here the masterpiece of one of the principal workshops of Ceramics. The potter that fashioned it and the painter who decorated it were equally proud of it. To be sure that their names should not escape the eye of the observer, then have traced twice on the clay in two different places this same formula:—"Ergotimos made me, Klitias painted me." We have other proofs of the vogue enjoyed then by the workshop of Ergotimos.

He signed a cup with Bacchic representations, said to have come from Egina and possessed by the museum of Berlin.¹ Fragments were gathered at Naucratis, where in the remains of signatures are thought to be found associated the names of Ergotimos and of Klitias.² In the composition and execution of its decoration, Klitias has made proof of such qualities, that his reputation should not be inferior to that of the manufacturer who employed him.

Note 1.p.140. It was published by Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasen*, Pl. 238, and after a new and better drawing, in *Wiener Vorlesungsblätter*. 1888. Pl. IV, 2a, b, c.

Note 2.p.140. Egypt Exploration Fund. Naucratis. Part II, p.167.

The Francois vase is a cratera of very great height. This height is 2.17 ft. it is 5.94 ft. in circumference at the largest part of the body (Fig. 93).³ Thus it continues the tradition of the potters of the Dipylon and of their successors of the 7th century. A vessel of this form and dimensions offers to the decorator an ample surface; that is divided into 5 unequal zones that all contain images. It has further given the vase a foot in the form of a reversed echinus, on which it has found a place for figures. It has even placed figures on the handles. It even placed on the mantles of certain persons, or has copied as did the Assyrian sculptors, the embroideries that decorated the vestments of State. (Fig. 94). There he made himself a miniaturist like a Corinthian, and amused himself by a real knack.

Note 3.p.140. It is important to state that Reichhold in the general view represented here, to give an idea of the general effect, restored the figures lacking on the original. This view is a restoration.

Everywhere, both in the parts of the decoration where the images are largest as on these little bands is also expressed by some archaic stiffness, and is of remarkable refinement and certainty. The most careful examination cannot discern on the vase a vestige of a first sketch in right line or of a correction. It appears necessary to suppose for such a complicated composition, that the painter began by making a cartoon as done for tapestries. One can imagine the drawing of this model traced on a board whitened with lime; but he had the means of

obtaining there with still more certainty the desired result. This was to work on a sort of clay model, on a vase that had the same curvature and dimensions as the piece to be delivered. That being once finished, he only had to place a coating of light color on this form intended for experiments, which the artist then utilized for other vases distinguished from the first work by the selection of scenes to place in the fields.¹

Note 1. p. 142. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Griechische Vasenmalerei, p. 12 of text. Some useful indications are also found relating to the technique in the Memoir published by Reichel as a commentary on the drawing undertaken for the Archæologic Seminary of Vienna. (Ueber eine neue Aufnahme der Francois Vase. Arch-epig., etc. Vol. XII, p. 38-52.

The clay forming the ground from which rises the decoration has here a red tint, warmer than in most vases of this epoch. The painter executed this decoration by means of this black glaze to which he then knew how to give such a firm and frank tone. On the black he then laid in places violet and white touches. The violet was placed everywhere over the black. The white was used in the same fashion in most cases. Yet there are places where it seemed to have been laid directly on the ground to fill an outline indicated by the black line. Here as on many other pieces of the same kind, the retouches did not have the solidity of the black. Applied on the glaze, they not like it have penetrated into the pores of the clay, and were not incorporated with it. The thin skin of violet or white is then detached from the surface nearly everywhere; but when looked at closely, one discerns the very apparent trace of these colored retouches, and can in thought restore the polychromy of the decoration, such as it was when it left the workshop of Ergotimos.² The violet served to accent certain details of the clothing, accessories and ornament. The flesh of the men was black and that of the women was white. White was also employed for representing certain parts of buildings, certain parts of the costume of men, and where several animals found themselves near together, as in the team of a chariot or in a hunt, to distinguish a horse from his companion in the team, one dog from other dogs forming the pack. The painter did not aim to reproduce the true coloring of the models that nature offered him. What he

sought was a general effect, where the combination of tones would enliven the appearance of all these dark silhouettes. In its novelty this vase must resemble a tapestry woven with wools of three colors.

Note 2. p. 142. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Text, p. 11-12.

What with this play of color aided the eye of the spectator to orient itself among these groups where the persons are very near together, and where the figures of the first plane partly cover those of the second plane, is the work of the graver executed with rare precision. The graver did this before the black glaze was entirely dry. When the point reached the still fluid color, it sometimes overflowed in a light seam over an edge.¹

Note 1. p. 143. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Text, p. 14.

By themselves alone, these qualities in execution, this charm of color and purity of design would have sufficed to make of the cratera in question an object of great value; but perhaps what could give it most value in the eyes of those foreigners by whose intervention it has come to us, was the curiosity that could not fail to be aroused in them by the variety of scenes, that the artist had taken the precaution to explain by a profusion of legends. This luxury of inscriptions concurred with even the character of the figures to make of this vase a piece of exceptional importance. Men could not often see arrive in the markets of Etruria works from the fabrication of Athens, where all was so well calculated to arouse attention and to tempt purchasers.

The decoration of the Francois vase is a sort of "illustrated Greek Bible, that comprises with 128 inscriptions nearly 250 persons or animals distributed in some ten compartments. There is seen scarcely a subject that has not been treated in an earlier epoch, and which may not be known by Ionian or Corinthian works; but the new details and ingenious variations abound there, indications of an original mind, fertile in resources."¹

Note 1. p. 144. Pottier. catalogue. p. 614-615.

To render justice to this creative effort, it is necessary to review successively the various scenes placed over each other on the clay surface.² It is proper to place in the first line that one of the paintings, which by the places occupied announce themselves as the most important of all. It is further

the only one, with that of the foot, which extends entirely around the vase. To the other themes the painter has assigned only half the circumference in each of these bands. Also no more for this painting than for the other subjects will it be possible for us to reproduce the entirety of the figures. We could have attempted this only by the aid of a very great reduction, which would have assumed almost a schematic character. It has seemed preferable to choose in each scene one group which we detach from it. This will be reproduced with a slight reduction from the most faithful copies that have given in actual size the figures of the monument.³

Note 2.p.144. This is what Amelung has done very well in a description intended to be read in view of the monument. (*Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*. 1897. p.202-226.

Note 3.p.144. The reduction is one fifth.

The principal band occupies the middle of the body and corresponds to the greatest diameter of the vase; the persons there have greater dimensions than in the other zones. It represents the procession of the gods coming to be present at the wedding of Thetis and Peleus. As if it did not admit that an obstacle could interrupt the processional march of the deities, the painter has continued it there even beneath the handles. Against one of these is represented the building toward which the entire procession marches, the palace inhabited by the newly married, an edifice of the Doric order, whose facade has the appearance of the pronaos of an ante temple. Beyond the vestibule and by a door of which only a single leaf is open is perceived Thetis, seated in an inner chamber, with her right hand she lowers the nuptial veil over her face.⁴ Before the threshold and behind the domestic altar stands Peleus in festal clothing to receive his august guests. He is bearded; his long hair falls on his nape and shoulders. The colored mantle with richly embroidered borders is cast over the long tunic of white wool.¹ Peleus extends his hand in token of cordial reception, to the persons leading the file. This is his friend, the Centaur Chiron, who aided him to subdue the resistance of the goddess prompt in metamorphoses. The Centaur is represented in the ancient manner with the bust and legs of a man attached to the nether parts of a horse. Always a fortunate hunter, he brings game

for the wedding feast, two hares and a roe deer suspended from a pine branch. Near him walks Iris, messenger of the gods, as the leader of the procession.

Note 4.p.144. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 441, Fig. 222, and in a more exact manner; VIII, p. 59, Fig. 42. After this image we have placed the perspective restoration, that Reinhold gives of the edifice reproduced by Klittas. (The same, p. 81, Fig. 43).

Note 1.p.145. In the portion of this band reproduced in Vol. VIII, Fig. 42, is seen Peleus and the signature of Klittas.

Then comes after the signature of Klittas written downward, three women closely joined in a single group, Chariclo, wife of Chiron, Hestia, guardian of the hearth, and Demeter, the giver of daily bread. All three under different names had their indicated places at the head of the procession. Behind them advanced Dionysos with an amphora on his shoulder and holding in his hand a vine branch from which hang bunches of grapes (Fig. 95). Seen in front view, the broad face of the god with the ample beard around it and falling on his chest, recalls the masks that were in use in the Bacchic ceremonies. Behind Dionysos is another triad of women, that of the Horai, goddesses that by the succession of the seasons personified by them, cause to germinate and grow the fruits of the earth offered to the guests on the banquet tables. Near them and forming a pendant to the signature of Klittas is that of Ergotimos. There commences the file of 7 quadrigas mounted by the highest deities of Olympus. Beside these chariots walk the Muses, grouped in threes or fours. There would have been something wanting to the feast, if these daughters of Zeus had not been invited to charm by their songs the ears of the gods, while Apollo played on the cithara.¹ One of them, Calliope, plays the flute. She is presented in front view. If the painter took that method there, it was because he found in it more facility to show both hands which she carried to her mouth.

Note 1.p.146. *Romer. Illud*. I, 304.

Zeus and Hera, king and queen of the gods, lead the pomp (Fig. 96). Like Peleus, Zeus is clothed in the white tunic and mantle of dark color. He holds the thunderbolt and the reins in his left hand and the goad in the right. A little behind is Hera.

whose peplos, like those of the Horai and other personages of the same sex, is ornamented by bands on which the needle of the embroiderer has designed lotus flowers and chariots drawn by winged horses. Only the horses of the succeeding chariot are seen. As for the deities that it carried, it is left to the imagination of the spectator to supply them; their bodies are supposed to be concealed by the attachment of the haddle. Nothing of them is visible except their names, Poseidon and Amphitrite, written at the left of that team. Brother of Zeus and sovereign of the empire of the water, Poseidon had every right to follow next his elder brother.

It is the same for the third quadriga. There also are only seen the horses. One is asked to suppose that the chariot and driver were concealed by the other part of the handle. Beside it are read the names of Ares and of Aphrodite. Why do the latter and Ares appear so that rank in the procession, very near after a god to whom Zeus alone is superior in power and dignity? It is believed that one can divine the reason for this place of honor assigned to them. The event that this painting illustrates is a triumph of love, that unites a goddess to a mortal, a union from which is to be born Achilles, the most valiant of warriors.

The procession continues on the other side of the Vase; but the painting presents more gaps there. Only the lower part of the team succeeding that of Aphrodite as well as the divine pair transported by it. The legend ^{has} also disappeared. According to all appearance Apollo and Artemis mounted that chariot. Near them were three women on foot, perhaps the Charites.

Athena with the reins and goad in hand drove the 5th chariot. She had as companion another goddess, whose name is no longer read on the clay. Beside the horses walked the relatives of Theseus, Nereus, an old man with wrinkled brow, white beard and hair. He turned to Athena and seemed to speak to her. On the 6th chariot were Hermes and his mother Maia. Hermes with a short point of beard on his chin, does not have here the light costume that he takes to carry through space the orders of Zeus. His clothes are long and rich, the same as those of the other gods. Only the caduceus in his right hand recalls his functions as messenger (Fig. 97). Before the horses are four women without

mantles, clothed only in the peplos decorated by sumptuous embroidery. All four hold each other by the hand, and to all this group applies the inscription that designates them as the Moirai, the goddesses that preside over the destinies of mortals. When the wedding song is sung, they will predict for the son which Thetis shall bear, his brief and glorious career.¹

Note 1. p. 147. Catullus. Nuptiae Thetidis. Verses 322-383.

Nothing of the last team remains, except the feet of the horses, and behind is a legend informing us that this chariot was that of Oceanos, the mysterious sovereign of that immense reservoir of water, which girdles the world inhabited by gods and men. Doubtless his spouse Thetis sat near him. Behind the chariot was a marine monster. The breakage spared there a bit of the head. The end of the tail is seen between the two attachments of the handle, behind the mule that Hephaistos rides. The infirm god is seated sideways after the manner of women on a well stuffed cushion, reins and whip in hand. The painter was pleased to close this majestic procession by a figure, whose appearance must provoke a smile. Further, if he thus brought Hephaistos near Oceanos, this was because the myth established a connection between the two deities. When Hephaistos was driven out of heaven and cast into space by the wrath of Zeus, he found an asylum in the humid depths of Ocean, where he spent nine years in fashioning marvellous works. The paintings that best merit being described with some detail, after the picture of the nuptial procession, are those filling the zone beneath the great central band. They present few gaps, and the subjects treated by the artist were of a nature to suggest to him truly picturesque motives and movements. The decoration there seems at first sight to form a continuous series of images. No handles cut in two the band, and nowhere has the brush designed one of those ornaments, that on other vases of the same kind served to separate adjacent scenes. Yet there are no less than two separate themes, each of which occupies one side of the cratera. On one side is Achilles surprising Troilos and Polyxena at the fountain, and on the other is the return of Hephaistos to Olympus. The first of these paintings is comprised between two buildings that mark its limits. At the right is the wall of Troy, built in isomomom masonry and surmounted by battlements before

which are piled the stones to be cast on the enemy if he is tempted to assault the rampart. At the other end of the field is the fountain of the Doric order with light columns of wood, where the water runs from the rear wall through the mouths of two lion's masks. We have reproduced this edifice elsewhere for the character of its architecture, with the persons that occupy the vicinity.¹ Apollo, the friend of the Trojans is present afar at the surprise that he cannot prevent. A young Trojan returns to him to load in haste on his shoulder the vase just filled at the spring. There stands before one of the antes a woman, Rhoda, some Trojan virgin, who by her gestures expresses her fright. In the midst of this painting Achilles presses very near Troilos; but between this group and the fountain remains a wide void space. To fill it, the painter has placed there three persons that have a passionate interest in Achilles, that their presence seems justified, although they are not directly engaged in the action. Behind the hero is his faithful protectress Athena; Hermes and Thetis, mother of Achilles, have attitudes of strong agitation. Hermes seems to reassure her, to promise a happy result of the adventure. Scarcely anything remains of the figure of Achilles. What is divined by the pose of the lower part of the leg, the sole part of the image remaining is, that to give the impression of a very rapid race, the painter has projected the hero into space like a bird. Neither of his feet touch the ground. Troilos has suffered less. The recent restoration has even repaired certain lines of the drawing that the cement had congealed (Fig. 98). The youth has had time when Achilles showed himself to spring on his horse. In spite of the two spears held in his left hand, he flees desperately with loose reins. Beside the mount that carries him gallops at liberty another horse, perhaps that of the young Trojan left at the fountain. Before Troilos and like him, but on foot flees his sister Polyxena, who is reserved for a different death and will escape the present danger. Of that figure only remains the lower part of the body and some letters of the legend; but under the belly of the horse of Troilos is seen overturned on its side the hydria that the young girl has cast away to lighten her race. Some steps more and Polyxena will be saved. She already reaches the group formed outside the wall of Troy. An-

Antenor is standing, Priam has a long sceptre in his hand and is seated on a stone seat. There the gate of the city opened in a single leaf, there come to the rescue two other Trojan warriors, Hector and Polites.

Note 1.p.150. *Histoire de l'Art*. vol. VII. p.440, Plg. 221.

The arrangement adopted for the second painting of the zone in question was suggested by the date of the theme itself. The actors of the scene are divided into two series of equal importance but of different appearance, facing each other. One of these groups, that of Hephaistos and his followers, advances to rejoin the fixed group of deities, that in Olympus awaits the return of Hephaistos, which was very popular in the 6th century but seems to have then fallen into oblivion.¹ According to the tale, Hephaistos was avenged on his mother, an accomplice of his exile, by sending her a magnificent throne, of which she would hasten to take possession; but once seated, she found herself held by invisible bands. Thus a prisoner, as she had promised the hand of her daughter Aphrodite to whoever broke her chains. Ares went at once to Hephaistos to attempt to bring him by force to Olympus to deliver the captive; but the latter repulsed him by throwing against him puffs of flame. Where Ares failed, Dionysos succeeded. He drowned in wine the malice of Hephaistos, and the latter being all ready to render the service hoped for, advances at the head of a joyous procession (Fig. 99). Dionysos walks beside the mule of Hephaistos, whose reins he holds. The infirmity of the lame god is indicated by the very visible reversal of the right foot. Behind Hephaistos and associated in the joy of the reconciliation that he has to effect, come the followers of Bacchus, the Silenes and the Nymphs. One of the Silenes bears a full wineskin, another plays the double flute, a third is seized by a nymph and holds her in his arms. Then is a gap caused by a fracture. At the end a nymph plays the cymbals. The Silenes have ears, a tail and legs of a horse. The painter has given to the lines of their faces a bestial expression, that is also emphasized in the male figures by a very pronounced ithyphallism.

Note 1.p.151. On this subject see the very interesting Memoir of Willamowitz Møller. *Hephaistos* (Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wissen. zu Gött. 1895. p. 217-245.

On the side of the gods is Aphrodite standing and facing Dionysos, who presents herself in the first line. Is not her person the price that Hera is going to pay for the liberty restored to her? After Aphrodite is Zeus with sceptre and thunderbolt in hand, and then Hera seated on her throne. The gesture of the hands of the goddess seems to express the impatience that she feels (Fig. 100). Athena is standing behind Hera. She turns toward Ares. He is covered by a helmet with high crest, two long spears are on his shoulder, a shield on his left arm, cuirass on his sides and greaves on his legs, and is seated. There is weakness in his attitude. The painter seems to have desired to show the ferocious god humiliated by the mocking of Pallas for his discomfiture (Fig. 110). Then come three persons walking. There remain only the lower part of the figures. In the last figure at the left is recognized Hermes by his short costume. Before him is Poseidon or Apollo. The legend has disappeared. Between that unknown and Ares is Artemis; the name is read on the clay beneath an extended arm.

On the neck of the vase, two paintings separate the handles. At one side is the chariot race in the funerary games celebrated in honor of Patroclus. At the right is Achilles, who stands near the tripod and other prizes offered to the victors. Starting with all their velocity, the quadrigas race to the goal. Of two of these teams, nothing more is visible than the names of the drivers, Ulysses and Antomedon. The drivers all wear the long tunic in which is clothed the charioteer of Delphi. (Fig. 101)

The enjures are still more serious on the other side, where is represented the combat of the Centaurs and Lapithes. There is hardly spared more than the middle group. There is seen the duel of a Lapithe, equipped like a Greek hoplite and brandishing a spear, ~~and~~ ^{and} a Centaur with no other arm than a great branch of a tree. At that side three Centaurs are occupied in crushing beneath a pile of branches and stones the Lapithe Kaineus, invulnerable to iron (Fig. 102). Theseus fights in the first rank of Lapithes. One will note the heads of the Centaurs. The painter has proposed to give them a very peculiar character, as he has done for those of the Silenes, so that one feels in even these human faces, that a certain element of violence and brutality did not fail to enter into these hybrid types, when

the imagination that created them intended to combine the nature of the animal with that of man. The eye is larger here and the nose projects more, the hair and beard are more bushy and are longer than on the heads of the gods and the heroes.

Above this zone extends a lower zone against the border of the cratera, whose decoration is also divided in two paintings, where a crouching sphynx with one paw raised separates one from the other, between two vertical series of palmations. On what may be called the front face on that where is found on the principal band the head of the procession of the gods, the painter has represented the chase of the wild boar of Calydon. This is the best preserved part of all the decoration. Thus to give an idea of one of the groups that form it, we have decided to reproduce this painting almost entirely (Fig. 103). It lacks neither a person nor a legend. Each of the hunters has his name inscribed near him. It is the same for all the dogs. If the composition sins somewhat by excess of symmetry, yet it exhibits an art already wise. In the midst fights the colossal monster. His body is all stuck with arrows, which could not pierce the thickness of his hide. Its enormous tusks are detached in whice on the black of the snout. These have already made more than one victim; a dead dog is stretched on the ground before the beast, and beneath its hind legs is a wounded hunter rising on his elbow. Yet the moment approaches when the combined efforts of the band of warriors will overthrow the ferocious animal. One dog has bounded on its back and bites its neck. Behind, Castor and Pollux plunge their spears into its sides. Peleus and Meleager strike its head. Note the effort made by the painter to vary the appearance of the scene or risk some monotony in the method taken to present all the hunters in pairs, in which two persons make the same gesture. He seems to have been conscious of this defect and to have sought to lessen it by inserting some figures distinguished from the others by their color or attitude. All the warriors have the same costume, the skin of a beast thrown over a short tunic; but in one of the couples on the left, the huntress Atalanta attracts the eye by the whiteness of her female flesh and by the singularity of her costume. To be more free in her movements, she has raised her peplos by a broad girdle that holds it at her waist. She has nude arms and legs to the middle of the thighs. For the

same purpose, between the combatants on foot to brandish their javelins, the artist has placed two archers, one on the left and the other on the right, who kneel to bend their bows and loose their arrows. It is not alone by this difference of pose that these persons attract attention. Their high caps end in a point and their rectangular quivers, the gorytes, indicate them to be Scythian archers. That one may not be deceived, the brush has named one of the archers Kimeros, the Cimmerian, and near the other has traced a name, Tocsamis, with an entirely foreign appearance.¹

Note 1.p.157. There was honored at Athens as a warlike hero, as a sort of foreign Esculapius, a certain Toxaris. According to the popular tradition, Toxaris was a Scythian that came to settle at Athens about the age of Solon, i.e., even at the time when the Francois vase was fabricated; he made there a great reputation for wisdom and knowledge. Many centuries later, there was shown to travelers his tomb and the inscription engraved on it. (Lucian. Scythia. 1,2,5, Toxaris, 57).

The painting on the other side is located over that showing Theseus in combat with the Centaurs, and recalls another exploit of the same hero, his victory over the Minotaur. Theseus has killed the monster by the aid of Ariana. He left Crete taking Ariana with him, and the seven young girls and seven young men that he had saved from death. They have started for Athens on the ship that took Theseus to Cnossos, and on the route stopped at Delos to celebrate this triumph and to honor Apollo there at his celebradte sanctuary, and Aphrodite who made Ariana the assistant of the Greek hero. Having descended to the shore, the young men and girls take each others hands; they dance a round over which Theseus presides. This dance recalls a myth dear to Athenians, and entered into the rites of the cult of Delos under the name of the crane. In the sinuous movements that the leader caused to the band that helled in his steps, it was believed were recovered the tangled windings of the labyrinth.¹ The celebration of this rite, familiar to all that frequented the panegyries of Delos, was represented by the painting on two thirds of the length of this zone. At the head of the file walks Theseus in the long garments of the festival; he plays the lyre. Facing him, Ariana with the right hand ext-

extended, holds a crown and a black ball with a skein of thread, by the aid of which Theseus returned in the windings of the labyrinth. Between Theseus and Ariana is a shorter figure, the nurse that followed in her flight the young girl, that she formerly nourished with her milk. The place assigned to this person foreshows the part which she will play in the Attic tragedy of the succeeding century, for example near the sister ^{of} Ariana, Phædra, in the Hippolyte Stephanore of Euripides (Fig. 104). After Theseus follows in regular order always a young man and a young girl, the fourteen victims rescued from death. Thirteen of these figures have fanciful names and appear to have been executed by the aid of a stencil. Between them are no differences other than slight variations in the costume of the women. Further, the painter seems to have felt that there was some coldness in this uniformity of costumes and poses; he has imagined a very ingenious means to remedy this inconvenience. Phaidimos, the last of the dancers is distinguished from the others by her attitudes. She is delayed in landing; she springs on the shore to take her place in the round at the rear of her companions. Behind her the artist has represented the ship and her crew. In that view he has placed a movement of diversity, which contrasts in the happiest manner with the slow and regular motion of the ritual dance (Fig. 105).

Note 1.p.158. Plutarch. Theseus. 21.(According to Dicearchus).

The ship's stern landed on the shore. The mast is lowered. The rowers have ceased to beat the water. The pilot looks at the land and watches that the two great oars serving as a rudder are not injured. The sea is represented by a black mass. A nude and bearded man has thrown himself into it to gain more quickly the desired shore by swimming. Another man is also bearded and clothed like the dancers, advances toward the interior of the boat with extended arms; he seems to explain to the sailors what festival is celebrated by Theseus. The rowers are grouped in pairs. One of them in each pair holds the oar seen on the side. The other moves that one concealed by the hull of the bark. The men of the two first rows sit on their benches, look about them and enjoy the earned rest. Thus the succeeding pairs are more animated. Most of them have risen. Two of them extend their hands toward the bearer of the news, replying to

and questioning him. The pose of the third is still more expressive. Standing with the upper part of the body thrown backward, he raises his two hands to heaven. One would believe that the cry of joy is heard, that escapes from his expanded lungs and his great open mouth. Of the sailors coming next, some are seated and others are on foot. They all seem to talk together and to congratulate themselves on the result of the adventure. Unfortunately a fracture has removed nearly half the ship. Besides the fragment that we have described, all that remains of it is the bow with high sides and the prow in the form of the tusk of a wild boar. Over the part of the ship remaining and in the field are perceived some letters of a second signature of the two artists, Klitias and Ergotimos.

What in the decoration of the cratera best recalls this painting of the life of the sailors, and most nearly approaches it even by the character of the sportive realism, is the band continued around the foot, which represents the combat of the cranes and the pygmies.¹ Everywhere are the dead and wounded. The pygmies here have nothing of the grotesque deformity given them later by painters of vases. These are valiant little men, who do not allow themselves to be frightened by the noisy flight of their enemies, by the beating of their wings, by the strokes to their faces of their enemies by those sharp beaks. They return these as they best can. Some charge at a gallop as cavalry, they do not ride horses but goats with long horns and pendant beards. Others are on foot. Some of these combatants use the sling. Others seek to seize with strong hooks the necks of the cranes and to drag them to the ground. Several are armed with clubs or have swords in their hands. No two groups repeat each other exactly. The painter has known how to put a truly amusing variety into the representation of the combats of dwarf and bird. (Figs. 106, 107).

Note 1.p.159. In one of those notes which form the value of the perpetual commentary, which Fraser has given for the text of Pausanias, there will be found indicated the ancient texts in which is a question of the cranes and pygmies, as well as the principal dissertations devoted by modern learned men to this myth and to the monuments on which it is represented. (Pausanias. I. 12-4). The explanation given of that bitterwar

between the people of the dwarfs and those of the wading birds was, that the latter devoured the grain cast on the ground by the pygmies; the laborers defended their seeds from the depredations of all those hungry beaks. (Hecateus. Fragment 236 in Frag. hist. graec. Edit. Muller. Vol. I, p. 12).

There is nothing to emphasize on the lower band of the body, on that above the reduced field, where around the bottom of the enormous vase extends the group of divergent rays (Fig. 93). As if to arrange a rest for the attention of the spectator, that everywhere else was attracted by the complication of the scenes, the painter has placed there merely a commonplace theme. On each side is an ornament of beautiful character, where slender stems connect with expanded lotus flowers fanlike palmatiums, at one side between two griffins, at the other between two sphynxes, each of which has raised a paw. This is souvenir of the sacred tree, dear to the oriental decorators. Between these two motives are combats of animals, of lions that were throw down a wild boar and there a bull, a spotted panther that has seized a deer by the neck.¹

Note 1. p. 162. The details of these figures is given in Pl. III of Furtwängler and Reichhold.

To complete the description of the paintings of the cratera, it only remains to study the decoration of the handles. From some vase of metal has the potter borrowed the arrangement adopted for that part of the work. Above the handle proper, the strong hold for the hand that served for lifting and moving the cratera, he has formed a great band of clay comprised between two projecting borders decorated by a long series of lotus flowers. This band exceeds in height the lips of the vase and is joined to it by the beautiful curve of an ample volute. On its external face divided in panels are three figures, that successively extend upward. From one handle to the other, in each of these panels is repeated the same motive, but with slight variations. On the back of the volute itself is a running Gorgon (Fig. 108). There is beneath the so-called Persian Artemis, the winged Artemis holding by the necks here a deer and a panther, there two lion cubs; finally, quite at the bottom is Ajax, who runs from the battle field after having torn from the Trojans the corpse of Achilles. At one side hand the legs of the corpse, at the other being his shoulders and head, his

long hair almost touching the ground (Fig. 109).²

Note 2.p.162. The painter remembered there a Homeric epithet.

The entire extent of the interior of the cratera was covered by a coating of red glaze. The brush spread it where there were neither ornaments nor figures to be placed. This is a further proof of the extreme care that here presided over the execution of the work.

In describing the various paintings that Klitias executed on the outside of the vase which Erogtimos had furnished to him, by the study of the details we have been able to appreciate the importance of a character possessed in common by all these compositions. Everywhere in the choice of personages called to appear there, in the successive order in which these persons were arranged, in the attitudes given to them, we have believed could be seen the effects of reflective labor, that has left nothing to mere caprice. If this be so, now can one refuse to admit that the same directing thought must have governed the general arrangement of the decoration? That escaped none of the critics who have occupied themselves with this vase, and when they have sought to divine the reasons which the artist had for deciding on certain themes and for distributing them as he has done, they have all come to nearly the same conclusions.

It is understood why Klitias, when he had to draw up the programme of a decoration which must be divided into such numerous pictures, chose for his principal theme the image of the procession of the deities of Olympus, that came to be present at the wedding of Thetis and of Peleus. The pose of Peleus has not reached us; we have nothing of the songs in which this Thessalian hero, an Argonaut like Jason, conqueror of animals like Hercules, it seems plays a role comparable to that which will be played in the Iliad by his son Achilles. These songs do not appear to have ever been collected and condensed in a concrete epic poem, in a Peliad; but still it is necessary for the epic songs to have assigned to Peleus a very high rank in this imaginary world that they created and in which they established a sort of hierarchy, because for him has been reserved the singular honor of becoming, though entirely mortal, not like Anchises on Mt. Ida the accidental lover of a goddess, but her spouse by title, a spouse by a contract signed by all the deities of Olympus, as we should say. After having related the struggle

that Thetis had sustained against Peleus in attempting to shake off the embrace of those human arms, they had certainly described with pleasure the ceremonies of this marriage unique of its kind; but we can now only form an idea of their tales by the poem of Catullus, and to write it, he must be inspired rather by some Alexandrine work than by an old cyclic poem.¹ Then we do not ascend to the true sources, to the primary form of the myth; but one cannot doubt that this ^{was} very popular at Athens and in the rest of Greece in the 6th century. What suffices to prove that is the great number of archaic paintings in which is represented the scene of this memorable wedding. As it was also represented on the coffer of Cypselos.¹

Note 1.p.163. The nuptials of Thetis and Peleus were related in the Cyprian songs (Extract from the Chrestomathy of Proclus and the Scholiast of Homer on the Iliad. II, 140). There are in the Iliad two allusions to this wedding and to the part taken in it by the gods. (XVIII, 84-85; XXIV, 62-63). In the composition and the style of the song of the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, all historians of Latin literature recognize the visible trace of the influence of Alexandrine poets such as Apollonios and Callimachos, without being able to know whether Catullus translated a poem now lost, or borrowed from several different authors the scenes which he brings under the eyes of the reader.

Note 1.p.164. At the close of his study on two vases that represent the struggle of Thetis and Peleus (Peleus and Thetis in Jahrb. I, p. 192-204), B. Gräf gives a list, that he does not claim to be complete, of the monuments on which are represented the nuptials of the hero and the goddess (p.204, v).

When he had taken the idea of making the marriage of Thetis and Peleus the principal piece of his decoration, the painter had the very natural thought of borrowing from the mythical history of the hero and of the child to spring from that union most of the subjects that served him for filling the secondary fields. On that side of the vase which we have regarded as the front is Peleus, and his son Achilles, who are everywhere in the scenes. Against the edge of the cratera is an exploit of Peleus, one act of the prowess by which the hero merited being received among the gods like Hercules, or as the spouse of Thetis, honored by their alliance. Peleus fights in the first rank

of the heroes which go to free Etolia from the wild boar of Calydon. Achilles has taken possession of two other zones, those enclosing above and below the nuptial procession. In one of them he presides over the chariot race ~~and~~^{that} below he desired to celebrate in memory of his dear Patroclus. The painting of the lower zone represents a high deed of Achilles, which the ceramic painters have executed with marked predilection. What recommended it to their brushes was on the one hand the importance attributed to it by tradition. Troy could not be taken by the Greeks, had been said by the Oracle, only if Troilus had fallen before having attained the age of a man. By striking him, Achilles made inevitable the loss of the city. On the other hand, what this subject had attractive to artists was the opportunity offered to introduce in their painting certain picturesque details. Here is the elegant architecture of a monumental fountain. Finally, there is a secret connection between this scene and that twice represented on the bottom of the handles. It was on the altar itself of Apollo Thymbrian that the pitiless Achilles slew Troilus. By this sacrilege he aroused the wrath of the god, who later directed against him the arrow of Paris. T recalls with emphasis the image of the corpse of Achilles saved by Ajax.

It is then from the myths of which Peleus and his son Achilles were the heroes, that the decorator has made the greatest part, when he had to fill the field left to him by the potter. Besides an entire zone, he assigned to them half of the three other parallel bands; but if he thus placed in the first plane those Thessalian myths, which owed their celebrity to the prestige of the Homeric epics, he could scarcely forget that Athens also had its national hero, Theseus, its indigenous Achilles. Theseus had his marked place on a vase that would make admired abroad the mastery of the two artists of Athens. One also understands why Klitias adhered to not forgetting Hephaistos, but to make him appear in this entirety. For the effort of the painter not to result in cruel mistakes, there was necessary for him the constant protection of a god, of him that presided over the arts of the fire, who aroused or moderated the flames in the kilns in which was prepared and cast the metal, and in those in which were fired the vases of the potter, those innocile f

flames, whose caprice could in an instant destroy the labor of many days. The master potter hoped to avoid those misdeeds when he placed the image of Hephaistos on the vases which he decorated, when he assigned to him a fine role in the scenes traced on them by the brush. Farther, it was above the inner Ceramicos, and quite near the workshops that filled it, that rose the temple of Hephaistos in which Athena also had her statue, Athena that shared with her brother the patronage of the varied industries to which this industrious city owed the better part of its wealth.¹

Note 1. p. 166. Pausanias. I. 14-6. Several learned men that have studied in place with most competency the topography of ancient Athens are inclined to seek this temple of Hephaistos in the edifice known under the name of the temple of Theseus. (See the note of Frazer on the text of Pausanias).

To the glorification of Hephaistos is devoted the section that on this side corresponds to that on the other side where is represented the adventure of Troilus and Achilles. We have already seen Hephaistos in the procession of the invited guests of Peleus; but here being half concealed in the shadow under a handle, he seems to flee attention rather than to attract it. In the painting on the reverse is given one entirely different. Hephaistos is seated on his mule as the person most in view. He makes a triumphant entry into that Olympus from which he had been exiled by unjust anger. The two associated artists thus pay their debt to the god for the intervention on which they count, so that he may leave in the kiln intact perhaps the most important work, that they have undertaken to execute. At the same time they believe that they are performing a patriotic work by indicating Theseus for the sympathy and admiration of the future owners of the vase, in recalling to them the services which this hero rendered to Hellenic civilization, and to the city which honored him as its true founder. Thus they show him on the one hand fighting in the first rank against the savage Centaurs, and on another bringing back to their parents, who already lamented them, those virgins and youths of Athens rescued from the voracity of a ferocious monster.

The figures of the winged Artemis and of the Gorgon, which with the group of Ajax loaded by the body of Achilles ornament the handles, are not directly connected with any of the myths

that furnished the elements of the decoration. But by the ideas that they arouse, they concur in the impression, that must be left in the mind of the spectator by the entirety of these paintings. Several of them represent battles; now the Gorgon like the Keres was one of those demons, that threw themselves into the fight among the combatants, and scattered terror in their souls. As for the Artemis who holds the wild beasts by their necks, she enjoys a role analogous to that lent by popular imagination to the heroic conquerors of monsters, to Meleager and to Peleus, to Hercules and Theseus.

We have surveyed all the paintings ornamenting the body of the vase and have marked their connection. The choice of the subjects treated by the painter seemed to us to be explained in some by the exceptional originality of a myth, that caused the entire Olympus to descend on earth, and for the others by the sentiments that animate the two authors of the work, by their trade tendencies and their civic pride. The case is no longer the same for the little band decorating the foot of the vase, and which represents the pygmies fighting against the cranes. We cannot assign motives of the same order to the metaphor taken there. When the artist adopted this theme, he could "only propose to amuse the spectator and provoke a smile. If all movements did not have elegance and nobility, it might be said that this is the caricature of one of those battles celebrated in epic poetry. These dwarfs are comic by the gravity and passion that they carry into the struggle, which they support against these great birds, that standing on their legs exceed them in height by an entire head. They have the nudity and the arms of heroes. The poses taken by some recall the attitude of Hercules fighting the hydra of Lerne or the lion of Nemea.

This numerous vein here allows its full career, and we have already seen it announce itself in some parts of the paintings of the grand decoration. Even on the principal band is Hephaistos parading on a peaceful mount and closing the solemn procession of the gods and goddesses; but the contrast thus arranged is again much more evident where the painter has represented the same god reentering Olympus. There to the serious attitudes of the Olympic deities seated on their high seats or standing between the thrones, is opposed the careless attitude of the returning deity and especially the disorderly movements of the

Selenes, drunk with wine and luxury. This is still the same breath of familiar gaiety, which we feel exists in the painting of the ship's crew, that on the upper band expresses its joy by such lively and free gestures.

This monument of plastics thus finds itself call for a remark, which agrees with the observations suggested by the study of Greek letters, on the other hand Greek genius did not have to the same degree the superstition of decided genre as the French spirit of the 17th and 18th centuries. In poetry as in art it was pleased by mixing smiles and tears, by resting by a note of discreet comedy the soul softened and moved by violent emotions. It would be easy to give more than one proof of this, borrowed either from the Homeric poems or from the noblest and most pathetic tragedies of Sophocles and of Euripides. We have sought to clear the ideas which presided over this rich decoration; it remains to appreciate the execution and style. The design is still impressed by archaism; but it reveals in the artist qualities that foresee sure and rapid progress. Doubtless we shall find in these paintings all the conventions that we have had occasion to mention in the works of other schools. Everywhere in profiles of faces the eye is seen in front. This is an inadmissible deformation in more than one figure. The top of the body is presented in front view, while the legs and head are seen sideways. This is the mode that boldly decided the painter to suppress in his drawing the parts of the figure or accessories, which he did not yet know how to arrange so as to make visible all that would be so in reality, from the point where he thought himself placed to take the view. Those women in the wedding procession, who advance in threes beside the chariots, he desired to show draped in a nimation thrown over the tunic; but he has placed them so closely against each other, that he has not found space to insert between their bodies the skirt of the snawl. Thus he has enclosed the entire group in the amplitude of a collective mantle (Fig. 95). This would be a matter for the spectator to restore in thought the truth of things., to give each of these persons the separate mantle to which they are entitled. There is the same awkwardness on the presentation of a pair of warriors marching in step, or of horses harnessed side by side. The warrior and the horse in the second plane are almost entirely concealed by those of the first

plane. Their resistance is only revealed by an outline that exceeds by some sixteenths inch that of the figures of the first plane (Fig. 101). What the painter desires is to be understood. To succeed in this, he has not hesitated to force the effect. He held to cause it to be divined that Achilles, although on foot as he may be, goes to meet and seize Troilos, who flees on horseback. To make apparent the velocity of this race, he is suspended in the air. Neither of his two feet touches the ground. This is not a race, it is a flight.

In spite of what is arbitrary in certain modes of representation, Klitias has a very vivid sense of the beauties of the living form. He follows them and reproduces them with intelligence and varied inflexions; he seizes and renders their movements with rare accuracy. He has there a knowledge of drawing which one risks mistaking at the first glance cast on the vase. It is by the manner in which the nude is treated, that may be measured the more or less accurate knowledge possessed by the artist of the general arrangement and of the elasticity of the complex structure of the human body. Now there are notⁱⁿ the decoration of the cratera many more clothed than nude figures. None are nude in the most important painting, that of the nuptial pomp. What the subject seems to require and what the painter placed there was the richness and sumptuous festal costumes. The chase of the wild boar will later furnish the painters with a pretext, that they will hasten to seize to show virile bodies in the entire development of their muscular strength, in the fire of passionate movement; but in the time of Klitias, heroes were not yet unclothed. All the warriors grouped around the monster have their busts draped. What the painter proposed there is to add picturesqueness to the fabric by means of the skin of an animal thrown over the tunic.

On the other hand, with the Silenes of the suite of Hephaistos and the Centaurs of the Thessalian brawl, nudity was required even by the composition of the type. What clothing could be given to those mixed beings as much horse as man? The painter appears to have endeavored to give lean and nervous bodies to the unwearied dancers like the Silenes, while only on the broad torsos of his Centaurs did he cause powerful breastplates to project. For the same reason he did not clothe the pygmies.

Those were conceived by the popular imagination as a people of savage dwarfs, that lived nude under the burning sun of Ethiopia.¹ Finally without apparent necessity, Klitias introduced a figure of a nude ephebe in the scene of the ambush arranged by Achilles, to surprise Troilos. As for the corpse of Achilles, it is nude in one of the paintings on the handle, because when Ajax succeeded in tearing it from the hands of the Greeks, they had already despoiled it of his arms and clothing. Klitias then did not fear, as did the first ceramic painters, to attempt the representation of the nude. Much on the contrary, he seems to have taken pleasure in showing what he could do in that kind, always when he found in the data of the scene a plausible motive for depriving his persons of clothing, which the taste of the day imposed on them as a general rule. His drawing was correct, but not without some hardness. Guided by a sure hand, the graver aided the brush in modeling the relief of the muscular masses and in properly marking the play of the joints. The contour lacks a little suppleness. It is sometimes too angular; but he assigns to different parts of the body very accurate proportions, he particularly indicates the movement with a singular freedom and vivacity.

Note 1. p. 170. Aristotle mentions the pygmies as a tribe of dwarfs, that lived in the marshes of upper Egypt left by the Nile. (*Histoire des animaux*. VIII, 12, p. 597 a).

Taste and the feeling for true and expressive movement are especially revealed in those paintings whose subjects appeal most directly to the initiative of the painter. In a scene like the nuptial pomp of Thetis and Peleus, the artist was compelled by the character of the theme itself not to depart from certain noble and grave attitudes, all subject to the solemnity of a professional rite. The main lines of the entire arrangement of this composition might have been given to him elsewhere by some one of the frescos presented to his eyes in the temples of Athens, and this is also what one is tempted to conjecture for subjects like the combat of the Centaurs and Lapithes, the chase of the wild boar of Calydon, and the chariot race. On the contrary it is scarcely probable that monumental painting furnished a model for the battle of the pygmies and cranes. These caprices and gaieties of the brush would have to

been out of place on the walls of a sanctuary, while they were very appropriate on the surface of a vase like this, destined to appear in feasts and filled to the brim with wine causing drunkenness to the guests. After these had been interested in the scenes that recalled to them many serious episodes of the poems in which were related the history of the gods and heroes, they also liked to turn their eyes to paintings that would amuse them, like pleasantries after drinking. Their minds felt in this contrast a relaxation and rest. When the artist proposed thus to cause his public enjoyment, he very naturally found himself led to change the charm a little. If he no longer had to guide and sustain him the examples of historical painters, his imagination was then freed from the restraint, and when it was served by a hand already endowed with some skill, he made a happy use of that freedom. In this part of his work Klitias made best appreciated both his talent as designer and his faculty of invention. In the figures of the band of the pygmies, there is scarcely any trace of the stiffness and conventions of archaism. All is taken from nature and is vividly rendered, as well as the flexibility of the long necks of the cranes with their backward bends and abrupt tensions, and the violent fluttering of their wings, with the gestures of the dwarfs compelled to parry the blows by which they are menaced, or to deal mortal blows at their plumed enemies.

Same character of life and realism of genius in at least a part of the zone, on which is commemorated the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur. From the beginning of the 6th century a temple was consecrated to Theseus.¹ It is probable that in that edifice the exploits of the hero were recalled by sculptures and paintings from which Klitias perhaps borrowed the representation of the religious rite of the ceremonial dance. The regular alternation of the figures of young men and young women gave a motive well calculated to develop itself on the entire length of a band, either in the interior or on the exterior of the cella. It was not the same for the boat. The image of those sailors that act, some seated and the others standing, would be less happily associated with the lines of the architecture. Everything gives reason to believe that Klitias invented this scene to add to the charm of his decoration, and there is in

the fight of the dwarfs and cranes, he has happily diversified the attitudes. All the movements have a spontaneous readiness, that permits one to seize their meaning at first sight.

Note 1.p.172. Aristotle. *Athenaion politia*. 15. Pisistratus convokes the citizens at the precinct of the temple, that according to the context appears to have been situated on the north slope of the Acropolis. Kenyon in his first edition printed *en* to Anacheio, guided by a text of Polyxene, that relates the same fact. After a new examination of the papyrus, he reestablished the reading; *en* to Theseio, which Blass adopted, whose edition is regarded as definitive. 1892.

There is yet another painting, the return of Hephaistos to Olympus, whose parts like these of the Delian festival, do not present the same appearance. There in the painting of the persons that escort Hephaistos and that follow Dionysos, we find that boldness of the brush that is emancipated, that freedom in design which seems to us to characterize other similar parts of the decoration. Even in that half of the painting that represents the interior of Olympus is noted the figure of Ares. It is not of the type furnished to the artist by the sculpture or a contemporaneous painting. Klitias made an entirely personal effort to indicate by the entire pose, a very peculiar and slightly distorted pose, what shame the god felt to have failed where his brother Dionysos succeeded (Fig. 110).

It is seen that we have had just motives to emphasize the craters signed by Ergotimos and Klitias. The double signature that it bears gives us the first example that we have found on our way, of a painter that holds to make himself known to the public at the same time as the potter for whom he works; but what forms the special interest of this vase were the exceptional dimensions, the richness and variety of its decoration and the finish of this work. For all these reasons, it has appeared to us better suited than any of the vases that we possess, to furnish the elements of an exact definition of the characteristics of the art of the time of this date. We are agreed in thinking it contemporaneous with Solon, that it was executed between 480 and 470. In our knowledge, this is the most remarkable that Athenian ceramics produced then in a kind, which it was to abandon soon, at least for some years.¹ There have been

mentioned on the Francois vase some traces of Ionism.² There are perhaps some in certain details in the ornament; but it is particularly by the entirety of the plan adopted for the distribution of the decoration, that this vase depends on the traditions of Ionian ceramics and also of Corinthian ceramics. With some artists of a little more recent date, with Nearchos and especially with Anasis and Exekias, Attic painting will return to a different system of decoration, one that was already sketched in the work of the potters of the Dipylon, and whose traits were specified in that of the anonymous masters, to whom are due the so-called protoattic vases. This system is that of decoration in panels (metopes). We shall study it in the same manner in a small number of select examples.

Note 1.p.173. There have been found on the Acropolis of Athens many fragments of vases of the type of the Francois vase, among the shards collected in the rubbish resulting from the fire kindled by the Persians. Same divisions in parallel bands; same style of drawing, especially the same polychromy and the same great use of white retouches. (B. Gräf. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*. Nos. 484-805). One will be especially struck by the resemblance in considering the fragments reproduced in color in Pl. XXIV. There are bits which might be thought to be detached from the cratera of Ergotimos, a procession of women richly clothed (No. 504), and the remains of a painting that seems to have reproduced the birth of Athena.

Note 2.p.173. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p. 615-616.

3. Vases with Decoration in Panels (Metopes). Anasis. Exekias

There may be regarded as nearly contemporaneous with the products of the workshop of Ergotimos an entire group of Amphoras and hydrias, on which is felt in places the influence of Ionian and Corinthian traditions, as on the Francois vase, but which are distinguished from that and its congeners by a marked preference for what is termed decoration in panels.

Here is what characterizes the arrangement so named; on one side of the body and sometimes on two sides, the painter has reserved a field, that so far as permitted by the curvature of the vase, assumes the form of a rectangle or rather that of a trapezoid. In this field, whose limit may be a fillet or a garland of leaves or lotus flowers and buds, the clay has retained its native color, only brightened by one of those glazes of w

which Attic potters had the secret. Within this field has the painter grouped the actors of the scene, that he has decided to represent on his amphora or hydria. The same ground has frequently been reserved for a band of small height, that extends on the shoulder, and sometimes for another also that unrolls near the bottom of the vase, and images fill these bands whose tone is the same as on the free space arranged on the side of the piece; but these zones on the shoulder and the bottom, in this system of decoration are no more than accessories of secondary importance. What first attracts the attention of the spectator on a vase of this sort, is the field of tender red or orange yellow, that is detached with vigor but without hardness on the beautiful black glaze with metallic reflections that covers the rest of the amphora, and is the freedom with which stand out on this light ground the great black figures,, whose appearance is enlivened by touches of violet and white scattered there by the brush (Pl. III).

Not with the Attic pottery of the 6th century did this arrangement appear for the first time in Greek ceramics. It was seen already announced in Mycenaean ceramics.¹ Corinthian vases have sometimes tried this effect of the light panel placed in a black ground.² In Attica the potters of the Dipylon liked to divide in panels the surface of the body of their great vases;¹ but everywhere there is this merely a fancy or tendency, that further does not end in a firm and decisive tracing of panels nor in a happy contrast of tones. On protoattic vases, on those of Phalerum and of Vourva, the panels are already of a clearer design. They isolate better the field that they enclose.² With those of this series designated as most recent and all by the character of the execution and the presence of legends, on the vase of Nettos, the arrangement of the decoration is already nearly what we shall find on the amphoras contemporaneous with Pisistratus. The rose of the clay on which are profiled the figures contrasts with the black of the glaze everywhere else covering the surface of the vase, and one of these fields, that of the neck is inclosed within a rich border made of frets and rosettes.

Note 2.p.174. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p.244-245; Pl. 355.

Note 2.p.174. The same. Vol. VI. Pl. 420.

Note 1.p.175. The same. Vol. VII. Figs. 6, 9, 32, 33.

Note 2.p.175. The same. Vol. X. Figs. 55, 68, 70.

Note 3.p.175. The same. Figs. 63, 65.

This was the mode of decoration that the Attic potters seemed to wish to adopt, when wearied by the cold combinations of the geometric style, and finally aroused to the feeling of life, they attempted to project on the clay of their vases the imaginary world of the national myths. It was thus so long as they worked only for their fellow citizens of Attica and for their neighbors of Beotia and of the island of Egina; but the time came when they aspired to share the profit of the favor enjoyed in the West by the products of the workshops of Greece. Then as wise merchants, they endeavored not to derange the habits of this Italian patronage of which they desired to obtain possession. What they then offered it at first was a sort of counterfeit of Corinthian types; they sent it like its ordinary furnishers, amphoras and hydrias whose decoration was formed of parallel zones filled by files of real or factitious animals; but when they felt themselves masters in the market which they had opened to themselves, they did not delay freeing themselves from the imitation of the foreign model. The effort that they made to disengage themselves is marked at first by the diminution of the number of superposed zones, and by the increasing importance claimed by the scene represented in the upper zone.

When the potter was once started in this path, he could no longer stop. All invited him to resume the method arranged by his predecessors, when they produced works of the kind of the amphora of Nettos. In a decoration so comprised, instead of the figures being dispersed as if stamped over the entire surface of the vase, they were grouped and placed against each other in a field to which attention was called by the elegance of the ornament that enclosed it, and by the dark tint of the glaze under which was concealed the beautiful tint of the clay for the entire remainder of the vase. Thus was created a true painting, that in the entirety to which it belonged, played a part analogous to that which the architect superintending the edifice assigned to the sculptured metope in the Doric entablature of his temple. By that resemblance is explained and justified the term of decoration in metope, which ceramographers have introduced for this purpose.

It was naturally true that the adoption of this plan could not fail to exert a happy influence on the art merit of these paintings. When the painter traced on the clay the outlines of his figures thus placed as *videttes*, he was by this invited to condense his composition and to take more care of his design. To take a good part of the area furnished him by the potter and fill it well, he was obliged to give the persons dimensions superior to those of the figures placed in even the highest of the bands, comprised in the decoration of an amphora ornamented in the style of Corinth. As the figure was enlarged, it required there the brush that traced its outline and from the graver that modeled it, the placing of more firmness in the contour and more emphasis in the indication of the internal details, play in the articulations and peculiarities in the costumes. It no longer lent itself to this brief and simplified rendering that suits are most reduced images, for example those that are vividly raised in the manner of a sketch, the ornament and shoulder of more than one great vase.

It is believed that another reason could be given for the preference, which about this time the potter of Athens accorded to the arrangements, that left the clay uncovered only on a very limited part of the external surface of the vases. *Hydrias*, amphoras and crateras, whatever decoration they received, were not made merely for show, they were to be filled on occasion by water, oil or wine. Now the clay of the Greek potters was not subjected to the very high temperatures attained in the kilns of modern potters. This light firing always exposed them to allow liquids to filter through their too loose texture. They became truly impermeable only when their pores were closed by a thick layer of glaze. Unless cracks opened in this coating, in this sort of armor enclosing the vase, the better would it be protected from these exudations, from this leakage which rendered its use less convenient. Doubtless for this reason, in pieces whose form allowed the brush to pass freely over the internal surfaces, for example in crateras and sometimes also in cups, the entire interior was covered by black glaze. A coating of beautiful red glaze was employed for this purpose in the cratera of Ergotimos and of Klitias, where the clay retained its natural tone on the exterior. Whatever the color of the glaze, it corresponded to the same need and rendered the same

service.¹

Note 1.p.177. Reichhold in the text of the Griechische Malerei. I series, p. 82. He profited by the breakage of this vase to assure himself of the existence of this glaze. B. Gräf has also stated, that in most crateras the internal surfaces of these were covered by a glaze, that was most frequently a black glaze. (Die antiken Vasen, etc. Nos. 608, 609, 622, 624, 629, 630, 633.

If Ergotimos took this precaution when he finished shaping the great cratera for which he had demanded the aid of the brush of Klitias, this is because the ambitious programme that he had suggested to his collaborator would not have suited the decoration in metopes. This programme implied too great a variety of scenes and the presentation of too many persons for it to be possible to utilize all disposable surface. The sole means of losing nothing and of avoiding confusion was to divide the entire surface into several parallel zones, and to distribute in these bands such diverse subjects, as the painted had received a mission to treat. As for the necessity of rendering tight the large and deep vessel, this would be provided by means of the coating that covered the entire interior of the cratera.

What caused in this case, that Ergotimos and Klitias adopted for the arrangement of their pictures the plan to which their immediate predecessors adhered, those who had fashioned the vases that we have called Attic-Corinthian, was the very exceptional character of the work which they had undertaken to create, the astonishing richness of the decoration by which they desired to ornament it; but it is probable that on other vases that left his workshop, Ergotimos associated himself with the movement which then tended to cause to prevail the system of decoration in metopes. "In this system, instead of painting ^{the} delightful in long tales, or extending at ease in a series of superposed zones, it is gathered together and condensed. It selects an episode to treat it with amplitude. The literature seems to have followed the same procedure. The great stream of epic legends and the abundance of episodes that are connected, give place to more compact compositions, to subjects more clearly defined. Pinder does not talk like Homer." ¹

Note 1.p.173. Pottier. catalogue. p. 733.

This series of vases is represented at the Louvre by a very great number of pieces;² but these have as special interest

the proof of the efforts that the potters imposed on themselves to perfect their technics and vary their themes. Results obtained by these intelligent activities of Attic workshops may be judged particularly by the signed works of the two masters, whose workshops seem to have been the most famous at the Ceramicos, about the middle of the 6th century. We wish to speak of Amasis and of Ekekiyas. Was Amasis a painter and at the same time a potter? We do not know. On the signed vases that are known from him, he has never written beside his name more than the word *epoie* (made).³ The signature of Ekekiyas is read on four amphoras, four cups and two fragments. It is usually accompanied only by the verb *epoiese*; but on an amphora in Berlin and on another in Rome is found this inscription:— (Greek).⁴

Ekekiyas thus claimed the twofold qualification of painter and of potter, that Amasis did not within our knowledge; but all the works on which the name of Amasis is inscribed resemble each other so greatly in the procedures of execution and the character of the drawing, that one can define what is called the style of Amasis, and start from that definition to attribute to the master with much probability, a certain number of unsigned vases.⁵ If he did not handle the brush himself, his taste imposed itself on all the painters that he employed. He required of them certain conditions in rendering that give to all the products leaving his workshop a visible and very real unity.

Note 2.p.178. Hall F, 1-29. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 716-725. Several of these vases and all those in other galleries which present the same characters, have been studied with much care by Karo. Notes on Amasis and Ionic black figured pottery. (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1899. p. 135-164. Pls. V, VI, 4 figs. in text).

Note 3.p.178. Klein. Die griechischen Vasen, etc. p.43-45.

Note 4.p.178. The same. p. 39-40.

Note 5.p.178. This is what Adamek has done. Unsigned Vasen des Amasis. (Prager Studien. Heft.V. 1905).

We possess today nine vases signed by Amasis, four of which are amphoras and four are jugs of the form known by the name of *olpe*; there was also a cup decorated by eyes in the Ionian manner.¹ An amphora of the Cabinet des Antiques of the National Library merits being chosen as type of the vases sent from that workshop.² The form has nobility, although it may seem a little

heavy, when it is compared to the curvature that Attic potters will later give the same type (Fig. 111). The decorator has given extreme care in the execution of the ornaments; these with their very brilliant black lustre rise on the ground of a beautiful color inclining to orange. There is everywhere the same certainty of the brush, in the palmations that girdle the neck, in the ample volutes scrolled beneath the handles and in the great lotus bud that suspends one of these spirals, in the band of lighter buds of the same flower, which extend around near the bottom of the body above the double row of radiating points. Some red retouches are the centre of the palmations, for example, add to the effect of these motives. Same elegant precision in the detail of the forms, in the cover with its knob like the point of an inverted top, in the drawing of the plaited handles made of a triple cord.

Note 1.p.179. Klein knew seven of those vases. These are reproduced in the portfolio for 1899 of *Kiener Votlageblätter*, Pls. II, IV; but unfortunately several of them are only in line, which always gives but a very insufficient idea of the execution of the black figures. All the incised work disappeared. For the two vases more recently mentioned, see Heuser. *Amphora des Amasis*. (Jahr. des Oest. Inst. in Wien. Vol. 8. 1907. p.1-10, pls. I-IV), and Alice Walton. An unpublished amphora and an eye-cylindric signed by Amasis in Boston Museum (Am. Jour. Arch. 1907. p. 150-159, pls. XI, XII). The amphora in question is that published by Hauser.

Note 2.p.179. De Ridder. Catalogue, No. 222. The first who called attention to this amphora was duc. de Luynes (*Vases peints*, pls. I, II, III). It is entered with his collection in our Cabinet des Antiques.

On the shoulder is a battle scene presented in a very unusual way. No general melee; brandishing their spears high, the combatants are matched in pairs. There are nine of these duels. In a single one of the groups is one variation; a warrior falls on one knee between two other warriors. The lowered points of two spears are buried in his body. All these combatants have the same offensive and defensive arms, the helmet with high plume and cheek pieces, the cuirass, the round shield and the sword at the side, the metal greaves. What allows one to believe that the artist desired to represent there a struggle between

Greeks and Trojans under the walls of Ilium, is the presence in this place of two figures in the middle of a void, yet form a pendant over the two paintings on the body and divide into halves of equal extent the series of images of single combats. Those two persons are without arms and both are covered by caps that do not permit one to mistake the intentions of the painter. These are Phrygians which he wished to place in the scene. One of them blows a trumpet as if to give a signal or call for help. (Fig. 112). That there may be no possible hesitation concerning the nationality of this person, the clothing worn by him is that short tunic spotted by white points, that ceramists usually give to Asians, Amazons, as well as to Phrygian princes and soldiers. The kneeling warrior, who is going to succumb, has a swan on his shield. It is then probable that Amasis intended to represent here the combat in which Achilles slays Kynos. On the body are two paintings. At one side Athena and Poseidon face each other. Poseidon is clothed in the long tunic and the nimation and leans on his trident, that he holds before him in his right hand. Athena is helmeted and has the chest covered by the egis, with no clothing other than the tunic checked in front from the girdle, that falls to her feet. With her left hand she holds her spear, inclined as it at rest. The gesture of her right hand indicates that she speaks to Poseidon. There is doubtless a memory of the dispute on the Acropolis about the name to be received by the infant city (Fig. 114). At the other side is Dionysos crowned with ivy, his long hair floating on his shoulders with a purple nimation thrown over his tunic ornamented by embroidered bands. He holds in his right hand a large canthara. Opposite him are two Menads with their arms around each other's necks, who advance dancing to the god. One of them presents a young fawn that she holds by the neck. Their free hands suspend branches of ivy. They have also garlands of ivy around their brows. Their ears are hung with jewels. Rich embroideries ornament their tunics, spotted by rosettes, heart leaves, lozenges and brilliant points (Fig. 115).

Here as on the Francois vase, the design has most freedom in the figures of little height, those that play a secondary part in the decoration. In the paintings on the shoulder is the use of stencils. In all these duels, the same group is repeated from one end to the other of the series with no variations other

than those inserted by the point, which has engraved different emblems on the shields; but in these groups as in the two isolated figures that break the file, the movement has accuracy and fire. This design is a little stiff in the principal figures with their front eyes in profiled faces, their noses too long and too pointed, their heavy chins and the dryness of the acute angles of the elbows; but it cannot be denied that the proportions are correct, and that there is in the poses nature and and dignity. The painter has labored to vary these poses, an effort marked especially in the attitudes given to the two Menads. Doubtless he has expressed his thought in but a very imperfect manner. With some embarrassment and some awkwardness. The eye of the spectator has difficulty to see the crossing of the four arms and to seize for each the point of attachment; but there is no less in the invention and arrangement of this group a search for grace and novelty, that does honor to the artist. He has no less applied himself to the work of incision. Everywhere on the hair and beard as on the decoration of the clothing, this work has a refinement and singular clarity. In places the engraver has slightly abused the point. On the side of the second Menad is really complication in the lines. The head and horns of the fawn are lost in the scattered rosettes that decorate the fabric.

In both paintings the artist has conformed to the custom of arranging a contrast between the flesh of men, painted the same black as the clothing, and that of the women kept in light tones; but one is surprised that to obtain this result, he has not employed the same procedure in both paintings. For the Athena, all nudes, the face, arms and feet, are covered by a white coating; for the Menads, the same parts are reserved with the color of the ground. Why did Amasis change the method thus at the two sides of the vase? Did he desire to mark the difference of rank between Athena, the great national goddess, and the Menads, simple followers of Bacchus? Or did he rather only wish to show that there was no trade secret, of which he was not a master? In any case, in vases leaving Ionian and insular workshops have we found examples of the mode of design, the precursor of that of vases with red figures, which Amasis uses in the images of his Bacchantes. One may perhaps derive from this fact

some indication of the probable origin of this potter. His name is not an Attic name, the name of a citizen. It recalls Egypt. Amasis, like more than one of the manufacturees of Ceramicos, must have been one of those metics or domiciled foreigners, that played a great part in the industrial development of Athens.

Where did he pass his apprenticeship and where was he trained, before establishing himself at Athens? Was it at Naucratis in Egypt itself? Was it in one of those Ionian cities that maintained sufficiently close relations with the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, that more than one Greek born in Egypt came there to seek fortune?¹ We cannot say. The ceramographs that have studied the work of Amasis have always mentioned there more than one trace of the influence of the arts of Ionia.²

Note 1. p. 185. Pottier. *Genochoe du musée du Louvre signée par le peintre Amasis* (Rev. Arch. 1889¹, p. 31-34. Karo. *Notes on Amasis*. p. 143-145).

Note 2. p. 185. Amonek. *Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis*. p. 12, 17, 21.

Likewise signed by Amasis, the amphora of the museum of Boston that has been recently discovered is unfortunately much less preserved than that of the Cabinet des Antiques. Of the six figures which decorate it, not one is entire. That is a great loss; for the subjects treated there present more interest than those of our amphora, and in at least one of the paintings, the chosen theme imposed the most lively movements, which required from the artist a wiser and freer design. It is the same with the painting that represents Apollo and Hercules disputing about the tripod of Delphi (Fig. 116). Unfortunately the figure of Apollo is much mutilated. There remains of it scarcely more than the torso; but what exists suffices to make appreciated the boldness of the pose of the body thrown entirely forward, the arms tense to retain the feet of the tripod which Hercules has seized by the top and on which is attempted a restoration of the entirety of the group (Fig. 117). There is no conjecture in this sketch, except in a very small part. The movement of the arms of Apollo was given by the position of the two handles of the tripod. If the entire bottom of the painting has been destroyed, there remain yet some traces here of the toes of the right foot and there of the left heel of Hermes. The latter was represented with his legs widely apart. This spread was perhaps

rather forced, but by it he seemed to take a solid support on the ground in the effort, that he made to separate the two enraged adversaries in the struggle.

A fracture has carried away the face of Apollo; but one can conjecture that the painter at least attempted to give the features of the god a purity, that contrasted with the brutal countenance that he gave to Hercules. On the head of the latter floats the mane of the lion of Nemea, whose jaws open and whose teeth extend under the chin of the heroic conqueror of monsters. He has the bow and quiver on his back. Apollo has his head bare and the hair floating on his nape; but to contend against such a formidable adversary, he has girded on the cuirass also worn in Laconia by the Apollo of Amyclea.¹ He is a young warrior that does not appear disposed to allow himself to be intimidated and to lose the prize. In the rear plane and between the two combatants stands Hermes as mediator and arbiter of the dispute. To fill the voids of their paintings, the ceramists freely employed the person of Hermes. Pretexts did not fail them to justify the presence in their paintings of the mobile god, who was suited to play such different roles. Without Hermes, the composition here would have had less amplitude and effect.

note 1. p. 186. Pausanias. III. 10-8.

On the other side of the amphora, the poet had represented Thetis bringing to Achilles the arms forged for him by Hephaistos (Fig. 118). Here again are three persons. At the left is Phoenix, standing with spear raised and at rest. Before him Achilles lifts with the right hand the helmet, that has just been handed to him by his mother. He faces Thetis who still retains the rest of the arms, the spear and the great round shield, richly decorated. The poses are easy and natural; the figures balance well. It is noted that particularly here the work of the point, the flexibility and clarity of the engraved lines which represent the reliefs and the chasing with which, according to Homer, Hephaistos had ornamented these marvellous arms, which he had made his masterpiece.

The Louvre possesses an olpe signed by Amasis, that represents Hercules introduced into Olympus in presence of Poseidon, Hermes and Athena (Fig. 119).¹ Hercules has neither the club nor the lion's skin. His head is bare and his tunic is clad in the cuirass decorated by rosettes of brilliant metal. He has

the quiver on his shoulder and holds his bow in the left hand. This is Hercules as an archer (Fig. 120). It is again as archer about the first years of the following century, that Hercules will appear on one of the pediments of the temple of Egina. On another olpe in the British Museum is reproduced the murder of Medusa by Perseus.¹ The amphora of the Bourguignon collection at Naples is a work as careful as that of our Cabinet des Antiques; but it is less well preserved; the subject is also difficult to catch. It has further been believed, that there should be attributed, to the workshop of Amasis a certain number of unsigned vases.² Their style is the same as on the signed vases. Further, there are found certain details which appear to characterize the execution of Amasis; for example, fringed borders of the clothing, the hair on top of the head and that of the beard is indicated by a dotted line.

Note 1. p. 187. Hall F. 90.

Note 1. p. 188. Walters. History of Ancient Pottery. I. Pl. 27.

Note 2. p. 188. Fosse. Scènes de chasse sur les vases grecs inédits. (Rev. Arch. 1891? p. 361-370. Adamek. Unsignierte Vasen. Karo. Notes on Amasis; Studniczka. Ephem. Arch. 1888. p. 117, Pl. V. 1.)

Of all these anonymous vases, that which can be with most certainty placed to the credit of Amasis is an amphora of the museum of Berlin.³ In one of the paintings a bearded hero with helmet and cuirass receives from the hands of a woman, who must be a goddess, a great oval shield whose exterior is richly decorated. At the centre is the head of the Gorgon. Around the circle enclosing this emblem are two front bodies of lions and two horses. In that scene are present two beardless young men with bare heads, and two bearded warriors with helmets on brow and cuirass around torso, sword at side. No inscription indicates the subject of the scene; but it is not difficult to recognize Achilles in the bearded person to whom the arms are given. On the other side is a Bacchic theme. Dionysos between the Menads and the Satyrs. On the shoulder is an unbroken series of quite small figures, Menads and Ichthyophallic Satyrs dancing with frenzy around Dionysos. There are striking resemblances between this amphora and that of the Cabinet of Paris, so that the identity of origin can scarcely be in doubt. Same curvature of both ampocras.

Note 3.p.188. It was mentioned under this title by Furtwängler (Arch. ~~Ann.~~ 1893, p. 83), and the two paintings were published by Adamek (Pls. I, II).

In both the painting and the engraving is the same sureness of the tool, the same general arrangement of the decoration. Here also the shoulder has its decoration, like the signed amphora, the persons of this painting are all of bolder and freer design than those two large paintings. On the vase of Berlin, as on that of Paris, the eyes of the women are of almond form and those of the men are round.

There is found in the two scenes represented on the body a procedure in execution, which the signed amphora used in at least one of his paintings. Here on both sides of the vase, the nudes of the women are outlined and retain the color of the ground within that contour. There is no white coating on the female flesh, except that in the band on the shoulder. Finally, which is more significant, in the Bacchic scene on the vase of Berlin, a Satyr and a Menad embrace each other's necks, like the Menads on the vase of Paris. It is an arrangement of which I know no example in the paintings of that time, aside from those which it is believed are truly recognized works from that workshop of Amasis. It would be the latter who imagined this mode of grouping, and he would have taken pleasure as inventor in reproducing it. One could almost see in it a mark of the workshop.

We find this characteristic motive again on an amphora of the museum of Wurzburg,¹ And this is why we are disposed to give the honor of this amphora rather to Amasis than to Ekeias. There is seen reappear in a Bacchic scene the group of two persons, who embrace each other with arms passed around both necks; but this time the figures so joined are two satyrs (Fig. 121). Amasis repeated himself; but this was a variation always of his favorite scheme. To this painting corresponds on the other side a vintage scene, one that of two Satyrs (Fig. 122). This painting is perhaps the work most advanced and executed by the painters in the service of Amasis, that where the form is most correct and supple. Like the amphoras of Berlin and of Paris, that of Wurzburg further has on the shoulder its file of little figures, an entire crowd of Satyrs and of Bacchantes, who act

and leap with much excitement around Dionysos seated on a folding chair. On both these vases, the family air is so marked that hesitation is scarcely permissible. In attributing to Amasis the two anepigraphic amphoras, one feels himself nearly as certain, as if as on the amphora of Paris, he read there his signature twice repeated. While seeming justified in certain respects, other attributions leave more room for uncertainty. Like all human masters, Amasis might have imitators. There existed in antiquity no laws prohibiting counterfeiting.

Note 1.p.130. Karo. Notes on Amasis.p.136-138, Pl. V. The paintings of this amphora were reproduced in heliogravure in a Memoir of K. Sittl entitled *Dionysisches Treiben und Dichten im 7 und 6 Jahrhundert Vor Chr.* 23th Programme at Kurzbürg. 1898. These paintings form Pls. II, III. If we have preferred to reproduce the given drawings in memory of Karo, although executed by a slightly heavy hand, this is because for every vase with curved sides, photography singularly deforms the figures. It is alone truly faithful for the flat bottoms of cups. Also never has been a more intemperate and more unskilful use of it than in this Memoir. Nearly all the figures inserted in the text, photographic reports are scarcely more than black spots, where the eye finds neither the persons nor the movements announced by the description.

Amasis appears to have had for a rival in the favor of the contemporaneous public Exekias, another chief of a workshop, whose work actually known comprises four amphoras and four cups, to which have been added some unsigned vases.¹ Exekias was both potter and painter. Most frequently, he inscribed beside his name only the verb *epoiese*; but on two of his amphoras is read the formula "he made and painted me."

Note 1.p.131. Klein. *Die griechischen Vasen*.p.38-42. Drawings of all the paintings of the vases signed by Exekias have been collected on Pls. V, VI, VII, of *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*. 1888.

The masterpiece of Exekias is perhaps the amphora of the Vatican which represents Achilles and Ajax playing at dice.¹ Yet if we prefer to offer as a specimen of his work an amphora of the Louvre, this is because that of the Roman museum has been reproduced only by a line drawing; now that does not preserve for the black figures their characteristic appearance; it does not sufficiently emphasize what distinguishes them from those

of vases with red figures. We can present a transcript of the vase of Paris, which without giving the colors of the original, at least replaces them by equivalents, that preserve for the image its proper appearance.²

Note 1. p. 132. Mon. Ind. dell'Inst. Vol. II, pl. XXII.

Note 2. p. 132. This refers to drawings executed by Devillard under the supervision of Pottier for *Vorlegeblätter* (Pl. V, 1a, 1b, 1c). Louvre. Hall F. 53. For a detailed description of this vase, see Pottier. *Vases antiques du Louvre*. II, p. 23-24, and for a study of its merits, catalogue, p. 734-741. In the image that we give of the vase of the Louvre, as in all copies not in color, the red retouches of the original paintings are reproduced by a gray and close hatching. The eye very soon becomes accustomed to this convention, and recovers there the coloring of the model.

The form of the amphora of exekias is not wholly that favored by Amasis. Without being more slender, it no longer has that flattening of the shoulder which prepares it to receive an entire series of figures; so on that part of the vase, the painter only places a series of palmations or of floral motives, which on two of the amphoras are repeated on the neck (Pl. III, Fig. 123). The amphora of the Louvre is entirely covered by a very brilliant black glaze, everywhere except in the fields reserved for the paintings, in which the ground is a beautiful reddish orange. One of these paintings represents the contest of Geryon and Hercules. The companion of the hero, Eurytion, lies on the ground, wounded, between the combatants (Fig. 121). On the other hand, a theme no less familiar to the painters of that time was the departure of the warrior for the battle. He is helmeted, with the shield on his arm and spear in hand, standing in his chariot. Beside him with bared brow, but with his chest protected by a cuirass, the driver holds the reins and the goad. The horses are four in number. Two of them have the heads raised; the other two lower them with unequal movement. Above the horses is a siren in full flight (Fig. 125). Beside all the persons and even the horses is a legend. The driver alone has no name.

The painting of Exekias is less gay to the eye than that of Amasis. Scarcely any white; there are only very light touches, for example on the eye of Eurytion and on that of the Gorgon.

No lights spared by reserved parts. The red retouches themselves occupy here less space than in most paintings of the same time. By far the black dominates. As the clothing is black, so is the flesh, since there are only men here in the scene. In considering these images, "one has the impression of seeing statues and groups in bronze; to emphasize again the resemblance to metal, the painter has curiously wrought with the point of the graver the clothing, arms and the manes of the horses. Bronze sculpture and engraving in metal, this is the secret model of the artist, the source of his inspiration and of the paradoxical strength, which he accomplishes with the color. This style has for him high qualities of nobility and grandeur. It renders with force the grand works of archaic sculpture."¹

Note 1. p. 194. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 735.

On the cover of this amphora is a band of passing animals, in which is thrice repeated the group of a siren with wings spread before a stag feeding (Fig. 126). Exekias had a taste for these figures of deer. On a cup on which he twice placed his signature is no other decoration than two of these images. In each space between the handles is a passing hind (Fig. 127).¹ Exekias seems to have been one of the first potters that made at Athens after Ionian models these cups, to which Attic industry will later give a sovereign elegance. Even there is one of the reasons which incline one to think Exekias a little later than Amasis. From the latter we have only a single signed cup, and with the great eyes that ornament it, this has an entirely Ionian appearance. The drawing of Exekias is also in certain respects in advance of that of Amasis. The shoulders are rounder, the arms are more brawny and the hands are less slender. In all the members is better felt beneath the skin the relief and the solidity of the muscular masses. The same qualities are found in the drawing of the horses of the *oneoriga*. Their rumps have a beautiful roundness, and there is a happy suppleness in the flexure of their necks which curve, and of their heads which bend downward.

Note 1. p. 195. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 740. We do not speak of the figure of Nike which decorates the interior of the cup; there remain only slight remnants of the antique painting.

On one of the paintings of the amphora of Exekias is read behind the back of Geryon the following inscription:— "Stesias

is beautiful." This is the first time that we see appear on a painted vase near the legends defining the persons and the artist's signatures, the name of a man followed by the epithet kalos. There is a habit peculiar to Attic potters, a custom that persisted during the course of the 5th century.¹

Note 1.p.196. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol.IX. p.381-384.

There can be attributed with probability to the workshop of Exekias, from analogies of style and some of which are truly striking, the painting of an amphora belonging to the museum of Boulogne-sur-Mer.¹ It represents the preparations for the suicide of Ajax (Fig. 128). A palm tree that rises isolated in the field gives the impression of a desert site, which the hero has sought to be able to deliver himself in peace from this life which has become odious to him. Bent to the ground, Ajax erects and fixes in a heap of stones the sword on which he will immediately throw himself. Before him and leaning against a projection of the ground can be divined the great shield of the warrior with his helmet and spear. The scene is well composed. The drawing is firm and compact. To measure the advance that the taste and hand of the ceramic painter has made, from the workshops of Corinth to those of Athens, it suffices to compare this picture to the two Corinthian paintings that we have reproduced.² Ajax is represented there as lasting himself on his sword fixed fixed in the ground. In these two paintings the pose of the hero spitted on his sword has something awkward and almost grotesque. Here is nothing like it. One is struck by the coolness with which Ajax proceeds with the preparations for the murder to be committed on himself, and one believes that he hears the words pronounced before giving death to himself in the tragedy of Sophocles, which is later by about a century than the vase figured opposite: - "The iron is ready, I cannot direct its sharp point with more reflection. This present to Hector, most detested and most odious of guests, as here newly sharpened on the stone and planted in the hostile Trojan soil. I have planted it and arranged it with care, so that it will give me death. Thus all my measures are well taken."¹ It would be believed that Sophocles had under his eyes, when he wrote this scene of his piece, our vase itself or some fresco in which this episode of the Trojan cycle was represented under the same traits.

Note 1. p. 137. E. Pottier. Musée de Boulogne-sur-mer. p. 72-75, Pl. XIV. (Album arch. des musées de province).

Note 2. p. 137. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Figs. 334-335.

Note 1. p. 133. Sophocles. Ajax. Verses 815-823.

What evidences the fruitful activity that reigned then in Athenian manufacture is, that for this first half of the 6th century, besides the names of masters like Ergotimos, Klitias, Amasis and Amasis, known by several vases bearing their signatures, there are those other artists, doubtless of the second rank, whose existence is revealed to us only by a single work. For example, such is the case for Sophilos and for Taleides. Sophilos signed as painter a vase of which several fragments were found on the Acropolis of Athens.² In what remains of his painting, men have believed to divine an imitation of one of the paintings of the François vase, and in the painting itself by the use made of the paintings of the Koppa, a Corinthian workman laboring at Athens. Taleides signed as potter an amphora or which is represented on one side the murder of the Minotaur by Theseus, on the other side being a scene of weighing.³ This was a painter Lydos, as known by a fragment of a vase that came from Etruria, and where is recognized an episode of the taking of Troy.⁴ Several hydrias are signed by the potter Timagoras, "who well represents the industrial art of the epoch by the care for detail and the monumental appearance of his compositions."⁵ This is particularly felt in a painting like that in which Hercules is seen in combat with the god Triton, a theme that statuary had early treated in works such as the tufa pediment on an old temple on the Acropolis (Fig. 129).¹ On the shoulder is a scene of offering, the figures of small dimensions. As on many other vases, these have more refinement and elegance than the images of much greater height in the principal picture. The form of this hydria recalls that of the amphoras of Amasis by the flattening of the shoulder, that on one surface is decorated by a row of figures. This also has the same appearance. Many white and red retouches; but it seems to have less invention and something less personal in the choice of subjects and the arrangement of the scenes. The incised work is very careful; but the design has less breadth than with Amasis and particularly than with Eekias. Very slender and a

little thin are the figures on both of these hydrias, too much isolated from each other and too systematically arranged.

Note 2.p.198. Winter. Vase des Sophilos (Athen.Mitt.1883.p. 1-8, Pl. I in color). Wiener Vorlegeblätter. 1883. Pl. II, 3a, 3b, 3c, in black. E. Gräf. Die antike Vasen, No. 587. All fragments found are given in Pl. XXVI. From the style of the figures, Sophilos was perhaps a little earlier than Klitias.

Note 3.p.198. Wiener Vorlegeblätter. 1883. Pl.V, 1a,1b, There have been found on the Acropolis of Athens numerous fragments of a great dinos on which Lydos placed his signature, without our being able to decide from what remains, whether Lydos signed as painter or as potter.(E. Gräf. Die antike Vasen. No. 607, Pls. 33, 34, 35). The decoration of the vase consists of three superposed zones. On two of these zones are figures and on one is a file of animals. The top band represents a gigantomachy. Of what was represented on the second band is scarcely distinguished more than a scene of offering. The style seems more advanced than that of the potters to which are due the vases of the same form, that we have placed with the so-called Tyrrhenian amphoras.

Note 4.p.198. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 725.

Note 5.p.198. The same. p. 730. Louvre. Hall F, 32-33. Wiener Vorlegeblätter. 1883. Pl. V, 2, 4.

Note 1.p.199. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, Fig. 274.

Tycnos and Charitaios, potters known by signatures read on vases without great importance, must be nearly contemporaneous with Euxekias;² but to the second half of the century must belong Nearchos, potter and painter. There is from him a beautiful fragment of a cantara, found on the Acropolis of Athens. (Fig. 130).¹ Thetis was represented there as bringing to Achilles the arms made by Hephaistos; she appeared to have several Nereids as followers. What leads to placing him not only after Klitias, but perhaps also after Anasis and Euxekias is not only the freedom of hand with which he draws the body and head of the horses in what remains to us of the representation of the chariot of Achilles; it is also what we learn from an inscription from the Acropolis engraved on the base of a statue.

Note 2.p.199. Wiener Vorlegeblätter. 1883. Pl. IV, 3.

Note 1.p.200. The same. Pl. IV. 3. E. Gräf. Die antike Vasen, No. 611, Pl.36. He has gathered in the same place nine fragmen-

fragments of another cantharus signed by the same name, on which seems to have been reproduced a gigantomachy (No. 812, Pl. 37).

He that consecrated this statue to Athena "as first fruits of his works," was "Nearchos the potter."¹ "He that executed it" was Antenor, son of Eumenes; now Pausanias attests that Antenor after the expulsion of Hippias (510) modeled those statues of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogiton, that twenty years later Xerxes carried into Persia.² From the connection of these two names on the pedestal, there is every reason to conclude that in the last quarter of the 6th century, Nearchos was alive and still producing at Athens. If he could order a marble of this importance from the first sculptor of his time, doubtless this was because his workshop was one of those best frequented in the Ceramicus, and the reputation of his house appears to have been sustained under the direction of his heirs, Ergoteles and Tleson. Both signed as sons of Nearchos.³ There is only a cup from the first with this mention.

Note 1. p. 202. C. I. Att. IV, 373³¹.

Note 2. p. 202. Pausanias. I. 843.

Note 3. p. 202. Klein. Vasen, etc. v. 73-75.

As for the name of Tleson, it is read with the same formula on about 40 cups. Tleson and Ergoteles until the end remained faithful to the techniques in which they had made their apprenticeship in the paternal workshop. When images are on the vases that they have signed, these are always figures that rise in black on a light ground.

Attic ceramists about this time appear to have pleased themselves by studying ^{the horse} ~~the horse~~ and to make proof of their mastery in their fashion of drawing it in different positions, mounted by a rider or attached to a chariot. It was not from the time of Pisistratus and his sons, that the young nobles of Athens were not attached, as they were later, to arousing the admiration of the multitude by their equestrian prowess in public reviews and religious solemnities. Neither at Marathon nor at Plataea did the army of Athens comprise a cavalry corps composed of citizens. This corps only appears to have been organized some twenty years after the second Median war.⁴ It was composed of 300 men, it numbered 1000 at about the beginning of the war of the Peloponessus.¹ Yet, even before the republic had its es-

national cavalry, the rich men of Athens possessed horses with which they made campaigns. The citizens of the two first classes of Solon, the pentacosiomedimnes and the cavaliers served in time of war as pedites, i.e., as heavily armed infantry; but they ordinarily went on horseback on an expedition, followed by a servant, that is frequently seen represented on steles and vases. This squire sometimes traveled on foot; more frequently he also had his horse and rode behind his master, carrying his arms and provisions. Arrived on the place of action, the hoplite dismounted, just as in Homeric battles the Greek or Trojan hero descended from his chariot to fight on foot. While the combat lasted, the squire behind the lines held the horse of the hoplite; when the fight ended, he aided him to remount his charger, when it was either necessary to retreat or to finish the victory by pursuing the vanquished. For the service of this mounted infantry, there were brought from the country where was grass, the horses that could scarcely be produced by stony and arid Attica. Whenever a troop of hoplites marched, the saddle horses, as we should say, were mixed in its ranks, and for the painters present from curiosity at the capture of the battalions, there were many opportunities to see alive the forms and movements of animals which represented the best breeds, that the breeders of Boeotia and of Thessaly had succeeded in creating.

Note 4.p.202. This was demonstrated by a penetrating critic of the literary texts and the monuments with figures, H. Helbig, in his Essay with the title:- *Les chevaux (Horses) Atheniens.* (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Vol. 37, 1902.)

Note 1.p.203. Andocides (Greek). Sect. 5; Thucydides. II, 13-

The artists also found choice models in the blooded horses, that the chiefs of the great families, Neleides, Cypselides and Alcmaeonides, kept and trained to compete in the great games at Olympia or at Delphi, harnessed in pairs or in fours. When the victors in the races at the great games of Greece returned in pomp to the city, it was a spectacle which could not fail to inspire the painter, like the file of chariots that bore the victor and his attendants, when these beautiful horses walking with raised heads as if proud of having concurred in this triumph, saluted by the acclamations of an entire people. In the tufts that rose on the heads of the horses in the quadriga

painted by Exekias, there is a memory of the luxurious harnesses that the Olympics gave their teams on these festal days. (Fig. 125).

We have seen with what talent Nearchos had treated the images of horses, which he caused to enter into the decoration of his cantharus (Fig. 130). We have already met with the same type on an amphora of Exekias (Fig. 125). What characterizes it is a fine and elongated head with slightly arched forehead, the width of the withers, the short and slender legs. In all parts the brush has tried to show the teeth between the lips of the half opened mouth. The point has indicated very clearly the reliefs made by the muscles on the heads of the bones of the knee and naunch. This type very sensibly differs from that presented to us by the vases with red figures, and is found with less precision in the work of the graver on many fragments collected on the Acropolis, that without giving the name of the potter, by their style seem due to some contemporary of Anasis or of Exekias. For example, see the fragments of a great vase on which the painter had placed on one band of the decoration a file of chariots and on the other a race of horses.¹ Here are two horses, that under the pull of the tense reins, lower their heads to their breasts (Fig. 131). There are two horses to whom their riders have given free hand, and that rise for the gallop (Fig. 132). On surveying these fragments, one finds there many other indications of the pleasure with which the ceramists at that epoch undertook to treat this kind of themes, furnished by harnessed and mounted horses.¹

Note 1.p.204. B. Gräff. Die antiken Vasen. Pl. 33, no. 827.

Note 1.p.205. The same. Pls. 47-50, 53, 70-71.

We cannot multiply examples further. Doubtless the number of Attic vases with black figures contained in the museums of Europe and of America does not equal that of vases with red figures, representing a technique and a taste that had a longer duration; but in the course of the 6th century, the workshops of Athens made so many vases of beautiful form and careful execution, that every author of a general history of Greek art is constrained, when he attacks the domain of ceramics, to sacrifice which do not fail to cost him dear. He is forced to renounce the reproduction and even to mention many pieces, the

in the course of his preliminary examination seemed to him very interesting, either by even the choice of the subject taken by the painter as the theme of his decoration, or by the manner in which he has treated this theme, by what originality he has put into the composition or by the vigor and freedom in the drawing of the figures.

We experience this embarrassment and these regrets even more vividly, when from the series of opaque silhouettes we pass to that light image reserved on a black ground, and to that of the polychrome image on a white ground. Yet it would be necessary then as today, to know how to resist the temptation, and as if an appeal of so many vases in which we feel reflected on the humble surface of clay, all the spirit and the virtue of the most sincere and moving interpretation, that art has ever offered of the beauties of the living form. To give a just idea of the characteristics of this art arrived at its perfection, like that of the more ancient art which preludes these masterpieces, we believe that there is but one method to take, that which we have adopted in this study. Some vases, set apart among hundreds of pieces between which one could long hesitate, will represent as a sort of delegation each phase of the development of this ceramics.

We have chosen these vases, and we shall select by preference among those on which is read the name of the potter or painter. doubtless, as we have already stated, without our well knowing why, there are vases of each first order which bear no signature.¹ Yet it is to be presumed that these signatures placed on the clay were intended to increase the mercantile value of the vase, from which it is permissible to infer in a general way, that the artists who sold thus the property in their works, passed by good right as the most skilful potters and decorators of their time in Athens. The masters whose mark brought a premium on the local market and in foreign markets must further adhere to avowing only those works with which they were truly satisfied. To lavish this mark on examples of careless fabrication or on paintings injured by the capricious flame of the kiln, they would have risked compromising the good name of their workshop. If we then wish to define the taste and style that reigned at a certain time in the ceramic workshops, we

have every chance to find the most certain elements of this definition in the vases signed by the makers and by the painters, who at a certain moment gave the tone and represented the last advance of the art in Athens. For that in spite of so much destruction, it was necessary during some years, that their warehouses should be most frequented of those at Athens supplying export commerce.

Note 1. p. 208. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 381.

This is the method that we have applied to the history of Attic painting with black figures. We have connected to this history of the description and study of some vases on which appeared the names of Ergotimos and Klitias, of Anasis and Exekias, of Nearchos and Timagoras. Of the observations to which these vases have given place in these pages, there is scarcely one that could not have been suggested to us by certain anonymous vases that fill the glass cases of our museums; but it would have been necessary to seek long and to require proofs of our statements from very different monuments. On the contrary, every effort of a workshop in full course of development is summarized in a vase like the cratera of Ergotimos. Likewise for the little that by attentive examination one can familiarize himself with the archaic series of the Louvre and of the British Museum, he states that by the scientific arrangement of their compositions and by the firmness of their drawing, Anasis and Exekias are classed as the masters that have derived the best possible method from another system of decoration, that in metopes. By it alone, their work allows us to judge of this system of decoration, to appreciate its merits and also to show its defects, over which could not triumph all the skill of the brush, that is compelled to call to its aid the graver of the engraver.

This original defect is even the opacity of the black silhouette, to which the incised work, however far it is carried, does not give the appearance of life. This is what is nowhere felt better than before the painting which decorates the front of a hydria of the museum of Madrid, or on an amphora of Anasis already described (Fig. 116). Apollo and Hercules are represented as contesting the tripod of Delphi (Fig. 133). This painting is certainly one of the most advanced in style, that is found in the series that occupies us.¹ The profile of the face is more

regular here, the nose is shorter and less pointed than in the paintings of Amasis and of Exekias. At the elbow and knee the contours are less angular, and the drawing perhaps has more freedom, either in the indication of the movements or in the rendering of the fabric, in that of the folds of the short tunic that Apollo wears under his cuirass. When the eye falls on this image, it notes at once the qualities which do honor ^{to} the painter, and yet what one thinks he sees there is less two men in flesh and bone, than the copy of two bronze statues, or at least of a relief executed in metal and repousse work.

Note 1.p.208. We owe the communication of this little known document and permission to reproduce it to the friendship of M. Leroux, an old member of the French School of Athens. It will be published in the Catalogue of Greek vases of the archaeological museum of Madrid, whose preparation has been undertaken by M. Leroux under the auspices of the Academie des Inscriptions des universites du midi (Bordeaux and Toulouse). It will bear the no. 69 in that Catalogue and will be represented there on Pl. XII, just as we give it.

To judge of it by the vases which we have presented as those on which the Greek ceramist has taken the most happy method of the technics of black figures, the best painters of that school have not aimed to excite the curiosity of the purchaser by the novelty of the scenes represented in their paintings. The themes that we have seen treated by Amasis, Exekias and Timagoras are those already found in earlier ceramics and on Attic-Corinthian Vases, those which it would be easy to find by the dozen on a number of other contemporary vases.

It is rather by the extreme care devoted to the fabrication that these chiefs of the industry seem to have proposed to confer a high value on the products of their workshops. They are particularly occupied in giving their vases a form whose elegance or nobility satisfy the eye, of incorporating with the clay of this vase a covering, whose dark magnificence and solidity would leave nothing to be denied, then finally posing well their figures, placing on them firm emphasis in the contour of the internal modeling, due to the aid required therein which the graver yielded to the brush. This perfection of the trade seems to have been the merit to which was sensitive the

ordinary patronage of these manufacturers. This is divined from seeing famous ceramists like Exekias sign a cup, which has no ornament other than two images of birds (Fig. 127).

Chiefs of workshops who did not feel themselves capable of these refinements in execution had one resource. This was to interest the purchaser in the subject offered to him by the field of the vase. One would be tempted to believe, that in the attempt to sustain the competition, they freely employed that artifice, either placing in the scene myths, that had not been attempted before by other ceramic painters, or that by some ingenious variation they rejuvenated known themes. In the multitude of anonymous vases are found paintings, that either by their subjects themselves or by the manner in which these subjects are treated show the commonness of the paintings that we have already seen. For example, here is an amphora with the body decorated by a zone of figures divided into two fields by stems loaded by foliage and flowers. At one side is seen a draped woman seated on a swing between two bearded men, toward one of whom she turns as if to speak to him. A very small child holds one leg of the seat of the swing and seems to stop the motion (Fig. 134). There must be a memory of an Attic festival, the Aiora, known to us by some words of the lexicographers.¹ All that we know of it is, that young girls then fastened to the branches of trees cords on which they swung themselves or dolls, singing a lament called Aletis, the song of the wanderer, which commemorated the sorrow and tragical end of Erigone, daughter of Icaros.² In the other painting one cannot hesitate to recognize the return of Alceste, who brings Hercules from Hades, escorted by Hermes, the psychopomp deity (Fig. 135). The body of Hercules is presented in the most awkward manner; but the painter has proved his taste in the arrangement of his Alceste. He is wrapped in long veils, which he brings before his eyes with the right hand, as if they were not yet accustomed to the light of day. In the same hand he holds a crown, symbol of victory obtained by the courage of Hercules over the powers of darkness. In spite of inaccuracies in drawing, this painting speaks of the imagination. It recalls to it the adventure of this admirable spouse, whose sacrifice will later furnish Euripides the material of one of the most pathetic of his dramas.

On the other hand, see now a painter of inventive mind proceed

to rejuvenate a used subject by the mode of presentation. If there be in the action of Hercules an episode early attempted by ceramic painters, and which always remained popular in the workshops, this is indeed that of the return of the hero to Argos, when to obey an order of Eurystheus, he brings there the enormous wild boar that he has captured in the forests of Eurymanthe. Men found pleasure in the contrast marked in the painting between the intrepidity of the conqueror of wild beasts and the cowardice of the tyrant to whom Hercules was temporarily subjected by the anger of Hera. The list would be long of the paintings in which is represented this meeting, and in nearly all the arrangement of the scene is similar. Seized by terror at the sight of the monster, Eurystheus is crouched in a pithos, in a great earthen jar from which project only his head and hands agitated by a gesture of fright. Before him stands Hercules, who has loaded the boar on his shoulders and appears ready to throw him into the jar.¹ Divided in two pictures, it corresponds to a different moment of the action. On one side of the vase is seen only Hercules. He has returned to Argos and is there at ease. His club is laid on the ground. His sword and quiver are suspended on the wall as well as his lion's skin. Clothed only in a short tunic girded at the waist, he no longer needs his arms; but entirely subdued by his powerful are as he feels himself, the ferocious animal still resists. At the moment when his conqueror seizes him behind to raise and throw him on his back, he resists and seeks to escape. (Fig. 136).

Note 1.p.210. See Article *Aiora* in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*.

Note 2.p.210. What confirms the interpretation of this painting proposed here, is the painting of a vase with red figures found at Chiusi. There is seen a young woman swinging and pushed by a Satyr. Above this group in the field is read the letters A L E, the beginning of the word *Aletis*. Gerhard. *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*. Pl. XXVII.

Note 1.p.212. Gerhard. *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*. Pl. 243, 3, 4. Furtwängler in his catalogue of the gallery of Berlin describes several vases, on which a painting of the terror of Eurystheus presents the same arrangement (Nos. 1849, 1850, 1855). Pottier. *Vases antiques*. pl. 67. In the Ionian painting that we have

reproduced, it is before Cerberus himself brought by Hercules, that Eurystheus seeks a refuge in the traditional pithos. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, Fig. 256.

Note 2. p. 212. P. Orsi. Gela, scavi del 1900-1905, drawn by R. Carta and L. Polizzi, with 56 pls. and 566 cuts in the text. 766 pages. Rome. 1906. The form of the album is a little larger than that of the text. p. 334 and Pl. IX.

On the other side of the vase is Eurystheus, who is supposed to be present afar from these contortions of the monster. Overcome by fear, he flees running. (Fig. 137). The movement has separated his arms and expresses the shocked madness by which he is attacked. A woman clothed in a short tunic and draped in an ample mantle stands between the wild boar and Eurystheus, to whom she seems to speak. By the sceptre held in her hand is divined a goddess. This must be Hera, who seeks to reassure the prince that her caprice has made for a time the master of the son of Zeus; but the poltroon will listen to nothing, and he already has one foot in the jar from which he demands an asylum. In all this, in those arms left at rest, in this last struggle between the hero and the beast poorly resigned to his defeat, in the useless intervention of the divine adviser and even in the pose of Eurystheus, who only has one foot on the ground, there is visible a care to amuse the spectator by showing him personages familiar to him in new attitudes and in picturesque surroundings.

One cannot hesitate to give the honor of this amphora to an Attic workshop. By the study of the whole of the numerous vases that he took from the cemeteries of Gela, P. Orsi has proved that in the last half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries, it was from the manufacture of Athens that the rich inhabitants of Gela of Diomenides derived all the luxury of pottery, which they buried in their tombs.¹ In the centuries dating from that time is found no trace of Asian or insular manufacture, and one meets there with only weak examples of Corinthian pottery. Further, nothing in the decoration of the amphora that we have reproduced recalls the work of the painters of Corinth, and in the letters without meaning, that are scattered over the field around Eurystheus, there are no characters that are peculiar to the Corinthian alphabet.

Note 1.p.213. Orst. Gela. p. 532-534.

4. The Cups.

The paintings so far reproduced are taken from crateras, hydrias and particularly from Amphoras. When the potters of Athens had conceived the ambition to dispute with Ionian and Corinthian potters the foreign patronage, they commenced by fabricating in imitation of the rivals that they aspired to supplant, those vases of great dimensions, in which they exported the wine and especially the oil of Attica, that limpid and savory oil for which the prizes decreed in the panathenaic festivals gave a noisy fame. At first they did not undertake the cup. This was because it required from the potter and painter an entirely different effort of reflection and taste than the hydria or the amphora. There were decisions to make in many questions proposed to the improviser. He that modeled the cup had to seek the ratio to be established between the foot and the body of the vase. It was necessary to make the foot light without endangering its stability; but what required still more reflection and taste was the determination of the line described by the contour of the vase, and consequently the depth and the expansion to be given to this vessel.

The difficulty was no less for the decoration. His brush could not play as freely on the cup as on the wide body or the shoulder of an amphora. He was then held to seek in an excess of precision and of emphasis given to the design the means of compensating the sacrifices imposed on him by the reduction of the number of figures and especially that of their height. Finally, of the two fields offered by the cup, of the interior and of the exterior, which should be the one to bear the principal effort? He found in the bottom of the vase a nearly plane surface, which lent itself as well as the blank of a coin to receive the image; but on the other hand, when the cup circulated in the course of the repast, this image disappeared under the dark layer of thick wine poured into the vase. On the contrary at the same moment, what ornamented the exterior of the vase attracted all eyes, when one hand raised the cup to pass it to another guest; but this exterior only offered the painter but a band of small height, which no eye could entirely cover. To occupy this field, it was proper to choose a subject decomposed

in several groups, each of which would suffice by itself, but in groups that were connected together so as to form an entirety, whose unity became apparent when the drinker amused himself by turning it in his fingers. Besides, space for placing everywhere figures, or could one use this kind of decoration only on one or another surface of the piece to be made?

How many problems to solve, whose requirements were most complex! The Attic ceramist did not find the best solutions at the first attempt. He reached them only gradually by a series of experiments that he made from the first works executed in the mode of the black figures to the admirable cups with red figures signed by Euphronios, Douris and Brygos. At this time, what we have to study is the starting point of the movement, the more or less happy experiments by which the artist preluded the future masterpieces. It is important to know under what influences the chiefs of the workshops of Athens, when they felt themselves encouraged by the ever increasing sale of their products, devoted themselves to this manufacture entirely novel to them of the cup conceived as an object of luxury.

There never has been and never will be a ceramics, whose programme does not comprise the adoption of certain forms applied in the execution of the drinking cup. This is one of the necessary elements of the equipment that the use of plastic clay supplied to every society, which aspired to rise from primitive barbarism, and when the people had attained a certain degree of civilization, the workers that shaped and fired the clay for it aimed to ornament this vase with decorations and images that allowed it to play its part in the brilliant equipment for religious festivals and ceremonial repasts. When the Attic potter in his turn must respond to this need, he could not fail to find in earlier Greek ceramics types, that aid him to give most quickly to this sort of vases the character of nobility, that he had already known how to impart to the craters and amphorae; but where to seek models that would truly give good counsel? This would not be in that Corinthian pottery by which the manufacturers in Athens were especially inspired, when they began to equip themselves for export. In the workshops of Corinth, where men were always in a hurry to respond to the demands of the largest patronage that any Greek city ever had, men

had but a moderate care for the question of art. With these crateras and amphoras, Corinth also exported vases for drinking, but those were only of very heavy forms, cups with thick lips and great handles,¹ skyphos without feet² or a very short one³ In Attica and Boeotia for the time when the geometric style reigned, the forms of drinking vases also lacked grace even while very varied.

Note 1.p.215. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Fig. 313.

Note 2.p.215. The same. Figs. 287, 288.

Note 3.p.215. The same. Fig. 286. There is no kylix whose Corinthian or Chalcidian origin may be demonstrated. It is always with all reserve that Porrier (Catalogue, p.546-547) inclines to seek on the coasts of Corinth or of Chalcis for certain cups, that he does not know how to classify.

There were bowls and shallow cups,⁴ very corpulent cantharas⁵ and cups with massive feet,⁶ Even when there were again introduced in the decoration images borrowed from the plant and animal worlds, which we meet during the entire course of the period to which belong the vases that we have termed protoattic, cantharas with two large handles,⁹ goblets and bowls with a very ordinary curvature.¹⁰

Note 4.p.215. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Figs. 43, 52, 99.

Note 5.p.215. The same. Fig. 65.

Note 6.p.215. The same. Fig. 94.

Note 7.p.215. Vol. X. Fig. 17.

Note 8.p.215. Fig. 20. The same.

Note 9.p.215. Figs. 23, 27. The same.

Note 10.p.215. Figs. 53, 60, 66. The same.

Yet the Attic painter, whose taste was refined from day to day, occupied himself in improving the cup, so that in festal halls there should be no incongruity between it and the beautiful amphoras and crateras, from which was taken the wine that it brought to the lips of the guests. Types that should suggest for it the desired forms, either for the construction of the vase or for the arrangement of its decoration, had been vainly sought in the repertory of Corinthian fabrication and in that of the ancient workshops of Athens. It was then to another side that must be turned its search for this purpose. It dared very properly to escape from this embarrassment, to apply to that

Ionian, that while collecting for the benefit of an inventory the heritage of Mycenaean art, had known how to derive such a happy part from the relations, that it had maintained with Egypt, Phoenicia, Chaldea and Assyria by the intermediary of Lydia.

The industry of the old civilizations of the Orient was interested in the drinking vase, and occupied itself in giving it a form of decoration which should make it a work of art; but all that it had required from clay was to decorate edifices, to become the support of those yellow and red, green and blue glazes which it loved for the vivid colors and gleaming effects. It had not divined the future of the painted vase of clay. In metal, bronze, silver and gold, it had fashioned the cups which the reliefs often show us as held in the hands of kings and of priests, shallow cups without feet, and which rather enter the class of vases which the Greeks called *phiales* and the Latins termed *pateras*.¹ This sort of deep plates were ornamented by figures engraved with the graver and distributed around a central medallion in a series of concentric zones. Phoenician commerce had extended on all coasts of the Mediterranean and even reached Italy. As we have stated, it was certainly from these *pateras* that the first Ionian potters borrowed the principle of the decoration of these plates found in numbers in the tombs of Camiros and Rhodes;² but nothing in the ceramics or jewelry of those Asian artisans could have suggested the idea of this deep and high cup mounted on a foot, to which the Greek master workman will give such rare elegance.

On the contrary, the Rhodian potter could find a primary sketch of this type very near him, in the tombs where earlier generations had buried vases, that by the motives of their decoration are connected with the ceramics of Minoan Crete and of the Mycenae of the Atrides. There is a curious resemblance between what will be the Cyrenean or Attic cups and several cups discovered in one of the most ancient cities of the island.¹ Doubtless certain differences are apparent. The foot in these Mycenaean goblets does not fail to be rather thin, and the body with its shape of a funnel badly lent itself to receive on the external surface a decoration of some importance. The crust ornamented only the exterior. Certain characteristic traits are however common to the two types. There is in both the same roll

body flanked by two horizontal handles. There is the same slender foot, which at its lower end swells into a plate by which it has a point of stable support on the ground.

Note 1.p.217. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI. Figs. 478, 482.

If these types were not entirely forgotten in Ionia, when commenced to flourish there what we have termed the first Rhodian style, they could no longer be then in current use in the workshops of the continent, of the adjacent islands and the distant colonies. At Naucratis and Daphnae, as among those of the vases of Rhodes, whose entire ornamentation is borrowed from goldsmith's work, rugs and the fabrics of the Orient, one finds only footless cups,² skyphos and cantharas,⁴ and bowls.³ The true cups or kylixes only appeared later, when the painter was attentive to follow the movement of imagination and taste, and had taken the part of demanding the theme of his decoration from the myths expressed near him by epic and lyric poetry. It is then advanced Ionian ceramics on which depend perhaps the most ancient cups that can be cited by the historian, four cups found at Siana in the island of Rhodes, now belonging to the British Museum.⁵ The painter has placed figures there, both on the bottom of the vase and on the external surface. In one of these cups is seen Ajax, son of Oileus, tearing Cassandra from the altar of Athena, then Hercules introduced into Olympus by Athena and Hermes. Elsewhere is in the interior a warrior who prepares with spear in hand to charge the enemy, then Perseus, Athena and Hermes opposed to the Gorgons. Again elsewhere is a marriage procession and duels of hoplites. The form of this cup is said to be that of the cups of Cyrene. Like those, they have a high foot and horizontal handles.¹ What we have difficulty in understanding is, that men had elsewhere with some hesitation the idea of attributing these vases to Chalcidian fabrication. We do not find in the cups of Siana any of the traits by which it is believed can be recognized the products of the workshops of Chalcis, nor inscriptions with forms of letters by which the Euboean alphabet is distinguished, or the lustre of a very brilliant glaze, or the slight clarity of very firm drawing. On the contrary, all recalls to us the habits of Ionian ceramists, such as revealed to us by the study of the entirety of the works which we have credited to their account. H

Here are no inscriptions, and there is a polychromy much less sober than that of Chalcidian vases; it lavishes everywhere the white touches, and which the decorator at Chalcis only made a very discreet use. Here is in the entire execution, in the trace of the contours as in the placing of the retouching colors some softness, that is not found in any vases of Chalcis or of Eretria. Finally, what ends in betraying the Ionian origin of these cups are the great lotus flowers, borne on supple and sinuous stems, that the painter, as if by caprice, has scattered at places in the field.²

Note 2.p.217. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Figs. 192, 210.

Note 3.p.217. The same. Fig. 198, 202.

Note 4.p.217. The same. Figs. 207, 211, 232.

Note 5.p.217. C. Smith. Four archaic vases from Rhodes. (*Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1884. p. 220-240. Pls. 40-43).

Note 1.p.218. For the profile of the cups of Cyrene, see that of the cup of Arcestilas. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p.568.

Note 2.p.218. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 461-462.

If these cups already have the form and nappy proportions of the cups of Cyrene as well as a decoration of the same kind, it seems to us that there is reason to believe them more ancient. With one exception, the painting of the apotheosis of Hercules, the subjects are less interesting there and the drawing is more careless. The figures are not so well detached from the reddish ground of a rather dull clay, than from the white coating of the cups of Cyrene.³ It would then be at Rhodes or in some workshop of Asian Greece, that the first type of the kylix was shaped and decorated.

Note 3.p.218. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Pl. XX; Figs. 243-244.

The new type of vase for drinking, by whatever workshop it was launched into the Greek world, had a rapid success there. With its slender support and its light handles that accompany and prolong the curve of the bowl, the cup had more grace than the bowls that before fulfilled that function, and at the same time it required less effort of the fingers to carry it to the mouth, or to tender it to other fingers quick to seize it. By the excavations of Salzmann and Biliotti, we have found the Ionian cup at home in the island of Rhodes. What proves the enthusiastic reception that it found outside Ionia on the markets

early opened on the coasts of the west, the shores of Rhodes and Phoea, is the fact that all the cups of Cyrene have been collected in the cemeteries of Tuscany. Likewise also, from a tomb of Vulci came the beautiful cup, the so-called cup of Phineus, all of which have been reproduced except certain paintings of the back, that are in the line of the secret museum.¹ Where was this vase fashioned and decorated? One cannot say; but it is agreed to believe that it came from one of those workshops, either on the coast of Asia, or in some one of the islands of the Aegean sea, that until the day of the disasters of Ionia had sustained the fame and perpetuated the traditions of Ionian ceramics, while profiting by the examples given by the potters of Corinth and of Athens. From these competitors with which they now disputed the foreign patronage, Ionian ceramists of the last hour had borrowed the practice of lines engraved with the point, and with the legends traced with the brush.

Note 1. p. 219. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Plgs. 264-269.

Of these Ionian cups, some have the slender foot and others have it shorter; but in all the entire form is nearly the same. Where there are very apparent differences is in the method taken by the painter for the distribution of the decoration. Certain of these cups, for example the cup of Arcesilas and other cups from Cyrene have figures only inside the bowl. On the exterior of the vase is nothing but motives of ornament, chaplets of pomegranates, garlands of lotus buds and divergent rays.² Elsewhere in Rhodian cups, if there is in the hollow of the bowl a group of two or three figures, this is to decorate by images the reverse of the bowl, that the painter has taken the expense of invention. There he has placed paintings whose themes comprise numerous persons placed in file on the narrow band that serves as a girdle for the cup.³ To speak only of the decoration of the interior of the basin, this does not present everywhere the same arrangement. In the cup of Arcesilas, it occupies the bottom of the bowl.¹ In the cup of Phineus, the series of figures extends around the central medallion, a mask of Silenus.² To this cup has the decorator given the most complete ornamentation. He was not satisfied to have the hollow of the basin so richly decorated. He also ornamented the exterior. There are placed between two great prophylactic eyes those obscene groups, which we do not reproduce.¹

the diversity of these arrangements between which the painters hesitate, we shall meet again in the beautiful series of Attic cups with black and with red figures.

Note 2.p.213. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 568.

Note 3.p.219. *Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1884. Pls. 40-43.

Note 1.p.220. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Pl. XX. This same arrangement was adopted for nearly all the cups of Cyrene. The same. Figs. 243, 244, 247, 248.

Note 2.p.220. The same. Fig. 264.

Note 3.p.220. Furtwängler and Reichhold. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Text and Pl. XLI, p. 209, 216, 217.

If as there is reason to believe, Amasis is a little earlier than Exekias, the most ancient Attic cup that has come to us would be a cup signed by Amasis, a fragment of which belongs to the museum of Boston.⁴ On the outside are seen two great eyes which the author of the cup of Phineus put in the same place. Between the two eyes was a figure. From the branches of which some trace remains on the fragments preserved, this figure must be that of Dionysos.⁵ All seems to concur here in denouncing in this first Attic cup a borrowing made from the practice of the workshops of Ionia. From the entirely Egyptian name borne by the potter, it is believed to be divined that Amasis was a metec established at Athens, a foreigner originally either from some one of those Ionian cities maintaining with Egypt such intimate relations, or perhaps from Naucratis. Now this conjecture finds a precious confirmation in the clay fragment that has survived from the destroyed vase. What is seen near the signature of Amasis? That pair of great eyes of which the Egyptians made an amulet, which the traveling Greeks had perceived everywhere in the cities of the Delta. The Ionian decorator had lavished this motive with visible pleasure on the vases that left his workshops. We have seen him place it on the neck of his amphoras,⁶ and we have found it on the exterior of the cup of Phineus. With its horizontal development, this motive lent itself well to fill the field of the exterior of the cup. It was further a symbol easy to understand. If these two eyes painted on the clay open so widely, this is because they had to discover the spells and powers inimical to man, to report them to the one that should protect himself from them.

Note 4.p.220. Among the cups sometimes has been counted a vase signed by Ergotimos and now possessed by the museum of Berlin (Klein, p. 37); but to judge of it by the image given in Wiener Vorlegeblätter (1888, Pl. IV, 2a), this vase with its two heavy handles does not merit the name of cup. It has no foot. It is rather a sort of bowl of very awkward form.

Note 5.p.220. Am. Jour. Arch. 1907. p. 159.

Note 6.p.220. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Fig. 218.

If as may be believed, Amasis, first of the master potters of the Ceramicos of Athens, made and placed on sale there cups modeled and decorated after the pattern of the Ionian cups, he had imitators there at once who did not wish to leave him to profit alone by the favorable reception of this novel article on the markets of Athens and of Italy. We have recognized in Euxekias a slightly younger contemporary of Amasis. Now as soon as Euxekias saw his workshop well patronized, he seems to have very actively engaged in that fabrication and to felicit himself for having succeeded in it, in the legend read on a cup already reproduced as an authentic specimen of his fabrication. (Fig. 127). This legend is thus conceived (Greek). It may be translated:- "Here is a beautiful vase in the fashion of Euxekias."

One is a little surprised at first to see the painter award to himself this mark of full success concerning a vase, whose decoration is much simplified. There was in the hollow of the cup a Nike or a winged Iris in full flight; but the painting has suffered much, in that part and not much of it remains. On the exterior at each side is a figure of a passing gazelle with red touches, that by the natural pose and the delicacy of its members recalls the best figures of this kind, that we have found on the most careful vases of the Rhodian style. Yet this for which the painter praises himself is perhaps much less, for having placed there these three figures than for having known how to give his cup a form that corresponds well to the purpose of the vase and to satisfy the eye. The basin is deep and can contain much liquid. The handles are thin and slightly raised, attached to a good place. The beautiful black lustre of the handles and support contrasts with the orange yellow of the clay. Although the foot may seem a little squat, the whole has a real elegance.

There are also two other cups by Euxekias without images, that

it is still believed should be signed;¹ but the most interesting of his works of this kind is a cup of the museum of Munich, where in retaining for the vase the same form as in the cup of the Louvre, he has given the decoration much importance.¹ He has placed on the exterior beneath the handles the great eyes of Ionian origin, that we have already found at the same place with Amasis, and between these two motives are combats of hoplites around the corpse of a warrior. (Fig. 138). In the bowl is a painting that entirely fills it. This is Dionysos on a bark, who brings by sea to mortals the precious plant whose fruit will yield them wine (Fig. 139). A vine has wound its coils and sinuous stem around the mast, and near its top extends branches loaded by heavy bunches of grapes. There is a clear allusion to the ceremonies of a cult holding a great place in the religious life of Athens in the 6th century; but it cannot be stated that the effort of the painter was crowned by full success. His Dionysos is dry and scanty in drawing. In spite of the amplitude given to the branches of the vine, the bark appears lost in this broad field, which some few fishes swimming around it do not suffice to fill. The composition seems a little empty, for example, if it be compared to that of the cup of Arcesilas. There is yet some inexperience in the Attic decorator.²

Note 1.p.221. Klein. Nos. 9 and 10.

Note 1.p.222. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Pl. XLII, pp.220-240.

Note 2.p.222. Its theme of the voyage of Dionysos by sea appears to have been popular then in the workshops of ceramics. With the cup of Exekias may be compared a fragment of a skyphos found in the excavations on the Acropolis (B. Gräf, No. 1281 and Pl. 74). Dionysos was represented there seated in a bark among the vine branches extending over the field. Opposite him a Silenus plays the double flute. Gräf also cites in this connection two other vases with black figures, one possessed in Boulogne and the other in London, where the same subject is treated.

It seems that the painters of Athens, led in taste by the vogue very quickly obtained by the cups from the workshops of Amasis and of Exekias, had attempted to rival those masters for envy, and nearly all undertook to succeed in this fabrication. To it appear to have been particularly devoted themselves some

industrial chiefs, whom for this reason, men have taken the habit of calling the little masters, to distinguish them from the painters that rather applied themselves to the decoration of amphores and hydrias. It is possible that the chances of excavations may be for much in the enumerations that have induced ceramographs to establish this classification. It is perhaps by the effect of this chance alone, that we do not possess vases on which are read the names of painters known to us only by the cups that they have signed. Yet it may be admitted that certain potters made the production of cups a specialty in which they found their account. According to all appearance, this would be the case for Tleson, son of Nearchos. There are 36 signed cups. (Greek). They were all found in Etruria except one, which came from Corinth.¹ To the same group is attached Ergoteles, brother of Tleson, who likewise uses the name of his father Eucheiros, son of Ergotimos. (Greek). There are 3 cups of Tleson and one of Ergoteles. With regard to these vases, it is proper to remark with what emphasis Eucheiros, Ergoteles and Tleson, mentioned the memory of the celebrated potters who gave them birth. This meant that they were pupils of those masters; it was to appeal to the goodwill of patrons disposed to believe that the sons, when they inherited the paternal workshops, had retained the best workmen and faithfully continued their traditions of art and of taste.²

Note 1. p. 224. Klein. p. 73-75. There were found in the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens a certain number of fragments of cups appearing to come from cups of the style of the little masters; but none of them bears a signature (B. Gräf. Nos. 1380-1407).

Note 2. p. 224. It seems that Amasis was succeeded by a son, Kleophrades, who had the same trade as his father. The best restoration proposed for the mutilated inscription borne by a foot and a fragment of a cup of the Cabinet of Paris appears to be (Greek). It is preferable to that proposed by Klein. (Greek). Amasis never gave himself out as a painter; thus Klein believes himself compelled to invent an Amasis II. The vase was published by De Luyne. *Vases peints*, Pl. 44.

When these Attic cups had made known the products of shops well priced at the place, they seem to have found on all markets, and especially in Italy a prompt and assured sale. A number

of painters then undertook to profit by this vogue. They equipped themselves to rival best the famous makers, Amasis and Exekias, who had introduced this article. To this group are connected some by several signed cups and others by only one or two, Anacles and Nicosthenes, Arcticles and Glaukythes, Chiron, Sokles, Neandros, Xenocles, Phrynos, Myspios, Epitimos, Tleptolemos, Sakonides, Sondros, etc.³

Note 3. p. 224. The name of Sondros is lacking in Klein. Four cups signed by this potter were recently found at Naucratis. (H. Prinz. *Funde aus Naucratis*, p. 73).

Under the spur of competition, the chiefs of workshops engaged in that manufacture multiplied their attempts. Each of them applied himself to beat his rivals by offering the purchasers models, that by some means excelled those to which the public was already accustomed. All these potters endeavored to give a beautiful lustre to the black glaze that covered the greatest part of the surfaces of their cups; but all succeeded in that. No workshop then at Athens failed to excel in composing this glaze and in fixing it on the clay and by firing. By other merits the wisest of these artisans sought to distinguish themselves. On the one hand, they desired to lighten the form of the vase and make it more pleasing to the eye, on the other, to vary the decoration of the cup by the choice of themes, sometimes by their unexpectedness.

Very careful works, the two cups of Exekias that we have reproduced have a great and short foot (Figs. 127, 138); but this master artist appears to have perceived this in use to have a some heaviness, that he had there in the proportion given to this support, and on a cup that might well be one of his last works, he seems to have wished to correct this defect (Fig. 140). He made the foot of the cup more slender and taller; then at the middle of the outer surface he traced a circle with the black glaze, which marked the beginning of the projection in which terminated the expansion of the bowl. In that fashion he accented and made more apparent to the eye the principle of the construction of the vase. This sort of girdle was borrowed from Exekias by other potters; but they introduced it in a decoration developed on the entirety of this surface. Now this is not a happy effect of this dark bar cutting across the images that fill the field (Fig. 141). The painter represented on this side

of the vase Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, who faces the Chimaera.

The defect is still more apparent where, as on another cup the division of the basin is only indicated by a stripe of color, but by a slight recession of the top of this basin, that is made above the attachment of the handles (Fig. 142). The persons, horsemen racing, are then cut in two by the recession on the basin. Then the top of the bodies of the horses is not in the same plane as their legs.

There is felt an advance in taste in the arrangements presented by cups of the type of those signed by Tleson (Fig. 143) and by Hermogenes (Fig. 144). The foot is then both solid and tall. The basin is deep and retains externally a light tone of the clay. The recession of the upper part of the basin is very apparent, but is accented only by a slight black line, that separates the two zones into which the field is divided. In the lower zone is nothing but the signature. In the upper zone is a much simplified decoration. One of the two potters, Tleson places a ram walking, the other, Hermogenes, the bust of a woman.¹ On some of these cups the painter has placed no figures, nothing but the signature of the potter.¹ Within the cup of Tleson, all is covered by a dark glaze except the centre of the basin, which is light with a black circle. On the top of the inner edge is a circle reserved in light. The least details show the extreme care taken by the workman in fabrication. He then succeeded in giving to the cups an extraordinary lightness. Their walls are very thin and well turned, and sound like crystal when touched with the finger. The lover of good wine, when he brought the vase to his lips, must also be pleased by reading its attractive formulas, of the kind read on the outside of more than one cup:— "Take pleasure and drink well."² By this perfection of technique and also perhaps in spite of the singular sobriety of their decoration, also by what is pleasing in these appeals to the guests, these pretty cups, seem to have attained a very lively and very rapid success with that rich patronage overseas, served by the workshop founded at Athens by Nearchos some 20 or 30 years earlier. We are not permitted to doubt this by the great number of cups signed by Tleson, which have ^{been} furnished to us by the Etruscan cemeteries.

Note 1. p. 228. Elsewhere Tleson has placed a figure of an ithyphallic satyr on the exterior of the cup. British Museum, B. 433

Sometimes Tleson places a single figure in the interior, that of the hunter or of a Silenus; then on the outside is only his signature. (British Museum. B. 421, 422).

Note 1.p.227. British Museum. B. 411, 412, 413.

Note 2.p.227. Louvre. F. 83. British Museum. II. B.401, 414, 422, 424.

It was not only to put more elegance in the proportions and the form of their vases, that the potters endeavored, who devoted themselves to the production of cups. To cast the eyes over the entirety of their work, one takes into account the effect that they also made to solve the question of knowing what mode of decoration was best suited to the cup, and which would most certainly please the purchaser. We have already seen Eze-kias, by whom perhaps was introduced this fabrication, appear to have hesitated between the methods to be taken. There are cups from him, on which like the cups of Siana and the cup of Enineus, there are paintings inside and outside (Figs. 138,139). There are others where the exterior and interior are each decorated by a single image (Fig. 127). Some even require only his signature alone (Fig. 140). All these solutions given to the problem shall we find in the course of the series. We shall also find there what may be called the Cyrenaean solution, which consists in placing figures not only in the interior of the basin, but using this field to enclose there a painting into which the painter places all his invention and talent.

The cups appearing most ancient are distinguished by their heavy curvature, and particularly by their commonplace motives that decorate them, motives analogous to those commonly found in the parallel zones of Corinthian vases and of those which we have termed Attic-Corinthian. To this first group belong a group found at Rhodes, already cited for awkwardness and a black stripe, that runs across a file of draped persons and of factitious monsters such as the Chimera and Pegasus (Fig. 141). In the interior are Hercules and the Centaur Nessus in very careless drawing. See the foot of Hercules (Fig. 145). Several cups can be placed in the same category from Etruscan sources, where on the outside in a light zone between two broad black bands are seen files of cavaliers, combats of cavaliers and hoplites, contests of gymnasts.¹ Everywhere there the painter has not taken great care. One will judge of that by an extract

of the decoration of one of these cups, on the exterior of which are represented runners on foot (Fig. 146). Stencils were used.

Note 1.p.229. Louvre. P. 85, 67, 72, 75.

The decorator is not always satisfied at such small cost. We have already seen Exekias aim to arouse curiosity by a composition, whose theme he had doubtless invented, by his painting of Dionysos voyaging on the sea in the shade of his vine (Fig. 139). This search for subjects that were not commonplace repetitions found in the decoration of other cups. For example, here is one that shows nude and bearded men offering gifts to ephebes and to two nude women. These presents are a little deer, a fowl, a lion cub, a cock and a hare. The two women hold in one hand a flower and in the other a crown. Crowns are suspended in the field (Fig. 147). The drawing here is very careful and does not lack refinement. A white coating was applied over the black glaze on the faces and bodies of the women. These are scenes of amorous seduction, which the painter wished to recall there to the guests that used his cup. Seated at the festal table, they loved to remember their conquests brought to them by gifts of this sort.

Elsewhere the painter sought the interest in the representation of rustic scenes. On the external surface of a cup, he has placed two paintings of country life separated by the handles. (Fig. 148). On each of these bands at the head of the file of laborers is found the owner or manager. There is first distinguished the man that he directs, while the workers are nude, he is draped in a long mantle. Here with arms raised as if to address a reproach to a man that bends before him in the attitude of a delinquent taken in a fault. There grave and stiff, he holds in hand a great stick, the emblem of his authority. In one of the paintings all persons labor on the ground. One of them attacks it with a mattock. Another pushes before him a plow drawn by two oxen. Before them is a person that gesticulates and seems to cry out, perhaps to excite the oxen. Then comes the sower; he holds on his right arm the handle of the basket holding the seed. The scene ends with a mule that scampers off. In the other painting we are present at the morrow of the harvest. We see pass before us toward the storehouse that receives the grain the cart drawn by two mules. The three

wheat is enclosed in two great jars, whose bases are strengthened by a sort of great sacks indicated in red. Over the clay covers of the jars is put a linen hood to close them better, whose ends hang at right and left. Three persons assist in transporting the harvest, a driver perched in the cart before the jars, a leader armed with a whip with two cords walking behind the team, and in front is another man on foot, who like those elsewhere preceding the plow, seems to excite the mules by his gestures and clamor. Before him and draped like the master is the foreman of the laborers presiding over the entire operation. To complete the filling of the field, the painter has added there a last figure. Is this a simple repetition of the figure of the laborer of the other painting? I ask myself if this is not rather a harrow that the bearded old man pushes here on the ground already worked and sown. The instrument is not drawn here by oxen; this is by mules that do not have the appearance of making an effort, as in the image of the plow of the opposite painting, the indication of a share ending in a point.

However it be with this detail, this double painting causes a thought of the paintings of scenes of the same kind that are so frequently met in Egypt on the walls of the tombs of the ancient empire.¹ The Attic painter certainly did not know those paintings; he could not use here a sketch or imitation. What explains the resemblance is the identity of the themes, which the artists near Memphis and near Athens have treated in the same spirit of frank realism.

Note 1. p. 231. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. I, Figs. 2, 3, 4.

We shall find the same realism again more applied to the search for minute and piquant detail, on another cup whose decoration, although likewise borrowed from the life of the country, but ^{was} understood in a different fashion (Fig. 149). Here is no painting except inside the basin. The picture that fills it represents a man, clothed only in cotton drawers wrapped around the loins, and seems to prepare himself with raised arms in the midst of a wood to follow the birds and take them from their nests. "At each side of him extend two trunks of trees, which by an entirely conventional perspective appear as laid down flat. Their leafy branches cover the entire interior

of the basin. It is necessary to conceive these trees as standing before the man, who makes a gesture of seizing and hanging on those branches. A bird is perched in the forked top of the tree at the right. In the fork of the other tree is placed the nest of a bird, represented by a sort of lattice from which project four little peeping heads of birds with open beaks. Opposite them the mother hastens with expanded wings and bringing a great fly in her beak. On the trunk, near the nest and a little lower a serpent coils twice on itself, ready to menace the little birds. A little farther off the great cicada rests on a branch." ¹

Note 1. p. 233. Pottier. Vases du Louvre. Description of F, 88.

In this composition is the view like a photograph of the underwood. This is one of the rare attempts at landscape found in Attic painting. The anonymous decorator to whom it is due did not form a school.

Yet here is the place to cite and to reproduce another drinking vase of a little different form, the little kyathos signed by Theozotos, a potter of whom we know only this single signature (Fig. 150).

There is thought to be recognized in Theozotos by one of the letters used in his legend a Boeotian workman, that had come to labor at Athens;² but in any case his kyathos well gives the impression of Attic work, that by the choice of themes and the character of the drawing is the sister and contemporary of the two cups just described. This pretty painting has an entirely different appearance from that where a Boeotian potter has likewise reproduced a flock on the march with its herdsman (Fig. 33). On the oenocoe of Gamedes, the animals, sheep and rams are very soft in execution and of excessive roundness. They all walk at the same pace with their heads lowered to the ground.

Note 2. p. 233. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. K. p. 29, note 1.

It is entirely different here. On the body of the vase and between a row of plaits and a garland in which alternate the flowers and buds of the lotus, are seen 14 goats and a kid driven before him by a shepherd accompanied by two dogs. "This little painting of country life is like an illustration before the letter for the poems of Theocritus and the Bucolics of Virgil. It is simple and familiar. It is made of sober and gay colors in three tones; black, white and violet red. A skilful

draftsman, Theozotos is also a fine colorist. The subject of his decoration is well arranged. The painter makes proof of an exact knowledge of the special traits of the animal placed in the scene and of the habits peculiar to it. He gives to his goats a vicious character, a fierce and combative appearance, aggressive attitudes. Their eyes project from their heads. Their mouths are ready to bite. Some appear to bleat wildly. Certain ones turn their heads and appear angry with the goatherd, who is ready to strike them with his whip with doubled lash. (Fig. 151)." 1

Note 1.p.234. We borrow this brief description of the painting designed by Theozotos from the book of M. Morin-Jean. *Le dessin des animaux en Grece, etc.*, with preface by M. E. Pottier. 1911. (p.168-169). This book is the work of a painter, who in following the course of M. Pottier at the school of the Louvre, acquired a very strong taste for the painted vases of Greece. It is both as a very well informed archaeologist and as an artist, that he has studied and described these vases. What adds to the value of this essay are the 300 engravings that form its illustrations. They reproduce the drawings of the author, and are executed from the originals by the author with scrupulous fidelity. The writer was not satisfied to draw much at the Louvre. To enrich his repertory, he visited other museums with pencil in hand, public and private collections in France and abroad; he collected everywhere the images that the Louvre did not furnish.

By a last example can be judged the use that the ceramic painter knew how to make of a meeting made some fine day, that some one of the familiar or wild animals found on his way in his walks in the country. A certain attitude of one of them had caught his curious eye for the moment. Its memory returned to him, when in order not to leave entirely void the field of the exterior of a cup, he desired to cast there an unpretentious sketch. This is what occurred for a cup signed by Anacles, a potter whose manner recalls that of Tleson (Fig. 152), unless I err. As a motive of decoration it is nothing more than a hind that licks her leg. The image shows the rapidity of the execution. The ears there are of an exaggerated length. The nodis do not adhere to the legs. Each of them is only indicated by a light and subtle touch of the brush; but the movement that the

supple curve of the neck and the fine joints have no less much accuracy and grace. Even in the carelessness of this sketch is felt the hand of a very skilful designer.

It is proper to mark here a stopping point in the history of the Attic cup at about the time that ended what may be termed the first phase of this history, that of the preparation and the continuation. By experiment after experiment the ceramist succeeded in a part of his task. He already knew how to give the cup the form and proportions that make it truly beautiful. As for the construction of the vase, what we can call its architecture, the art of the 5th century will have only retouched without importance to give to the types which will be transmitted by the best masters of the preceding century; but it is not the same for what concerns the decoration suited to the two fields offered to the brush by the cup, the interior and the exterior of the bowl. On the methods to be taken in that respect, the painter still hesitates, led in different directions by the models left him by Ionian potters, who first knew how to cover with interesting and varied designs the clay of their cups. By the virtue of their art, this vase of clay was imposed on the luxury of the most sumptuous feasts; in spite of the poverty of the material of which it was made, it became the fortunate and brilliant rival of the cups of gold and silver.

The diversity of these examples also prevented the Attic potter from taking a firm decision. Sometimes like the potter of Cyrene, he placed figures only in the interior of the vessel; sometimes like a certain other Ionian master, he placed it also on the exterior. At other times he reduced the decoration to a single figure or a half figure, thrown by the clever stroke of the brush on the nude of a broad light field. A change will occur in the means of expression at the disposal of the ceramic painter, a change that will relieve him from his uncertainties. When is completed the evolution that will substitute the red figure reserved on a dark field for the black figure, we shall see appear those cups of Euphronios, Douris and Brygos that count in the number of the purest masterpieces of Greek plastics.

5. Transition to the red figure. The Transition Vase.

With the artists just named, potters and painters, and especially with Amasis and Exekias, the art of decoration in black

figures seems to have said its last word; but there is a defect that these figures do not escape, even those in which the painter while impressing the most firmness in the incised lines, has betwixt succeeded in varying by red and white retouches the dark tint of the ground. Whatever corrections and ornaments that the graver and the brush add to this mode of representation, the latter only gives opaque silhouettes, analogous to what we term Chinese shadows. The members are only detached from the trunk where they extend, and this trunk itself is not modeled. Of the variety of planes that it comprises, inflexions, hollows and reliefs of its surface, the image so comprised gave no idea if the brush had not resigned itself in a way, not knowing how to relieve itself from its embarrassment by its own means. The care of rendering what it felt itself powerless to indicate, it left to the graver or the engraver on metal.

Did the ceramic painter himself attack the clay with a sharp point, or associate with himself a specialist with the graver? The question has been proposed.¹ If the painter had delegated to a subordinate the execution of the engraving, he must have never left his collaborator to guide his fingers. This would have been to lose much time and risk many mistakes. On the contrary, no more minute confusions nor possible misunderstandings if a single hand was charged with the twofold work of painting and the incisions. When he conceived and composed his painting, the painter defined to himself by their peculiarities the persons that he proposed to place in the scene. No one was then so well qualified as himself to trace in the black the line, which by its direction and accent decided the movement and character of the figure. Why should he hesitate to grasp the metal tool? Do we not see at each instant the modern painter forsake the canvas for the plate of copper, laying aside his brush to take up the needle of the etcher, and thus translate into another fashion his visions of men and landscape? To change the instrument was no longer difficult for the Attic decorator. This was only a habit to assume, a habit that his fingers would have acquired very quickly. Far from disdaining this calling, Amasis, Exekias and their contemporaries appeared to have been pleased by it. In a certain part of their work in which they would have truly dispensed with such laborious effort

they placed in this work of the graver an emphasis and a virtuosity, that did not fail to be surprising. For example, see in the painting of Timagoras that represents the combat of Hercules with Nereus, the minute details of the scales covering the body of the marine monster (Fig. 129). There is something better yet. In the painting of Amasis showing us Thetis bringing to Achilles the divine arms (Fig. 118), examine the group of the lion and hind that ornaments the great shield suspended from the shoulder of the goddess. In the drawing of the members of these two animals is more freedom than in the contours traced with the brush, for the three great figures of men and women, that still have there more importance than the emblem on the shield. It is marvellous to have attained to engraving in raw and breaking clay a line as light and also flexible as that of the tail of the lion.

Note l.p.237. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 578.

On closely examining these vases, one would be tempted to say of artists who sold the paternity of them, that handled the graver with perhaps more ease than the brush. I do not know if they are no better engravers than painters. One does not prove this at first without some surprise, but what explains itself on reflection is by the difficulties with which the painters of this school had to count. They could not by themselves fail to feel how limited were the resources offered to them by the mode of representation which they had been led to adopt. How by itself alone did the brush succeed in causing to project a and more on the ground, the flat and inarticulate silhouettes, that when dipped in black glaze cast on the clay? How in these did it make apparent to the eye the thickness of the body, marking at the same time the distinction between and the connection of the different parts composing the bodies? The difficulty became more insurmountable for him still, when he had to clothe these persons, to indicated in the drapery the folds of the fabric and the details of a vestment which the shuttle or the needle had decorated by designs in many colors. When he scattered in profusion on these vases images of warriors, he was no more at ease in reproducing the arrangements of armor, the richness and variety of the ornaments and emblems that made its worth. Doubtless he found on his palette retouches, which at need cor-

could aid in adding to the figures the accessories to complete and embellish them; but experience very quickly warned him, that he should demand not too much from these colors as overlays. Where they were laid directly on the clay in coatings more or less large on fields reserved for this effect, they do not lack solidity; but if one claimed to use them in thin lines to accent the roundness of a form and to mark the articulation, or indeed to transcribe the refinements of a drawing of ornament, it was forced to place them with the point of the brush on the black glaze, where they did not adhere well.

It the conditions of those internal lines, without which he could have for the figure neither relief nor appearance of life, it would have risked vanishing soon, effaced by the least friction or removed by dampness. This is what gave the ceramist the idea of resorting to the metal tool. This offered him for the duration of the work that he charged himself with executing, guarantees that the brush could not ensure him. In attacking the glaze, the bronze point incised the clay and its red tone would appear in the hollow of the incision. It cut into the black that covered the surface of the image. This line would always remain visible, even when the black was worn by wear and had lost its lustre.

This procedure then had its advantages; but it also presented inconveniences of which there could be no suspicion by the artists among whom the sense of taste was daily refined, by the sight of the works then created at Athens and in the rest of Greece by the major arts of painting and sculpture. This method forced the ceramic painter to seek effects not in the line of the art which he practised. He was accustomed to take his models, not from the frescos by which in the Athens of Pisistratus were decorated the walls of the porticos and the temples, but from those metal overlays that ornamented the tripods, the surfaces of thrones and of furniture of luxury.¹ He was thus incited to a minute work of chasing, a labor that usefully intervened to complete that of the hammer on bronze plates executed in repousse, but which was not truly in place in painting. The eye must observe it very closely to appreciate that the workmen could put talent and precision in the tracing of all these lines that cross the black of the glaze. Now this is from the

play and contrast of the colors visible at a distance, that when the painting remains faithful to its own genius, it derives the means at its disposal to represent animate beings and the atmosphere in which they move. This illusion of life so transcribed and reproduced by the image, the opaque silhouettes of Anasis and of Exekias gave but very imperfectly, even where the graver has best aided the brush. Examine this contest for the tripod of Delphi that decorates the front of a great hydria of the museum of Madrid, unsigned but which can be attributed with certainty to one of the painters attached to the workshop of Exekias (Fig. 133). What you think you see will be the exact photograph of two archaic statues.

Note 1.p.233. De Ridder. De ectypia, etc. 1898.

Being given the high qualities of style and of severe nobility which characterize the works of the masters whose names I have just been recalled, it seems that the Attic potter could then flatter himself in having surpassed all his predecessors, in having inaugurated the mode of painting best suited of all to the material used and the purpose of the vase. Yet even at the time when the most brilliant success appeared to crown his effort, this artisan was tormented by the desire to progress and warned by a secret instinct, experienced some secret anxiety. He began to ask himself if as he had been able to believe, he had really solved the problem by the method that he had taken, the problem that he had proposed after the Ionians and Corinthians. He then undertook to seek something else; but he did not at the first stroke succeed in finding the desired and anticipated solution. Before adopting the method from which his successors will never depart, while they continue in Greece and Italy to make painted vases, he tried various procedures, none of which fully satisfied him. Some examples will make understood the final defeat of his attempts, whose interest is particularly to show the anxieties that prevailed then and the movement produced in the world of the potters of Athens.

What appears at first to have attracted the attention of these artisans was the hardness of these opaque and frequently monochrome silhouettes, that rose in black from a light ground, and was the violence of the contrast of the tones. This contrast did not fail to cause them some care, and they tried to

avoid or at least lessen it. To obtain this result, they sometimes took one method and sometimes another.

Here is a first expedient of which the decorator thought. He had taken his figure entirely in the black ground, from which it was distinguished by the firm engraved lines, which formed its external contour, and that in its interior indicated the movement and the folds of the fabric. Touches of white represent the nude of the flesh, the plectrum of the musician and also the little band attaching that instrument to the lyre (Fig. 153). This musician is the Lesbian poetess, whose name is badly engraved by a careless hand and is read before the image.¹ This in the entirety is of correct proportions and has a very beautiful charm; she is well draped; but the drawing of the hands and feet is very incorrect. That of the face with her great almond eye, her very pointed nose and too projecting chin, is far from having the purity of lines presented by the profile of Thetis on an amphora signed by Amasis. (Fig. 118). This hydria perhaps issued from the workshop that did not employ such skillful painters as were the collaborators of Amasis, but who pleased themselves by experiments, which were to end soon in a revolution in the system of decoration.

Note 1.p.240. See in Museo di antichita classica, Florence, 1886, vol. II, p. 41-80, the study of Comparetti on the paintings relating to Sappho. In the *Ceramiques de la Grece propre*, vol. I, Pl. V, A Dumont has published a beautiful hydria with red figures in a severe style, where Sappho is represented in the midst of her companions. After the maritime empire of Athens was formed, the Athenians were badly disposed toward the islanders of Lesbos, too independent allies, and the comic authors were inspired by these complaints to take the Lesbian customs as the subject of railing and buffoonery, for which the people did not restrain its applause; but on the contrary, in the earlier age the Attic painters appear to have had a marked predilection for the ideal figure of Sappho, in which they freely personified music and poetry. This was for them a sort of mortal muse.

There is a variation of this same technics in some vases, where to indicate the internal details, for example, the folds of the fabric, and the painter to replace the incision employed

lines in relief, whose intense and brilliant black projected on the duller black of the ground;¹ but although the tint differed and in spite of the projection of the lines traced by the brush, lines of this kind were not easily visible. Then they sought means of obtaining more frank effects, and found them in a large use of red and white.²

Note 1.p.241. J. Six. A rare vase technique (Jour. Hell. Études. Vol. XXX, 1910, p.323-328, Pl. XVII).

Note 2.p.241. J. Six. Vases polychrome sur fond de la période archaïque. (Gaz. arch. 1888.p.193-210, 282,294; Pls. 28, 29).

Here on a lecythe that came from Vulci is Ulysses suspended from the ram (Fig. 154). The body of the ram is entirely of the same black as the ground, on which it is only outlined by an engraved line that defines its contour; but to detach it a little better or rather a little less hard, the decorator has painted white the horns of the ram and has also very awkwardly placed white beneath the breast and the belly. As for Ulysses, his nude body and head are colored red. On the guard of the sword are only two light touches of white. The whole presents a very confused image. It is necessary to look at it very closely to distinguish the head to which is attached the two great white horns.

The potter had taken a clearer method for the decoration of another lecythe, a fragment of which was found in the rubbish on the Acropolis of Athens.¹ There was represented an athlete who stoops in making his spring to throw the disk. The entire body of the young man was painted red and the disk was white. Same coloring on certain fragments of phiales from the same source.² On one of the white leaves radiating around the boss forming the centre of the cup; these are lyres with white bodies and strings. In 1838 could be described 67 vases or fragments of vases on which this method was applied.¹ It would be easy today to lengthen this list. We shall content ourselves by adding to it the painting of a lecythe recently acquired by the British Museum (Fig. 155). There is seen a woman seated on a chair with a back. She has on her knees a hand loom where her fingers throw the shuttle. Beneath her foot is a cushion. The flesh of the face, arms and feet are white. It is the same for the threads stretched on the loom and the osiers of the

basket. The hair, robe and cushion are painted red.

Note 1.p.242. *Gaz. arch.* 1888. p.282-283; Pl.28 C.

Note 2.p.242. The same. p.285, 287; Pl. 28, D, E.

Note 1.p.243. Six, in the work from which we have borrowed the figure. On the method in question, also see Walters. *History of ancient pottery*. Vol. I, p. 398-394.

For one to judge of the effects that the ceramist thus obtained by superposing on the black glaze the red and white coating, we have represented in color the decoration of an alabaster that perhaps came from the same workshop as the two lecythes on which we have already indicated the use of the same procedure (Pl. IV).² It was found at Athens. The internal details such as the folds of the drapery are indicated there by incised lines. The two images of a woman that ornament the alabaster much resemble in the drawing of the head and hands the image of a woman executed in pure white, that we shall borrow from an amphora of Nicosthenes. What makes the difference is that here the woman is clothed in a long tunic and a himation. The general appearance of this decoration is very pleasing to the eye; but it is no less true that this method is far from offering the same advantages as that of a light figure reserved on a black ground. The violet coating applied on the black could not give a tone as frank as that of this clay, or the orange red produced by well conducted firing, that was further revived by the lustre by which the skilful painters of Ceramicos knew how to cover it. Further, these retouching colors always risked injury by the least scratch, allowing to appear in places this black glaze with which they did not form a body.

Note 2.p.243. Pl. IV was executed by Mlle. Eorard after two copies of the original that are independent of each other, and which while agreeing very well in the style of the drawing and the use of tones, very happily complete each other. Each of them gives some details that are not as well found in the other copy. (A. Dumont and J. Chaplain. *Les ceramiques de la Grece pre.* Vol. I, Pl. VII, and Furtwängler. *Collection Sabouroff*. Pls. LIV, 9). This vase now belongs to the museum of Berlin. (Furtwängler. *Vasensammlung in Antiquarium*, No. 4038).

On the amphora of the Louvre signed by Nicosthenes, white dominates. The entire body of the vase is covered by black glaze.

On each handle is a white tripod. At each side of the neck is a nude woman, entirely white (Fig. 156). She is ornamented by a necklace, earrings and a crown of leaves. In one hand she holds a flower and inhales its perfume; with the other she caresses a dog, that raises his muzzle toward her. Red was only employed for the jewels, the crown and the flower. The details of the form are indicated by engraved lines. The images are similar on the two sides. All the difference is that the direction is reversed. The right hand of one side is replaced by the left on the other. Same for the position of the legs.

With the predominance of white here and of red there, the vases with polychrome decoration dating from that time have come to us in sufficiently great number, that one could refuse to see in them improvisations without result, the capricious creations of fanciful potters. They evidence a state of mind, which must have then been that of many ceramists of Athens. Doubt is scarcely possible; several are inclined to ask if they did not take a false route in neglecting to inspire themselves by examples left them by Ionian potters, and if the decoration of gloomy appearance on which they expended so much care and talent was indeed that best suited to the art which they practised. Their vases, myriads and amphoras, crateras and cups, the vases on which they placed their dark silhouettes, do not advance their marked place in the halls of rich dwellings, where among the rich fabrics covering beds of bronze inlaid with silver and ivory, among the painted robes of flute players and the nude flesh of ephebes and of courtesans, they must add to the joy of the feast by the images offered to the eyes of the guests, by the memories and the ideas aroused in the minds.¹ Where everything was charming and smiling, was there not suitable the ceramics that also grace and smile, not only that of paintings evoked by the poetry of the most charming myths and the festivals of life, but also the pleasure of vivid and gay colors, and heightened elegance of the forms of the vases? This is what the Athenian makers felt confusedly, and which suggested to them the thought of creating a pottery that was more colored and of a less sad appearance than that produced by their masterworks in the workshops of Amasis and of Exekias. This is also what gives a reason for the vogue enjoyed in the

5 th century by the vases with white ground with their fine paintings in black lines enhanced by some light touches of rose and blue.

Note 1.p.244. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Figs. 186, 354.

What could also cause the ceramist to engage in that course were the examples that grand art gave him about the middle of the 6 th century. He saw contemporaneous painters with Cleanthes of Sicyon and Eumares of Athens employ varied colors in their frescos, for the flesh of men a red or yellow tone which recalled that of the skin gilded by the sun, and white for the more delicate flesh of women. He saw these artists use the black line laid on these light tints to represent accessories, to "render the internal harmonies of the body, that suppleness of the muscles which is all the beauty of the physical life."¹ Sculpture at the same epoch evolved in the same sense. "After having on the most ancient statues of tufa daubed the body with red and leaving the ground light, for marble it had taken the habit of a contrary polychromy. The colors remained the same, as vivid and brilliant, but differently distributed. The flesh was treated in a soft tone and enhanced by vigorous details. On the contrary, the ground received opaque layers of blue and of red."²

Note 1.p.245. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 643.

Note 2.p.245. The same. p.647. See Lechat. Le sculpture attique avant Phidias. p.323.

By these indications are seen the character and aim of the effort among the masters who then represented in Greece with most authority the plastic arts. Doubtless the painters did not aspire to give by color the modeling the illusion of life. That was an ambition which could not be conceived later by Apelles and Protogenes, but which was not permissible to the painters of the 6 th century. Their technics was too elementary. They had too few tones on their palettes; but at least they applied themselves to substitute for the primitive conventions, really too arbitrary, new conventions that would place more at ease the mind of the spectator of the art work, and that should give him a more direct and more vivid impression of the reality. For the statuary was the same tendency, the same desire to confer on the effigies that he cut in marble an appearance that

differed less and less from the images cast on the retina by the bodies offered to the view of the artist.

Posted on the frontier of art and of the trade, why was not the decorator of clay induced by his own instinct and by the taste of the public to follow the movement prominent in the domain of the major arts, to profit by the lesson that came from such a height? Yet at the beginning of this 6th century when the sculptor and the painter of frescos by the methods that they took, preluded the accomplished works which the following century would see born, this decorator pursued a path whose direction is not that in which walk the artists qualified to furnish him with models. Two or three generations of ceramists thus form a separate band, and in the composition of their paintings as in the interpretations that they give to the living form, they already give proof of a mastery to which we must render homage. There is a phenomenon that does not fail to cause some surprise. Yet men come to explain this persistent fidelity to a mode of painting that it will soon be necessary to abandon. On the one hand, the ceramic painter of Athens found the black figure on a light ground in the heritage from those Ionian and Corinthian potters, at whose school he first placed himself. On the other hand, what perhaps attracted him still more to that practice was the convenience that it offered him for the execution of this dark decoration, a procedure in placing which seems to have been in current use at that epoch in the workshops of Ceramicos.

To obtain their images, the painters that collaborated with the potters before seizing the brush, frequently commenced by projecting on a screen under the rays of the sun the silhouettes of the men or animals that must enter into their decoration.¹ Many ancient texts prove that in the first attempts in drawing and modeling made in Greece, they had the very natural idea of outlining and fixing by a charcoal line the shadow cast on a wall.² The potter would not have delayed to understand what use he could make of that very elementary procedure, once that he had learned to adapt it to the conditions of work in the workshop. From these cast shadows the painter traced sketches that he reproduced in the fields of his vase by reducing them to a smaller scale. This was then a matter for the graver to decompose these masses in the image transferred to the clay.

to detach the members from the trunk, to mark the projection of the muscles and the play of the articulations.

Note 1.p.247. E. Pottier. Le dessin par ombre chez les Grecs. (Revue des études grecques. 1898. 4.355-388). In the considerations presented here, we only summarize the views suggested to M. Pottier by the observations communicated to him by his pupil and collaborator M. Devillard.

Note 2.p.247. Pliny. H. N. XXXV. 13-16, 151; Athenagoras. A Apologie des chretiens. p.18-19 of Schwarz edition. 1891. (Oberbeck. Schriftquellen. No. 381).

The metal point did not always acquit itself of this task everywhere with the same certainty. On more than one vase have been found singular errors, that have been explained by the disdain caused by a sketch that gave only the general pose. The image blocked out by the brush was the reduction of that furnished by the interposition of a body between the source of light and the screen. This literal transcription of the shadow cast frequently deceived the unskilful or too hasty engraver. When the latter had completed the figure blocked out with the brush, he sometimes forgot to refer to the living model. Of a chest he makes a back. In the silhouette these two sides of the bust have the same form and width not distinguished from each other. Elsewhere this workman has confused the members of the two symmetrical halves of the body. He has placed a left foot or left hand at the end of a right leg or right arm. These faults in drawing are not perceived at first sight. What conceals them is the perfect accuracy of the outline and the movement. To reveal them requires a minute study of these paintings, undertaken for the purpose by an observer, whose training as an artist makes him peculiarly sensitive to these alterations and these reversals of form.³

Note 3.p.247. See the figures that M. Devillard has drawn to illustrate the Article by M. Pottier.

This observer only devoted his study to isolated figures, and his demonstration, as he has presented it, leaves no place for doubt; but remarks of the same kind could have been made concerning groups of figures. When the painter had to represent several persons engaged in the same action, it was necessary to pose before the screen two or three comrades of the workshop

who were placed near each other according to the indications and gave the silhouette of the group so formed. He hastened to seize this silhouette by the aid of the charcoal that he held in his fingers. Thus he obtained the intersections of the heads, torsos and members, the movements combined or opposed; but in the entirety that he reproduced, there were necessarily parts of the bodies and members that concealed each other. When he desired to establish his group on the clay of the vase after this sketch, he did not always recognize it and sometimes omitted to disengage the mass and to replace in position a certain bust or member, that in the confused shadows projected by the sun on the screen, were concealed by the inevitable superposition of planes.

This might be the explanation of certain errors and certain strange suppressions, which we have indicated in many paintings of Attic-Corinthian vases.¹ As much can be said of a group that decorates a cup signed by Nicosthenes (Fig. 157). The painter has represented Æneas there, who in the last night of Troy carries on his shoulders his aged father Anchises. Beside the hero walks his son (Fig. 158). I frankly believe that to place such a complex design, the painter posed the group by some working companions. From the model thus improvised, he retained the principal lines, the gesture of the old man raising one arm toward heaven as if to protest against the conflagration into which Troy sank, the movement of Æneas with arms thrown back to furnish support to his father seated on his back. The model had also given him the heavy walk of the hero bending under the load and the more springy walk of the child; but at the same time, he had allowed him to see only one of the two arms that closed around the legs of the old man to prevent him from sliding to the ground. The painter found only one of the two arms in the drawing that he had in a way traced on the cast shadow. As for the other arm that he did not see, he did not know how to supply it and replace it in its true position. He understood it, assumed it to fall at the left of him and armed with two javelins. These are very appropriate to complete the equipment of the warrior; but on the other hand, the position of Anchises remains dangerous, or improbable is better said. The entire weight of his body rests on the right arm of Æneas. Now whatever superhuman strength is desired to be attributed to the son

of Aphrodite, he would not have been able to support with a single arm such a heavy burden, except for some moments. As for the young boy, when the group was formed in the workshop, he had been so placed that only his legs were visible, his head and bust being concealed by the large shield of Eneas. The painter has not caused this bust and this head to reappear. Yet nothing would have been easier than for him to take from the mass this third actor in the scene. To entirely show him, it would have sufficed to enlarge the field a little, to move slightly to right or left the outlines of the great eyes drawn in the Ionian mode on the exterior of his cup. This method of transferring the shadow led to indolence.

Note 1.p.248. See above on p. 115, Figs. 31, 32.

If by the temptations that it offered, this method had its dangers, it could not fail to be much appreciated by the chiefs of the workshops. They found there facilities analogous to those which among us architects obtain by the instrument known under the name of camera lucida. Doubtless there could be no question of claiming that all figures which decorate the vases with which we are now occupied are simple copies of sketches furnished by projections on the screen; But what seems to be proved is, that the decorators who lent their aid to the makers of ceramics made frequent use of this procedure. Those manufacturers had an interest in using it. Orders flowed in. It was necessary to produce rapidly and much. Every expedient was welcome, that risked taking nothing from the firmness of the drawing and the truth of the attitudes, and could make the execution of vases easier and more rapid.

There has been noticed in more than one Egyptian painting inaccuracies, entirely similar to those which we have found in the black figures of Greek ceramists. They have the same explanation.¹ It has been inferred from them that perhaps the procedure of drawing by projected silhouettes was transmitted by Egyptian artists to Greek artists with many trade secrets, when in the 7th century by the founding of Naucratis and Daphniae, the Greeks came into direct contact with Egypt.² It seems superfluous to recur to the hypothesis of a borrowing. Each on his part, the Egyptian and the Greek, as soon as the plastic instinct was aroused in him, was induced to take those shadows that

the sun casts on a vertical plane. If it was toward the beginning of the 6th century, that this mode of transfer of silhouettes was introduced in the technics of Greek ceramics, because that date corresponds to the time when the requirements of a very prosperous industry caused the potters of Athens to seek all means of diminishing their expenses and to gain time without injury to the quality of their products.

Note 1.p.250. Pottier. *Le dessin par ombre portee*. p. 358-359.

Note 2.p.250. The same. p. 373, 376, 378.

In whatever fashion the Greek ceramist was led to shorten his labor by resorting to silhouettes of cast shadows, he certainly derived sufficient benefit that the advantages found in it contributed to prolong the reign of the black figure. Yet in spite of the vogue enjoyed by vases of that kind in the markets of Greece and of Asia, and still more in those of Italy, a certain weariness made itself felt. Likewise men, the makers of ceramics began to suspect that their ordinary patrons would take pleasure in seeing a ceramics presented, whose decoration should promise to the eye more pleasure than was offered to them by the slightly severe nobility of the vases of Amasis and of Exekias. This desire of more pleasing novelties betrayed at first caused the experiments in polychrome decoration, some specimens of which we have shown, chosen among many others of the same kind, that only had the interest of curiosity.

What was lacking in these attempts for them to have a future an account can be rendered by the examples that we have given. The figures in black on a black ground, like the effigy of Sappho, are badly detached from the ground in spite of the white of the nude and the firmness of the incised outline (Fig. 153). Where the red is added to the white to diversify the appearance of the image, as for Ulysses beneath the ram, there no less remain parts of this image previously taken on the black ground, are badly distinguished; see the body and head of the ram. (Fig. 154). Finally, where on the neck of an amphora of Nicosthenes, the figure is entirely white on a black glaze, and there is a some hardness in the contact of the two tones.

Whatever the method taken, all these attempts had the same defect that condemned them to a certain defeat. They implied a large use of white and violet retouches. Now these adhered

badly to the black glaze. However little they scaled, there no longer remained scarcely anything, or nothing of the effect that the painter had desired to obtain: the black reappeared under the white, which was particularly fragile. It was then necessary to seek another mode of creating a decoration to fully satisfy the regard for harmony of its tones, and which at the same time should ensure to the image a duration equal to that of the vase of which it was the decoration. This solution of the problem could be found in the return to a method, of which there had already been made partial and temporary trials on several occasions in the work of different workshops.

Without returning to the so-called Mycenaean ceramics,¹ we green on the plaques of terra cotta,¹ on the sarcophaguses of Clazomenes,² on many Ionian³ and Corinthian vases,⁴ even on some Attic vases with black figures,⁵ sometimes the limbs and head of an animal, also sometimes the head and neck of a man or woman, instead of rising as an opaque silhouette on the light ground of clay, as outlined there in pure line, any secondary details being indicated inside the form thus defined by other lines in color; but this had not been there until then more than sports and as caprices of the brush. What this mode of drawing could give of elegant precision and refinement to the image had been suspected and had been seen by moments, but nowhere had these fancies brought results. For one to decide to break with tradition of the full and dark silhouette, it was necessary for him to invoke the crisis of the black figure in the hope of defending this from the weariness that was betrayed by various symptoms, men had tried in the workshops different procedures, which if they modified the appearance still respected the principle; yet these were only half measures and insufficient palliatives, as they did not delay to understand.

Note 1.p.251. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, Figs. 490, 495, 497.

Note 1.p.252. The same. Pl. XV, Fig. 122.

Note 3.p.252. The same. Figs. 201, 204 bis, 205, 212, 213, 214, 221, 233, 234-238, 241.

Note 4.p.252. The same. Figs. 336, 366, 367.

Note 5.p.252. The same. Fig. 152; vol. X, Fig. 115, p. 184, Fig. 1.

It was then that some chief of a workshop which contended for the local and foreign patronage had the happy idea of not adding to these expedients, which gave only a very imperfect sat-

satisfaction to confused desires that were felt everywhere. He took the initiative in making in the plan if the decoration of Attic vases a change, that perhaps owed to its radical character a good part of its rapid success. Instead of projecting black figures on a red ground, he thought of placing on a black ground figures for which he retained the color of the terracotta. No more incisions. The painter no longer had to lay down his brush to execute this minute work of engraving, which gave to the clay the deceptive appearance of a bronze plate treated with the hammer and graver. Whatever the nature of this brush, the decorator dipped it in black, sometimes very thick and bold sometimes thinned by dilution and tending to brown.⁶ By lines according to the effect desired, that were more or less firm or light, he indicated the contours of the masses of muscle, the forms of the small anatomical details and even the finest folds of the fabric. On occasion, some light touches of violet and of white served to represent certain accessories and diversified the appearance of the whole.

Note 8.p.252. On the brushes employed by ceramic painters and the idea that can be formed of them, see *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. IX, p. 337-342.

In these conditions, the ceramic painter was no longer a mere painter. No longer practising only the trade that was truly his own, he would be in a better position to follow the progress of contemporaneous art, and to be inspired by its most admired works, to adapt to the measure of his panels some groups borrowed from the vast compositions of the masters of fresco, to transfer to these paintings traced on the clay something of the style of those masters. Thus was the new ceramics born at Athens, that of the red figure. It is connected to earlier ceramics and follows them by the predominating role, that like its predecessors it attributed to black in covering the surface of the vase. Even for it is the part given to black the most important, since the continuity of this dark covering is interrupted only by the lights of the figures reserved, and these lights only hold a small place in the entire field, in all its extent.

By this predominance of black in the covering of the clay, this pottery like that preceding it, also disturbs the amateur

in ceramics, whose eyes are accustomed to the richness and variety of the colors of modern faience or of the porcelains of China and of Japan. Yet after a time of apprenticeship and of initiation, he comes to better understand it and to appreciate it more strongly than the preceding works of the Attic potter. The images that it offers to him attract his eye and caress it by the warmth and softness of their tones. They hold him by the ease with which they are modeled in the clarity of the yellow or rosy clay, as the living form does on the full light of day. The connoisseur who at first abroad faces these nearly monochrome pottery, also comes to prefer it even to the slightly crude polychromy of Ionian and Corinthian vases. Nothing more restricts him in the pleasure that he takes in considering and studying the Attic vases with red figures. He admires there that full liberty of mind and flexibility of the brush, the nobility of the attitudes, the fire and movement and the elegant purity of the drawing.

Who was the potter that had the idea of genius for this retro, of this overturning of the system of decoration that several generations of ceramists had brought into fashion. We cannot state with certainty. All that can be affirmed is, that the idea was in the air, as one says, even at the time when painting with black figures seemed to attain its climax with Amasis and Exekias. Among all the master potters of this time, whose names we know, there are two, Nicosthenes and Andokides, to whom for plausible reasons it has been proposed to attribute the merit of this innovation. That one of the two who seems to us to have most title to this honor is Nicosthenes. His work is represented in our galleries by a much greater number of pieces than that of any other contemporaneous chief of a workshop; now in studying this interesting and complicated work, we shall see what a curious, seeking and inventive mind it all evidences.¹

Note 1. p. 254. Pottier is among those in this discussion, who pronounce in favor of Nicosthenes (Catalogue. p. 643-644).

It was further not on the morrow --- one should beware of believing --- that when the new mode of decoration won its course as if it had been instituted by a decree of the assembly. During some time in the workshops of Ceramicos, men made both vases with black figures and vases with red figures, as we shall prove.

In the workshops and the patronage which they served, there was then a time of hesitation; but the new system of decoration had too many advantages that its final triumph should not be ensured in a short time in this Greece, where on the eve of the morrow of the Median wars all the arts, as if by a fertile emulation, applied themselves to renew the appearance of edifices by which they were ornamented. It was then to the light figure in reserve that ceramic painters were devoted, in whom we recognize the contemporaries of the masters of fresco and of statuary, whose creations prelude the masterpieces of the golden age of Greek genius; but the black figure, while seeming to be relegated to the second plane, did not fail to survive the event and the victory of its rival, its heir. To say farewell to it, we shall have to seek in what conditions and by the favor of what compromise it continued in Greece itself an existence without glory, to end in Italy in a slow renaissance with the Apulian vases.

Before following thus the black figure in what might be termed its posthumous life, it is proper to study it once again at Athens itself, with the last potter of eminence that made large use of it, with Nicosthenes. We have already had occasion to state, that he had felt growing around him this desire of change, whose symptoms we have enumerated. Thus to ensure the placing of his products, he had more than once been unfaithful to the black figure. This is why the black figure holds more place in the decoration of the vases of Nicosthenes, and also in black is everywhere executed the design of the ornament. Nicosthenes may then be regarded as the last representative of the system of the black figure. What renders him also particularly interesting is, that he plays with this figure, that he lavishes on the clay of his vases without being fully satisfied, means of expression that it places at the command of the ceramist. He no longer has in it the confidence which it inspired in Exekias. This dark figure which he feels is discussed and menaced, he seeks to save by rejuvenating it by the originality of the forms, that he gives to the vase on which he inserts it, as by the charm of the tone of the blond covering on which he loves to outline it. Yet even when he employs it to bring it thus to regain popularity by ingenious combinations,

he does not fail to betray it sometimes for the benefit of the rival that aspires to replace it. There is nothing in the history of Greek ceramics, that may be more curious than this phase of the evolution which led Euphronios and Euygos to paint in the interiors of their cups and on the bodies of their amphoras pictures, from which we cannot withhold our admiration. With a variety of resources that do him honor, Nicosthenes endeavored to defend a lost cause, that for this purpose he multiplied experiments, for the success and future of which he appeared to doubt himself at some times.

6. Workshop of Nicosthenes.

Whatever might have been the activity of workshops like those of Ergotimos, Nearchos, Amasis and Exekias, as well as the vogue of their products, it was another maker, Nicosthenes, that in the second half of the 6th century exported most vases into Italy. His signature is read on 89 vases or fragments.¹ The Louvre alone possesses 22 of them, 15 amphoras, 2 oenocnoes and 5 cups. By him are known 52 signed amphoras. He always adds the verb epoiesen to his name. (Fig. 159). In the decoration of vases on which he has thus placed his mark, there are sensible differences in choice of themes, style of drawing and procedures employed; but for each type the forms present analogies, which permit recognition at first sight of an amphora or an oenocnoe of Nicosthenes, even before having perceived his signature.

Note 1.p.258. This is the number given by M. A. Boulanger, former pupil of Ecole normale of the Ecole du Louvre, author of a very interesting memoir entitled: - Nikosthenes, un atelier de ceramique a Athenes au temps des Pisistratides. Still unpublished, the Memoir merits publication and will soon be issued. M. Boulanger has allowed us, for which we thank him, to profit now by the result of his researches, pursued in not only French collections, but also in several foreign museums. Also nothing has escaped him from the mentions made of Nicosthenes and of his work in the archaeological literature. Although to sell his work, Nicosthenes appears to have adhered to signing usually his vases, yet are found in the museums vases that seem should be attributed to him, from the entire character of their fabrication. M. Boulanger cites a certain number of them. We shall not follow him in that course. He signed vases suffice to def-

define the work of taste ^{and} ~~of~~ Nicosthenes. It may further be asked, whether the vogue enjoyed by his products did not cause ²⁵ counterfeits.

The conclusion imposes itself. What it is necessary to see in Nicosthenes is a chief of the industry. All the operations of turning the vases were accomplished under his direction. After his little models or his sketches these assumed on the wheel the curvature that should characterize them; but he employed for the execution of the painting, artists of unequal merit, some of whom had their own manner. Some inscribed their names on the clay beside his own; this is the case for Anacles and for Epictetos.² This workshop would not have produced so much and works so diverse, unless it had been in full activity for long years. Perhaps founded about 540, when the method of the black figure was alone in use, it has left us vases on which the red figures commence to show themselves. His vogue must have been maintained until toward the end of the century.

note 2.p.258. Klein. p. 75, 101.

In the development of Athenian ceramics, Nicosthenes played a part on whose importance one cannot insist too strongly. As master potter, "he makes a study of all the forms, chateras (Fig. 160), oenochoes (Fig. 161), cups (Fig. 163), cantheras and cups (Fig. 164), pyxis (Fig. 165), amphoras (Fig. 166), and he renewed them in great part. He tried all technics, black figures, red figures and white figures, a ground of clay with its natural color, ground with black covering and a ground with white coating. He has the most varied and unexpected groupings. His decorating workmen must be numerous, for they sometimes compose in the Attic-Corinthian taste and sometimes with the sobriety of Exekias. The design of his vases is here summary as with a man careless in his work, there close and minute as with the most conscientious artist. Nicosthenes is the most complete and interesting type of the Greek ceramist of the time of the Pisistratides." ¹

note 1.p.258. Pottier. Catalogue. p.752.

As for forms, Nicosthenes has a marked predilection for the amphora; but he creates a type of it that belongs to him personally. Signed by him, there is known but a single example of

the heavy form found with his immediate predecessors.² This is doubtless one of his first works, executed before he had adopted the mode by which are then characterized the vases of this kind that leave his workshop. "The curvature of the amphoras of Nicosthenes is elongated, a little depressed below the neck (Fig. 166). The neck is relatively slender, sometimes quite detached from the shoulder and with a concave profile. The handles are flat and broad, attached to the body swelled at the shoulder and are joined to the very edge of the mouth by a bold curve; they cause one to think of thin and long plates of metal. The mouth is clearly conical and without external flat. Finally, two projecting fillets extend around the body as if to cover seams, intersecting the subjects or rather separating the zones of painted decoration. In all these arrangements is believed to be felt the imitation of metal types."³ (Pl. V).

2.p.258. British Museum. B. 295.

3.p.258. Boulanger. Memoire.

The width of the curved and flat handles of the amphora of Nicosthenes lend themselves to receive a decoration which even adds to the elegance of the vase. This decoration varies from one amphora to another. Sometimes it comprises only plant ornament, lotus flowers inserted between elegant palmations. Elsewhere are seen busts of women, dancing satyrs (Fig. 159). This handle is always ornamented by some motive of ingenious invention and agreeable appearance.

In no workshop of this time does the care for perfect execution seem to have been carried as far as sometimes by Nicosthenes. This is what strikes every connoisseur that takes his vases in hand and examines them on all sides. The workmen that he employed scarcely to glaze carefully the interior of the foot of their amphoras and Cenocnoes. There as if for their own pleasure, they have added an ornament which perhaps no eye will ever note. At the bottom of the cavity made in this foot they traced a little black circle of very firm design.

The cratera is no less remarkable. Nicosthenes gives to this type its definite form, which it will retain until in the workshops of southern Italy. The beautiful architectural structure of the cratera of Ergotimos and Klitias is made lighter;¹ the neck is prolonged and the handles are developed into two beau-

beautiful volutes which rise symmetrically above the vase. (Fig. 160). This elegant form is already sketched in a cratera of Cyrene.² For vases for pouring the liquid, that Nicosthenes imitates, this is ^{the} trilobed oenochoe with spout of the Corinthians and Rhodians, with the great handle whose elegant curve dominates and rises above the mouth (Fig. 161); but he simplifies the flutes of the handles and refines the body to make it more ovoid.² Nicosthenes also varies the appearance of his oenochoe by the insertion of a motive yet unused in Attic ceramics, a motive whose idea was suggested to him by the vases with relief decoration from Ionia, Beotia and Corinth; on two jars of the Louvre, he has modeled under the spout a head of a bearded man and a woman's head, which seem to form pendants (Fig. 162). The cup is the object of the same care. The foot sometimes remains short and squat (Fig. 157); but the basin opens wider and with less depth. The sides curve without abrupt projection and with a gentle and continuous slope like the echinus of a capital.¹ Elsewhere the foot is lighter and the handles are higher. This is already a little nearer the elegant type that will soon prevail (Fig. 163). There is felt the influence of Ionian models. One will also note the curious cup with red figures of the museum of Berlin, fitted with a spout and strainer (Fig. 164). Nicosthenes also signed a phiale with knob, that is ornamented by no figure.² The form alone tempted the ceramist. He copied a vase of bronze and of silver. There is on the handles of his amphoras and those of his oenochoes noted in the potter a very marked tendency to inspire himself by the forms presented to him by the works of goldsmiths and bronze-workers, to represent them in clay.¹ If there were a type that under this name must seduce Nicosthenes, as it appears, it was indeed the kyathos, which is only the copy of the metal goblet. Yet is scarcely cited but one vase of that form signed by him. Again it is only a fragment.² Finally, to complete this list may be recalled a lecythe, ornamented by a head in relief,³ and a pyxis in the form of a sugar bowl and found at Florence (Fig. 165).⁴

Note 2. p. 260. Louvre. Hall E. 881.

Note 3. p. 260. Louvre. Hall F, 116-117. As an unique type in the work of Nicosthenes is cited a sort of olpe of the Cabinet of France (De Ridder. 258, Pl. VII). The neck is there marked

only by a slight reduction that directly prolongs the curve of the body. The handle is flat and does not exceed the mouth of the vase. Nicosthenes renounced this form which lacked elegance.

Note 1.p.281. Louvre. Hall F, 121-125.

Note 2.p.281. National Library. De Ridder. Catalogue des vases, No. 314, Pl. X. This is the phiale called mesomphalos. Two examples of the same type are found, one in the British Museum (B, 368) and the other at Kurzburg (III, 287) in the catalogue of Ulrichs.

Note 1.p.282. This analysis of forms familiar to Nicosthenes is but an abridgement of what M. Pottier has given. Catalogue. p. 756-758. We have completed it by some indications taken from M. Boulanger.

Note 2.p.282. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1898. p. 292, Pl. XVII, fig. 1.

Note 3.p.282. Welcker. In Rheinisches Museum. N.F.VI.p.393.

Note 4.p.282. Amelung. Führer, p. 202.

It is possible, that like Amasis, Nicosthenes was also a native of Ionian origin. What causes this thought is the entirely Ionian character of his ornamentation, where the plant twines its garlands of leaves, buds and flowers around the neck, shoulder and foot of the vase, not without sometimes invading the body (Fig. 166). Again from the repertory of the workshops of Asian Greece, Nicosthenes borrows the great eyes that he loves to draw on the exteriors of his cups as prophylactic emblems. (Fig. 167). In the choice of subjects treated by the painters attached to the workshop of Nicosthenes is found that diversity, that we have already indicated in their qualities of execution. The theme of their decoration frequently appears to be those of artists that loitered with current commonplaces; thus on his cratera he places combats of hoplites with warriors mounted on chariots (Fig. 168); at other times is thought to be felt the desire to vary and renew the repertory of the workshop. Here is twice on the neck and on the body of an amphora, that strange composite being called hippalectyon, the horse-cock. (Fig. 169). Elsewhere is a nude woman standing, who with one hand raises to her lips a flower and inhales its perfume, while with the other she caresses the muzzle of a dog (Fig. 156). Here is the exterior of a cup is the group of Eneas bearing his aged father Anchises (Fig. 158); but the masterpiece of the painter in this kind is in the same place, "the pretty painting

of the race in the sea with two boats in line with sails swelled by the wind, the pilots and lookouts at their posts, the network of their ropes entangled in a well indicated perspective"(Fig. 170).¹ The painter has here made a very skilful use of the line in relief. The rigging of the snips is indicated by means of black lines traced with a glaze thicker than that used for the silhouettes and structures and of persons. These lines are marvellously fine and delicate making a sensible projection under the finger.

Note 1.p.284. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 754. Jane Harrison conjectures from serious indications, that this and other paintings of the same kind represent boat races, that formed a part of the programme of the Dionysiac festivals.(p.26-27 of *A cyclix of Nicosthenes* in Jour. Hell. Studies. 1885. p. 19-29).

Inside the two cups, with sirens are lions and stags next the circumference, "as if in amusing and desired disorder, and are cast little scenes of races, combats and labor, that seek to give an idea of the stirring of the multitude." Figs.171,172).²

Note 2.p.284. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 754.

On the contrary, on the two oenocnoes with white ground of the Louvre is the return to the solemn arrangement of the paintings of Amasis and of Exekias. The mystical protection that the goddess Athena accords to Hercules, and the introduction of the hero into the dwelling of the Olympians are represented in the paintings, that by the style might be by a good pupil of Amasis or of Exekias (Fig. 173). When Nicosthenes commenced to make vases with red figures, he allowed his painters to return to known and ancient subjects, as if he wished to give them thus more facility to succeed in a new kind. In the paintings are found the Bacchic comos, Hercules fighting the lion and the bull, scenes of sacrifice and of battle.(Figs. 174,175)

Note 1.p.285. Klein. p.71. This cratera, when were made the drawings that we reproduce, belonged to the collection Brusch at Corneto.

All the work of Nicosthenes shows the constant effort, that he imposed on himself to precede the taste of the public, to offer it constantly a novelty that would excite its curiosity. "He appears to have given very particular attention to the technique of the colors. His color scale with brilliant whites contrasts with the black severity of the other Attics. More t

than anyone, he occupied himself in causing the figures to show on the ground.¹ Thus at the very first, he gave with a tint sensibly paler than that of the clay of the Attic vases from contemporaneous workshops (Pl. V); he followed the example of those who have been called Attic-Corinthian. Also very frequently, he painted on a white coating (Fig. 176).¹ The white covering employed by Nicosthenes is not the snowy and friable white of the funerary lecythnes of the 5th century, that does not adhere to the clay and easily separates. It is a coating with a yellowish tone and close grain. It strongly adheres to the ground and has taken a beautiful polish. This coating of Nicosthenes is neither that of the Rhodian vases. On them the covering is more yellow and less thick, and frequently allows the red of the clay to appear through it. Thus it takes in places a slightly rosy tone.²

Note 1.p.266. Pottier. Catalogue. p.758.

Note 1.p.267. Louvre. F. 115, 118, 117. The amphora is not signed; but by its characteristic form and by the use of this white coating, it so strongly resembles the signed vases, that one does not hesitate to credit it to Nicosthenes.

Note 2.p.267. Histoire de l'Art. IX. Pl. XIX.

Nicosthenes did more; he also sometimes projected on a ground of glaze entirely white images (Fig. 156). In that fashion these appear in vigor on this very dark ground; but the contrast so arranged was not exempt from some violence. Perhaps Nicosthenes perceived this in the course of the multiple experiments that he made, and that put him in the track of another innovation to which was promised a rapid and brilliant success. The application of white on black was not the sole means that could be thought of, for presenting figures detached in light on black. It was possible to attain the same result by reserving on the ground of red clay the place occupied by the figures. The effect so obtained was more agreeable to the eye. The tone of the clay in the natural state, and that of the dark coating combined more harmoniously than did that of the black glaze and the white retouches; the contrast would be fresh, but without harshness. Further, in taking this method another benefit would also be found; one would not have to resort to the graver to indicate the internal details of the image. Black lines traced by the

brush sufficed to give the modeling of the body and to mark the play of the drapery. The decorator no longer needed to use two different instruments to complete his work; his work was much simplified.

Was it Nicosthenes that first had the idea of this method, who first realized the advantages that it offered? One would be tempted to believe it, after what the study of his work allows to be divined of his inquisitive and novel temper. Several historians of ceramics incline to think that the first trials of the new system of decoration were made in his workshop.¹ What tends to confirm this hypothesis is that on certain cups of Nicosthenes have been placed black figures inside and red figures outside, and there is noted on the last a sort of indecision that seems to betray the embarrassment of the workmen required to use a process of which they had not yet well mastered. Thus to detach from the black covering the contour of the hair, he employs the incised line.² Further the apprenticeship is made very quickly. On other vases, some of which are signed and others are without signatures, from the entire appearance some can be attributed with all probability to the same workshop, the red figures being executed by a very sure and firm hand.

Note 1. p. 289. E. Reisch in *Röm. Mitt.* 1890. p. 323.

Note 2. p. 289. *Pottier. Catalogue*, p. 759.

From whatever workshop they came, the experiments which we have just recalled, white or red figures on black glaze, suffice to show that about that time when Nicosthenes flourished, the red figure reserved on a light ground tended to predominate. The new system of decoration promptly conquered the preferences of the most famous makers and their national and foreign patrons. It had triumphed at the time when this study must stop, between 480 and 460.

7. Survival of the Black Figure.

In the domain of plastics as well as in that of letters was produced no change of taste acting at a fixed time, like the touching of a spring. All forms of art and of thought that had existed long, yielded place to a new form only by degrees. It confesses itself vanquished and vanishing only after having disputed the ground step by step for a time more or less long, and has fought many recognized actions, if one may so speak. One must then beware of believing that between the day and the

morrow, the Attic potters by the effect of a sort of order obeyed everywhere, renounced the black figure longer projecting on the clay of their vases, only light reserved figures.

In all industrial production, there enters a great part of routine. An artisan never voluntarily drops a procedure to which he made an apprenticeship in his youth, and which he has in his fingers, as it is said. The master potters of Ceramicos among the persons that they hired, were painters already of advanced age, who were noted for the skill with which they painted the black figure, and knew how to model it by the aid of lines cut with the graver. If several of these were not much disposed to learn so late a new method, there was not a motive sufficing the chief to deprive himself of the services of experienced collaborators. Then he continued to require from them vases decorated in the old way; but not to permit himself to be excelled by competitors that had taken the lead in the work of renewal, he engaged young men trained in the school of the promoters of a different system of decoration.

In a numerous and mixed public, there was in all times and also then some minds ready to fall in love with novelties, curious to follow the fashion of the day and to anticipate that of the morrow, if possible; but in such a case, the chiefs of industry also had to count with another sort of persons, those who could also be called conservatives, who prefer not to be disturbed in their habits, to see the appearance of their furniture changed, of familiar objects on which their eyes have learned to rest. With two crews of workmen, one using the red image and the other continuing the tradition of Amasis and of Exekias, a house charged with orders would be able to give satisfaction to all tastes; it would not risk discouraging and losing a part of its patrons.

That affairs must have passed thus is what the historian could affirm, even before having consulted the monuments; but if he adheres to justifying the inferences that he has derived from an exact knowledge of the conditions of work and of sale in the art industries, he only has to study with attention, were this only in the glass cases of the gallery of the Louvre, the vases representing the efforts of the manufacture of Athens toward the end of the 6th century and in the first half of the

5 th. Everywhere will he find indications that will confirm him in the idea that he has been led to form of the persistence with which in the workshops of Ceramicos, certain decorators must have continued to ornament by black figures the clay of their amphoras and hydrias, even after the technics of the light reserved figures, already for a long time had begun to distribute in the markets of Italy the crateras and cups, that we regard today as the masterpieces of Greek ceramics.¹

Note 1.p.271. See Pottier. Catalogue, p.804-818; Figures noires de style tardif ou decadent.

Is it necessary to say that we have borrowed much? There the observations suggested to the learned conservator by the collection entrusted to his care. He has examined separately all the pieces in conditions that permit him to mention many details that could not be discovered there by the most inquisitive visitor, always arrested by the barrier of the glass.

For this survival of the black figure, here is the first group of monuments that shows it in a fashion leaving no place to doubt. This group is that of vases with mixed technics, a term by which are designated the pieces in very limited number, in whose decoration the black figures are neighbors to the red figures.² The case most frequently presented is that of cups, that have one or several black figures inside the basin, while the red figure takes possession of the exterior. On 30 cups in mixed technics enumerated in 1902, only 3 form an exception to this rule, and where the red figure has left the black figure on the outside of the vase. Only in two do red and black figures divide the same field.

Note 2.p.271. The list of vases of mixed technics has been made several times, since O. Jahn first sketched it. After him came Schneider (Jahrb. 1889. p.198), and I. Nichols (Am. Jour Arch. 1902. p.327-329). This last and latest list comprises 30 numbers, none but cups. The entire Article by Nichols is also to be read. It is entitled: - The origin of the red figured technique in Attic vases. It refers to the lists previously given by O. Jahn. (Versammlung in Munich. 1854. Einleitung, Ann. 1188) and by Klein (Euphronios, p. 30, 291).

As examples of this compromise, it will suffice to cite here three vases, where the potter has taken the method of thus com-

contrasting the two technics. This would be first the cup of Nicosthenes. If as I incline to believe, Nicosthenes was the inventor of the new system of decoration, one understands that to save his public and to make it tractable, it commenced by only demanding a secondary place for this red figure for which he desired to make for this red figure for which he desired in future only a secondary place, which in the cup would place it less in view. The newcomer thus presented itself to connoisseurs only with discreet and modest claims, under the patronage and in a way under the protection of the black figure, which for a long time was caressed by the brush and chiseled by the graver of famous masters, reigned over this clay of Attic kilns, to which the potter by the care devoted to the preparation and by the decoration with which he covered it, ended by giving it a value comparable to that of the precious metals.

This is the impression left by a cup, whose construction is nearly that of the classic age. The painter has placed in the interior with the signature of Nicosthenes, a bearded man running. The image is painted black with violet retouches. The runner has the head encircled by a great crown of vine leaves and the body is nude beneath a chlamys thrown over the shoulders and arms. His feet are shod with high boots or kothornoi that reach the bottom of the calf (Fig. 177). On the exterior of the basin between two pairs of prophylactic eyes, on one side is a nude ephebe walking (Fig. 178), and on the other is a ram turning his head backward (Fig. 179). All tends to suggest the idea that this cup was one of the first vases on which appeared the light figure reserved on the dark ground. What justifies this hypothesis is not only that this figure here appears only on the exterior of the vase, where it attracts less attention than the black silhouette, that extends over the large flat of the interior of the basin. There are also many peculiarities of fabrication. The black figure with the freedom of its pose and the firmness of its contours, is the work of an experienced and sure hand. On the contrary, in the red figures are traces of indecision. The painter does not seem to be yet entirely master of the method that he employs. If the ram has a very correct movement, there is awkwardness and softness in the drawing of the ephebe. The brush has placed there very

few of those light lines, which in this system of decoration serve to model the image; but on the other hand, with the graver and by an incised line the artist has separated from the black ground the mass of the hair of the young man. Likewise by means of a white touch he has made prominent on the neck of the ram the front horn. One would say that these two figures were executed by a decorator whose entire training was spent on the black figure. Invited by his chief to work in the new style, he has resumed the use for establishing his decoration, of procedures not in the spirit of the technics in which he made his apprenticeship.

Here is another cup on which the red figures exist equally with the black figures. It is signed by Andokides, who like Nicosthenes seems to have been rather an industrial chief than a painter (Fig. 180). The cup is mounted on a foot slightly more slender than that of Nicosthenes. What was in the interior of the basin? It is unknown. By the effect of wear and several breaks, the decoration there has disappeared; but that of the exterior is well preserved. Here the double pairs of prophylactic eyes are again the principal motives of the decoration. Between these eyes on one side stand two figures of Phrygian archers at right and left of a tree. On the other side is another Phrygian who runs and sounds a trumpet. Face to face and in contact with the handles are duels of hoplites. In each group are two combatants menacing each other with spears in rest, a wounded or dying warrior lies on the ground between the combatants; his corpse and arms will be the prize of the fight.

This motive of single combat have we seen more than once among the Attics, who inherited from the Ionians and Corinthians. We have found it in the same place beneath the handles on a cup signed by Exekias (Fig. 138). Also already on an amphora of Asia, we have seen the painter mix the Phrygian archer and trumpeter with these groups (Figs. 112, 113). Thus he attempted to render the motive less commonplace. These Asian costumes, the pointed caps and motley tunics must in his thought recall the memory of Homer and of the battles fought beneath the walls of Troy.

By the choice and arrangement of the images, all this decoration comes from the tradition of the masters, who made the for-

fortune of the black figure; but it is also the interest of the cup of Andokides. In one of the sections of the outside are nothing but dark silhouettes. In the style of Amasis and of Exekias are executed the Phrygian archers and the two hoplites placed in the same side of the handles. In the opposite section the trumpeter and warriors rise in light on a dark ground. Below each group of duellists, the painter has placed the shield that has fallen from the weakening hands of the negro struck down on the ground. On both sides this accessory is represented in light color.

So far as may be judged from the entire character of the execution, the cup of Andokides must be later by several years than that of Nicosthenes. From one to the other has the new style gained ground. In the most prosperous of the workshops of Ceramicos, the number of painters has multiplied that knew how to utilize all the resources of the technics to which now passes the favor of the public. Here black and red figures are on an equal footing, if one may so speak. The latter were not relegated in a way to the second plane as on the other cup. They occupy half the field on which the decorator has placed his principal effort. One can even say that they enjoy there a sort of privilege, since they have added to them the two shields, but what above all evidences the progress accomplished in this direction is the fact, that the red figures are as correct and frank in design as the black figures; and that the procedure of execution there is indeed that whose use was suggested to the decorators of clay by even the conditions, presented from its first appearance by the new system of decoration. Of incisive lines and of violet retouches on that cup, there are none excepting in one section of the exterior, that where the painter has conformed to the examples of the old masters; but in the other section, that made by the pupil of the innovation, the painter has by lines with the brush, modeled the bodies and indicated the details of the costume and armor, as will henceforth do all artists that apply the method to which the future belongs.

With the cup of Andokides, it seems we have reached the moment when professional skill was nearly the same in the two rival groups, between which the great chiefs of industry must then divide the orders received, so as to satisfy both their patrons.

that adhered to the black figure, and those who demanded the article by which the caprice of fashion began to be infatuated. But it is a more advanced phase of this evolution, that seems to be represented by an amphora, which there is every reason to believe came from the same workshop (Pls. VI, VII). This amphora bears no name of a potter;¹ but by its form and the entire style of its decoration, it resembles in all parts an amphora signed by Andokides that appears in the same gallery.² One further sees incised under the feet of these two vases the same monogram that must be the mark of the workshop. Also men have not hesitated to place this anonymous amphora to the credit of Andokides.

Note 1. p. 278. Louvre. ? 204.

Note 2. p. 278. The same. ? 203.

On the body of the amphora are two paintings (Fig. 181). In one of them is seen Dionysos in the midst of the Menads and in the other is Hercules, who in the presence of his protectress Athena prepares to pass a chain around the neck of Cerberus, the guardian of nades. Now the first of these paintings that brings Dionysos in the scene is with black figures, (Pl. VI), while the second has red figures (Pl. VII). The work is very graceful in both. The persons are very slender, present the same proportions, and yet one of the two paintings, that with red figures, gives the impression of a better work. This is because this subject is more interesting than that on the opposite side. There is nothing that redeems the commonplace theme; there are found none of those picturesque details, none of those ingenious variations, which it would be easy to find on many other amphoras, where the painter has also shown Dionysos surrounded by a train of Bacchantes and Silenes among the shoots and grapes of the vine. All attitudes are there conventional; we have already seen that frequently in the paintings of the same time. It is entirely otherwise with the painting in which is represented Hercules. The painter has made a visible and happy effort in invention and composition. Athena is clothed in a robe covered by rich embroideries and makes a gesture with both arms, that expresses the affection that she has vowed to the hero; but this for which it is especially proper to praise the artist, is what has put expression into the two figures of the hero and of the dog. Hercules leans forward

and stretches the right hand toward one of the heads of the monster; he prepares to caress it. With the left hand he holds a long chain attached to the collar that he is going to pass around the neck of the Cerberus. That one of the heads of Cerberus sought by the insidious caress appears to lend itself to it to thus facilitate the capture, while the other head is raised higher and still seems mistrustful and ferocious. The scene is amusing and must cause a smile. The drawing is further very free.

On that amphora are no more than one peculiarity, which recalls the traditions of the black figure. Doubtless the painters of the light figure reserved and never deprived themselves of indicating certain accessories by touches of a wine red; but here these added touches of color occupy more space than they will when the new mode of decoration will have obtained a decisive victory. Everywhere are red retouches on the clothing and bodies of the three persons. The habits of the past then leave their traces here; but it is no less the light figure that takes precedence here; on that has the potter especially counted to give charm to his amphora and to make its trade value.

It is the same for another vase with mixed technique, a cup on which is read the name of the beautiful Epilycos instead of a signature.¹ As for the drawing and engraving, the black images of the exterior are in the style of the best workmen of Amasis and of Euxekias (Fig. 182);¹ but nothing is more commonplace than the theme of the painting, the combat of Hercules and of Kyknos. On the contrary, for the red figure that fills the interior of the basin, the decorator has thought of a theme, that by the red figure which by the novelty and elegance of the movement must excite the curiosity of the spectator. A nude ephebe is crowned with leaves and stands erect on the right leg (Fig. 183). He leans forward to support an amphora with painted base, which he holds in equilibrium on the end of his raised left foot. His chlamys has slipped on the same leg and remains suspended there. Both hands are advanced and guard the movement of the amphora and are ready to seize it. The leaves of the crown are violet and black and are those of the garland passed around the neck of the amphora. The contour of the hair is detached from the ground by an incision; but these are slight details which are scarcely noted, and it is by the lines that the

brush both firm and fine, that the artist has modeled the body and members of this person, where he has indicated the folds of supple drapery. As for this image, one feels that the technique shown by it is in full possession of the procedures belonging to it, and that the painters who practise it have nothing more to learn.²

Note 1.p.277. Louvre. F, 129.

Note 1.p.278. We reproduce here only the figure of Hercules, which is well preserved. Almost entirely restored, the figure of Kyknos presents no interest.

Note 2.p.278. Again the red figure has taken possession of the interior of the basin in another cup with the name of Epilycos, which belongs to the museum of Palermo. (Pottier. *monuments Piot*. Vol. IX, p. 159-160).

It would be easy to cite also a number of other vases on which red figures thus form a pendant to black figures. Notably at Munich is an amphora of this sort, which with all probability it is believed can be attributed to the workshop of Andokides, like the amphora of the Louvre.¹ What this has that is particularly curious is, that the two paintings which decorate it also represent Hercules lying on a festal couch in the presence of his protectress Athena. The subject is the same then in the two paintings; but these are not exact replicas of each other. In the painting in which the images are dark silhouettes, the figure of Hercules is smaller than on the opposite side of the vase, leaving space near it not only for the arms hung on the wall, but also for two accessory figures. Hermes stands behind Athena, and behind the head of Hercules is a young cup bearer. The black figures are of careful work; but in the red figures the movement of the arm is more natural and the drawing of the profile is more correct. The nose is shorter and less pointed. The eye is less round; it tends to take the appearance which it should have in a side view. It is not the same painter who executed the two paintings. For one of them the maker chose among his workmen the one of them who had best retained the traditions of the ancient technique; but by comparing the two paintings it is divined, as we have done in regard to the amphora of the Louvre, that his preferences passed to the new technique. The best of the amphoras that can be credited to

that workshop are those on which are only light reserved figures.

Note 1.p.273. This is affirmed by Furtwängler, who first called attention to this interesting vase (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. IV).

It does not appear probable that men long persisted in contrasting and bringing together on the same vase black and red figures. In this Athens in which statuary and monumental painting then created works that began to light the dawn of growing perfection, taste became from year to year more delicate and more exacting, and could not fail to be shocked by this juxtaposition of the products of the two technics, whose principles were so different, or better said, so opposed. One must very quickly understand that it was preferable to allow each type to pursue separately its career. The black figure continued to benefit by the possession of the position that it had acquired; it remained particularly affected by certain kinds of vases, in which the local traditions had become rooted. As for the red figure, it had every interest to disengage itself from the ties of the past. It found it well to launch itself with full independence in the way opened to it by the happy initiative of some innovating artists, and where that was incited to proceed more and more boldly, the favor with which the best part of the public had welcomed its appearance.¹

Note 1.p.280. As potters who employed at the same time on the same vase both technics, may be cited besides Xicosthenes and Andokides, Pamphalos, Typhelides and Chelis. Epictetes is signed as painter the red figures of four cups in the mixed technics, that came from the workshops of Xicosthenes and of Hsichylos. See Klein, *Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, under these names.

Till what time did the potters of Athens continue to make and export vases with black figures at the same time as the vases with red figures? It is impossible to state this with some precision. It is known to be useless to seek in the literary texts data concerning the history of ceramics, and we do not find to cite in the series occupying us, a single vase that bears its date.² Yet in the collections contained in the great museums of Europe, have been formed series of vases with black figures to which is attributed a late origin, betrayed by many

indications. The most significant of all these are those derived from an attentive study of the execution of the images. In more than one of the paintings that decorate the vases arranged under that class, it cannot be doubted that the drawing feels the advance made by the painters of the red figures. The painter has put a freedom in the movement and a suppleness in the rendering of the living form, that would be sought in vain in even those vases with black figures signed by the best masters of that style, by Amasis and Exekias. Elsewhere these are perspectives and foreshortenings, the first examples of which were given in the decorations of Attic vases by the painters of the red figures. The workmen to whom are due these black figures, it is divined, also painted on occasion the red figures, or indeed at least they had seen them painted beside them. In the workshop where they worked, they had under their eyes vases in the new style.

Note 2.p.280. At most can be indicated on one of this series, amphora F 339 of the Douvre, the use of a form of letter, the sigma with four branches, that did not become in common use till in the 5th century.

If it is desired to prove by examples the influence that the red figure in the hour of its brilliant youth exercised on the aging black figure, there is only the embarrassment of choice; but to justify this assertion, it will suffice to call attention here to some of the vases that have been arranged in this series at the Louvre by M. E. Pottier, the most learned and refined of connoisseurs.

If there be in this collection a vase on which can be based without hesitation the classification in a group, this is indeed the amphora with decoration in metope in which is painted a figure on one side, a nuptial chariot, perhaps that of Zeus and Hera, escorted by Apollo with Dionysos, on the other side being Hercules slaying the giant Alkyoneus. Of the cortege that extends in one of the panels, nothing is to be said. There is a theme whose first data was borrowed by the decorators of clay from some models of grand art, but which comprised many variations, the sacred marriage of the master of Olympus and his companion, the wedding of Thetis and Peleus, etc. The theme is commonplace and the entire decoration there is pure routine.

The impression is quite different before the painting of the opposite side. That does not seem to be the work of the same hand. The fabrication is entirely different and very superior. (Fig. 184). What is striking at first is the air of superhuman power, that the painter has placed in the figure of his Hercules, in his entire pose, in the suppleness and vigor of the arms, one of which strongly grasps the wood of the bow, while the other pulls the cord on which he has fixed the murderous arrow. That arm carried to the height of the head is thus found to conceal half the face. In this movement is a correctness that gives the figure a singular intensity of life. The same merits are found, perhaps even more marked, in the figure of the giant with loins resting against the rock, who sleeps stretched on the ground beside his useless massy club, without suspecting the mortal stroke that will strike him. The ease of the body plunged in profound slumber is very well rendered. The eye is represented by a simple incision and is closed. The arms are strongly muscular and hang inert and dangling. The legs extend laxly on the ground. The lower portion of one is concealed by the crest of the rock.

The scene is very well composed. Between the preparations for the murder that put into play all the equipment with such irresistible force and the torpor that leaves without defense the designated victim, there is a contrast whose effect is happy; but what is especially surprising here, is the expressive freedom of drawing. There is a science of perspective that is sought in vain in the entire series of those archaic vases to which this amphora is connected by the opacity of the black silhouette placed on a light ground. One would perhaps be tempted to believe that the sketch for this painting was required by the chief of the workshop from a painter that employed the red figure, that the painting must be executed on a light ground. Thus would one have a vase of mixed technics, similar to the beautiful amphora, that we have attributed to Andokides. (Fig. 181). Then for a reason that escapes us, the master potter changed his views. He called a workman of the other crew to fill with black glaze the sketch traced on the clay, putting on the necessary retouches. In all ways, there is a sort of transposition. In realizing the form, it has changed at least

entirely its appearance, if not its character. The idea has been translated into language, which was not that currently used by the artist who conceived it.¹ This hypothesis finds an unforeseen and precious confirmation in the painting, that decorates an exterior of a cup of the museum of Munich, on which is read the signature of the potter Phintias.² There also Alkyoneus lies on the ground and Hercules prepares to strike him during his slumber. Now that painting does not seem to us worth that of our amphora. Its composition is less dramatic there. Hercules has for arms a club, which he has not even raised against his enemy. He holds it quite loosely in one hand, lowered toward the ground. Nothing is there comparable to the movement of the body of Hercules on the Paris amphora, to this movement in which all the energy of the torso and the arms is strained for the action. Likewise also the relaxation to which the members yield in the slumber seems more complete in the painting of the Paris amphora than in that of the cup. The painter that drew our black figures, that anonymous painter appears to have been more skilful than the painter of red figures employed by Phintias, to have belonged to a group, that was more advanced than that of Phintias.

Note 1.p.283. Köpp, who first reproduced the painting of the amphora of Paris (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884. p.31-48, Pl. IV), was much more occupied in studying the myth of Alkyoneus, in comparing the manner in which the poets presented it, and that represented by the painters, than to appreciate the style of this painting. Scarcely have we said one word of it. What proves how little was he interested in the question of art, is, that he gives only a line drawing of this painting. On examining the plate, if the reader has not read the Article carefully, he must believe that he is concerned with a vase with red figures.

Note 2.p.283. Furtwängler. *Griechische Vasenmalerei.* p. 168-170, Pl. CM. I do not have the cup under my eyes; but one can have all confidence in the drawing of Reichhold. Phintias has added there the figure of Hermes behind Alkyoneus to fill the void.

If we have emphasized this vase, this is because it has seemed to us more fitted than any other to demonstrate that the life of the black figure was prolonged very long after the appearance of the red figure, for the latter could not in a certain

measure profit by the advance accomplished by the rival that it just succeeded. Over other vases of this series whose study suggests the same conclusion, we shall pass more rapidly. To finish the demonstration, it will suffice to show again some paintings or fragments of paintings that also evidence this survival and the influence suffered.

Here on the shoulder of a hydria is a chariot drawn by four horses (Fig. 185). There is a motive that we have often found on our way; but here instead of showing a front as on the archaic vases, two of the horses present this in three-quarter view.

Otherwise, if in a certain black figure we divine a delayed contemporary of the red figure, this is because it offers us a movement of a man or animal, that the artist knew how to seize on the occasion in nature. The skill that his hand has conquered since it replaced the graver by the brush, allows him to utilize the souvenirs engraved in his memory, at the chance of encounters, with the sketches that he has made from life. For example, this will be the case for the image of a wounded horse, that stumbles and falls (Fig. 186).

Elsewhere again, it is a different matter. This action which the designers of the new school exert by the virtue of example, on those of their companions in the workshop that remain faithful to the old methods, one suspects and verifies in a certain elegance that these latest zealots for lapsed forms cannot prevent giving to their black figures. The painters in the ancient style were pleased to represent the women of Athens grouped around that fountain of Callirhoe, which the embellished city owed to Pisistratus. We have reproduced several of those paintings.¹ However little they can be compared to the same treated by the decorator of a hydria of the Louvre, will be judged by the difference (Fig. 187). There is more suppleness and variety in the movements. The women are no longer all upright in the field and separated from each other by equal intervals. Two of them, to better watch their jar that is being filled, have set one foot on the upper step on which are set the jars, beneath the open mouths that pour the water. The women whose amphoras are already full approach each other, as if to the chat which make the meeting at the fountain one of the amusements of the day of the housewives in Attica. There is an entirely novel thing in these ingenious refinements of the composition.

It is not only by traits of this kind, by this progress in drawing the figure, that this secret and penetrating action makes itself felt; whose effects we have mentioned. It also manifests itself on many vases of this series by the changes introduced in the general economy of the decoration. Amasis and Exekias, from whose workshops issued the masterworks of the black painting, had renounced the system of the circular zone, which the first Attic ceramists had borrowed from the Corinthians. They had no longer allowed the figures to distribute themselves freely and at their fancy over the entire side of the amphora. To give them more importance and place them better in view, they had put them within the enclosure made for them. This is what we have termed decoration in a *metope*. Now nothing would have required or longer justified the maintenance of that arrangement under the reign of the red figure. That found everywhere and on the entire surface of the amphora or hydria the black ground on which its silhouette was detached in light. In these conditions and to fill the spacious fields offered and to distribute his personages, the decorator longer had to take into account only the data of the subject that he proposed to treat. He returned then to the circular zone, that permitted grouping more numerous persons in the painting. This was then the mode most frequently taken by the painters of the new school. When we survey the vases with black figures, which do not permit classing among Attic-Corinthian the very warm tone and the brilliant lustre of their clay, we see reappear there frequently the arrangement that seems to have ^{been} renounced and not without reason, by the most authoritative of the masters of the ancient style.

For example, here is an amphora on which very frankly appears the return of the practices of former times (Fig. 188). For the entire vase are two paintings, one on the shoulder and the other on the body. Each of these paintings extends entirely around the amphora without the series of images being interrupted, even by the attachment of the handles. On the shoulder are chariot races, and on the body are banquet scenes.

When the potter appeared to wish to continue the tradition of the technics of Amasis and of Exekias, why was he led to no longer take into account examples that the masters had given

to their successors? Why was that unforeseen resumption of a system of decoration, that appeared to have fallen into disuse? There is a phenomenon that is explained by the simultaneous presence on the Attic workshops of that time, of two groups, each of which had its special task. At the school of the innovators, the last adherents of the black figure had been taught to draw and compose better, as we have seen. Was it not natural that by the effect of this contact, they were also led to adopt for the plan of the entirety of their decoration the formula placed in honor by those competitors, who would become their heirs. It was further what Nicosthenes had already done on his amphoras with one or more zones of superposed figures. (Fig. 176).¹

Note 1. p. 287. Pottier. Vases antiques. Pl. LXX, F, 100-108.

Most frequently when the painter thus returns to the circular bands, he does not renounce the two distinct paintings placed at the two sides of the amphora. He takes into account the natural division that marks the insertion of the handles, and beneath them he leaves a void that he fills by drawing there a great palmetum, a motive that we have already found on an amphora of Amasis (Fig. 111) and on an anonymous amphora (Fig. 134). We see this motive separate thus the two opposite fields on an amphora of very careful work (Fig. 189). There on one side are seen three cavaliers and two hoplites. On the other side is a troop of four hoplites between two cavaliers (Fig. 190). As for the subject on the shoulder, two athletes that wrestle between two seated judges, it is repeated from one side to the other without sensible variations. One feels there shown the care of establishing a relation between the scenes represented in the different fields of the same vase. While among the decorators of the archaic schools, there is found scarcely a trace of this care, it is manifested in very marked fashion on many vases of the series which we seek to define.² Now from the appearance of the red figure, the painters that have devoted themselves to that technics show themselves occupied in obtaining in some manner this connection of subjects. This is what does not fail to be proved by studying their work.³ If this be so, as there not reason to see in this new desire aroused in the last representatives of the past, also one of the results that could be expected from the habits created by

this work in common, that is imposed on the two groups of workmen contained in the populous workshops of Ceramicos.

Note 1.p.288. By a defect in printing, the vase is numbered 199 in Pottier's Plate.

Note 2.p.288. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 787-788. See at the Louvre, Hall F, the vases 218, bis, 222, 224, 227, 229, 234, 238, 250, 271, etc.

Note 1.p.289. Pottier. catalogue. p.830.

Everywhere there, even in the least detail of the ornamentation, the attentive observer feels that he notes in various ways the ascendant that the red figure has quickly conquered, and that in a way makes the black figure its dependant. It will suffice to cite one example of those borrowings that the retarders have made from the innovators. The latter loved to place below their paintings and near the bottom of the vase a band of round palmatiums, connected together by a light thread.² The last painters of the black figure freely employed this elegant motive, to which they assigned the same place (Fig. 191).

Note 2.p.289. Pottier. Vases antiques. Pl.92, 3, 43, 44, 45.

Yet life gradually retired from an art disdained by the most skilful ceramic painters then in Athens, an art no more practised except by painters of the second order. These ended by allowing to enter into the execution of their works a negligence, which seems to betray some weariness. The subjects represented are merely repeated commonplaces with rare exceptions. The lustre of the black diminishes. Men no longer know now properly to use the red and white retouches. The incised lines lack clearness or are omitted. They no longer complete the modeling of the figures and indicate the play of drapery. Particularly the drawing is relaxed. Without having acquired the suppleness of the drawing of the red figure, it has lost the slightly stiff refinement and the fineness, that formed its nobility in the works of the former masters. There is an indecision that feels the decadence.

When in some of the workshops of Ceramicos, the light figure reserved on a dark ground had appeared in its first novelty to solicit the approval of amateurs of beautiful vases, the chiefs of industry at first hesitated between the two technics; but they had soon understood the side of the future, and they soon

equipped themselves as a result. Yet in the interest of their affairs, they had thought it necessary not to abruptly stop the fabrication, which had made the fame and fortune of their workshop. Yet they had soon found that their best patrons, those who could pay the highest prices, by preference demanded from them the vases with red figures. Then from year to year, they had reduced the part they formed in the production of their workshops to the technics struck by decay. We have ^{been} informed of this by an indication whose sense of value cannot escape us. Of all vases that the most refined connoisseurs have arranged in that series, I see but one signed with the name of Lysias.¹ The honors of that signature were reserved by potters and painters for other vases, which by their style and appearance better responded to the taste of today. The care of decorating what was still made of vases with black figures was left to the oldest workmen, to those that could not hope that their names could be first on the market. Even the names of kalos are very rare in this series. Not on these vases that were slightly sacrificed did the potters like to place the exclamations by which they rendered homage to the beautiful young men of the aristocracy, and sought to secure their patronage.

Here again is another symptom of the malady that attacked and would soon kill after a long wasting, the technics already condemned. The potters of Athens appear to have renounced after a certain time the use of this lapsed method for decorating vases of great height and luxury, hydrias, amphoras and crateras, whose places were marked in festal halls, as well as the cups for the same destination. Black silhouettes, they further placed only on vases of small dimensions, very small amphoras, oenochoes of the form called olpe, lecythes that replaced the alabaster and aryballa of the Corinthians, skyphos and kyathos. What there is most careful are lecythes with white grounds, of which they will make such charming works in the 5th century. All that near the lecythes were vessels of second quality, that were intended for the more modest portion of the local patrons and the foreign patronage. In the ancient times as in modern times, there was never an active and fruitful industry, which did not fabricate at the same time as the works that did it.

honor, also what we term trumpery wares. Frequently by cheap articles, most profit is made.

Note 1.p.290. Louvre. F, 339.

Note 2.p.290. The amphoras of the best period of the black figure, those of Exekias and of Timagoras are 1.48 to 1.64 ft. high. For those late amphoras of very common manufacture, the average height is no more than 0.82 to 0.98 ft.

Note 1.p.291. Two pretty lecythes with black figures are published in *M. Jour. Arch.* Vol. XV. 1911, p.302-303. The author of the Article believes that he finds there the manufacture of the workshop of Andokides.

Until what time was prolonged this survival of the black figure? It is difficult to state. What is certain is, that in the Greek workshops the tradition was never entirely lost. Habits were formed that were sufficiently tenacious and powerful to retain always its place for that figure in certain kinds of vases. Laready was there much difficulty in leaving it in the workshops where were shaped and decorated the vases that served for the commerce in wines. Piraeus, since it was opened and arranged by Themistocles, had become a great port for exports. It must have been there that merchants collected the wines of Attica and those of the adjacent islands. To send them afar, they were placed in amphoras, just as our merchants of Bordeaux place today in casks and bottles the wines of southwest France.

It is believed that the receptacles employed in these shipments have been recognized in the amphoras, whose paintings of careless execution represent the Menads and Dionysos surrounded by vines that fill the entire field.¹ These images which the potter repeated on thousands of vases without seeking to diversify and renew them, played the part of a label to indicate to the purchaser the origin and contents of the amphora; the foreign purchaser was accustomed to see them detached in black on a light ground. Not to disconcert him, they hesitated for some time to modify the appearance of these amphoras. The vases of this type increased the number of those, which one believes he is justified in classing among the delayed vases in the museums, among the laggards of the black figure.

Note 1.p.292. Pottier. Catalogue. p.785-788. See Louvre. Mall F, 210-215.

So after these delays, it was decided to use the red figure for amphoras to carry wines, there is another group of vases in which for more than two centuries, the black figure successfully defended its positions against its fortunate rival. A religious tradition connected it with the clay vases of those Panathenaic amphoras, whose character and role we have had occasion to define.² On those vases whose assignment to the victors of the games was made at the great national festival, the dark silhouette of Athena Promachos, relieved by touches of red and of blue, always maintained itself with a persistence, that recalls the homage continually rendered in many sanctuaries to the old images of the local deity, even when for a long time statuary had learned to give to the gods and goddesses more noble and beautiful features. The consecrated image appeared about 560 on an amphora of very archaic character discovered by Eurgon at Athens in 1814.³ We find it there and nearly the same until on an amphora, where the name of the archon inscribed on it is assigned to the year 333 (middle of Fig. 92). Same movement, armor and costume with the addition of the same legend, in which the painter has remained faithful to the old orthography. All the difference is that the drawing has become more free and shows the progress that art has made since the time of Pisistratus. This allows the judgment of the principal side of an amphora placed about the beginning of the 4th century by authors, that have undertaken to classify in chronological order the vases composing that series (Fig. 192). There is noted the group of the lion and stag that decorates the shield; It is reserved on a black ground.

Note 2.p.292. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p.127-130.

Note 3.p.292. British Museum. Catalogue. P. 130.

The Panathenaic amphoras further are not alone in informing us, that in the workshops of ceramics were always workmen, who when the occasion required, paint the black figure. We are also informed of this by several painters of red figures on which are represented vases that the painter has decorated by little persons in black. Many accessories, charges on shields, oenocnoes for libations, little bands of animals on necks of vases, are still made in the black manner on the vases of the classic age.¹ There are more; a cup with red figures, connected with the style of the workshop of Eryxos, also presents two fig-

figures treated in black and mixed with the rest of the composition; but these are merely the artifices of knowing artists who sometimes amuse themselves by scattering in the light decoration of their vases some light notes of black to vary its appearance. The eyes of connoisseurs perhaps finds some pleasure in seeing those recalled by many details not emphasized by the brush, the procedures and results of a technique that had long years of vogue, and whose memory was not yet lost.

Note 1. p. 233. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 849. On a beautiful *loutrophore* of the 5th century, below red figures of great dimensions representing the dead lying on his bed, there is a little band of racing horsemen, painted in black silhouettes on the light ground. (Collignon, *Loutrophore attique a sujet funeraire in monuments Piot. I. Pls. V-VI*).

Also the Panathenaic amphoras are not the only vases with black figures to which without hesitation may be attributed a date later than that of the full triumph of the red figure; but to find these other survivals of the ancient technique, it is necessary to leave Attica. We have here in view the ceramics of a very peculiar character, fragments of which have been collected on the site of the Cabirion very near Thebes. In this canton of Beotia as in Attica, what has aroused and what explains this apparent anomaly are local customs connected with the rites of an ancient and popular cult. There was a very ancient and much venerated temple. The excavations of 1888 proved that on several occasions it had been rebuilt and placed in the taste of the day.¹ Pausanias speaks of ceremonies celebrated there as mysteries that permitted an initiation;² but as he always does in a like case, he pretends not to be able to say without lacking respect for the gods, what were the revelations that the initiated came to seek in these mysteries. Although we may perhaps not gain to know much of this secret, the same idea of what one would form of the nature of the Cabires and of the powers attributed to them by the piety of the faithful, what the excavators have proved is, that the sanctuary of the Cabires was much frequented by the people of Thebes and of Boeotia, as well as by the inhabitants of the rich country in the vicinity. These festivals attracted a great concourse of persons. After having adored the great and powerful gods, as

the Cabires were called, the devotees did not wish to return home without leaving in the temple or its vicinity an offering, that would ensure to them a continuation of the favors of the deity.

Note 1.p.294. Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben; I. K. Jülich. Die Lage des Temples. II. V. Dörpfeld. Der Tempel. (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, p.81-89, Pl. II).

Note 2.p.294. Pausanias. IX. 25. 5-10; IX. 1-5. The words *tele*, *orgia*, *myein*, recur several times in the mentions that Pausanias makes of the cult of the Theban Cabires.

Note 3.p.294. See F. Lenormant. Article Cabires in Saglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquites. I incline to believe that Lenormant is mistaken in rejecting the idea of an original relationship between the Greek Cabires and the Phoenician Kabirim, the strong ones.

The remains of these offerings have been gathered on the site itself of the temple and around it in considerable quantity.¹ These are figurines of bronze, of lead and of terra cotta. There were remains of several different ceramics, vases of geometric decoration and with Corinthian ornamentation, Attic vases with black figures and with red figures; but what particularly attracts attention are the fragments of a pottery, which by the inscriptions that it bears gives reason to think that it was made expressly for the service of the sanctuary, to supply to the believers the vases, which they were accustomed to consecrate here to the Cabires, just as the Ionians at Naucratis presented them to the great deities of the colony, Apollo and Aphrodite.

Note 1.p.295. Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. III. H. Kriegerfeld. Die Vasenfunde (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, p. 413-428, Pls. IX-XII). IV. P. Wolters. Die Terrakotten. VI. Verschiedenes. B. Gräf. Gegenstände aus Bronze und Blei (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XI, p. 355-356; 365-377, Pl. XIV). There has been frequently mentioned a publication in which would be described and represented all the fragments of these vases that offer any interest; but the collection announced has not yet appeared.

Note 2.p.295. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p. 388.

These inscriptions are dedications to the Cabires. In Scythia is never a question of but a single Cabire, while elsewhere at Samothrace and Lemnos the Cabires are usually three in num-

number. Those dedications read on the fragments of Attic vases were engraved with a point of metal in the clay.³ The vases bearing them were purchased at Thebes or Thespis in view of the approaching pilgrimage, from merchants that kept in the city articles from Athens; but elsewhere the formula of consecration presents itself in other conditions. Its letters were traced on the clay with the brush before firing, with the color that served for the execution of the entire decoration. For example, this is proved by a fragment from a vase of very great dimensions; this is the neck of a vase, an amphora or hydria, (Fig. 193). The potter had arranged there in the black glaze a light field in which he enclosed this dedication; (Greek).¹

Note 3.p.235. Das Kabirenheiligtum. VII. Szanto. Enschriften (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XV. p. 377-419).

Note 1.p.236. A dedication to Cabires traced with the brush is also read on a fragment of a vase, on which was represented the combat of Bellerophon against the Chimera, turned into parody (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, Pl. XI).

We cannot decide who was this giver, the potter himself or one of his patrons, and what is evident is, that the vase of which we have a fragment there was shaped and decorated expressly to be offered and exhibited in the sacred enclosure. It was certainly the same for another vase, a great cup, half of which remains to us (Fig. 194). There is seen represented the Cabire himself in the attitude of a man extended on a rest couch, the four other personages associated with him by the local religion by an unknown title. That one of the four who plays the most important part as the pais, "the young man" Standing before the Cabire, he holds a vase with which he is going to dip from the cratera the wine, that he will pour into the canthera which the god extends to his servant. Among certain dedications that have been found on fragments are a certain number, on which is read the name of the pais, either joined to the name of the Cabire or sometimes mentioned alone. This vase that the chance of the excavations have preserved to us, gives reason to suppose the existence of other vases of the same kind, on which were represented with many variations the god himself and the secondary persons to whom went a part of the homage received by the god of the mysteries. It can scarcely be doubted that the workshop of workshops from which came all these vases were

from one handle to the other a little below the edge. This foliage is most frequently that of the ivy. There is also recognized on many fragments that of the vine, of the olive and of some other plants.¹ We see that garland on a fragment of the vase, whose neck bears the dedication of Smicros (Fig. 196). It is found there on the cup that we have reproduced (Fig. 195). On many of these bowls is only plant ornament; but on others whose price must have been higher, the painter placed personages below this crown. In the execution of these figures, everywhere in all is the same story, that has freedom but nothing of the elegance and nobility which characterize the Attic paintings with red figures, whose contemporaries are the black figures of the vases of the Cabirion. In the latter, whatever the image represents, it nearly always turns to caricature. This is not as in certain very archaic pictures, the involuntary result of the painter's lack of skill. It is not a simple appearance, by which one would be wrong to allow himself to be deceived, as sometimes occurred at the beginning of the studies of the ceramograph. Without any doubt there is something desired, the effect sought for. Here is the first time, that in surveying work of Greek ceramic painters we find premeditated caricature, true caricature. How is explained this strange phenomenon, the appearance of a new form of art? There is a problem, whose solution we cannot fail to seek.

Note 1.p.297. Winnefeld gives specimens of all these leaves. (Article cited, Fig. 413).

The intentions and the mode taken by the artist cannot be doubted. As proved by the figures of the Cabire and of Pais in the painting that we have already reproduced, the painter has shown that he was sufficiently master of his brush to draw, when he wished, images in which the movements and the lines of the face should be correct and not without a certain elegance. (Fig. 194).¹ Now in the painting itself, two of the persons, Mitos and Pratolaos, have profiles of such irregularity that they attain ugliness. The hair is in disorder, the brow projects, the eye is sunken, the nose is large and short, the mouth grimaces, and is widely opened between the thick lips; the chin is long. This same type is found nearly as just described in nearly all the persons that appear on those vases found in

established in the vicinity of the sanctuary. When the faithful came to pay their devotions, then commenced by entering the booth of these artisans in some way accredited near the Cabire. They made their orders or purchases there. There was an entire industry of founders, modelers and potters that lived by the temple and the piety of its frequenters.

The vases coming from the workshops attached to the temple did not all bear separately, either one of those dedications painted on the clay or the effigy of the god and his abolytes; but the vases thus provided with what may be termed their certificate of origin, have characteristics sufficiently marked that without fear of error, many other vases can be connected with them, or better said, many other fragments that if presented alone, could not tell us where or in what circumstances they were produced. Between these vases, whose civil status is not regular and those on which the titular furnishers of the devotees to the Cabires have placed their signature in a way, there are such striking resemblances, that one cannot hesitate to reunite these two groups in the same homogeneous series, to attribute to them the same authors, the same date and destination.

In both is the same clay of a yellowish red; it is the same glazel, that only exceptionally has on some pieces the firm lustre of the Attic black. Most frequently it tends to brown, the incised line is employed to model the interiors of the figures to indicate some details, there are sometimes light retouches of violet or white. There is the predominance of the same form, for which the painters of the Cabirion appeared to have a very apparent preference, the form of a very deep cup, almost as wide at bottom as at top (Fig. 195). Placed very near the lip of the vases, the two handles are small rings furnished with lateral projections on which the finger could rest. Was this singular arrangement required by certain rites of the local cult? It was convenient for handling the vase; but it lacks grace. This model of the skyphos seems to properly belong to the Boeotian potters. So far as I know, it has not been found elsewhere.

Like the entire form, the elements of the decoration are alike in the two groups. The motive that these artisans love and repeat on all their cups is a garland of leaves, that extends

these excavations that we have thought should be considered because of the entirety of the characters of their fabrication, as the products of the Workshop to which is due the vase on which the Cabire is enthroned. To give a just idea of the spirit in which was executed the decoration of all these vases, to appreciate the singularity of the style of their paintings, it will suffice to reproduce the paintings by which are decorated two of the best preserved of these skyphos.

Note 1.p.298. It is the same in another painting, that in which a satyr is figured opposite two Menads (Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, Pl. XV. There the satyr alone has a grotesque type, and this is right. In the movement and the trace of the profile of the Menads is nothing that differs from what is found on all vases on which are represented scenes of this sort.

Here is first Circe who hands to Ulysses the cup into which she has poured the draught by the virtue of which will be inflicted on him the change of which all his companions are already victims (Fig. 197). So that the spectator can seize at first sight the subject of the painting, the painter has written over his female figure the name of Circe, Kirke in the Boeotian dialect. He might indeed have dispensed with taking that trouble. Every Greek that knew his Odyssey would have recognized at once Circe by the cup held in her hand, and especially by the handicraft opposite her, by this loom on which "singing with a beautiful voice, she wove a great cloth, one that could not be used, which had the fineness, grace and splendor of the works made by goddesses." ¹ Ulysses was no less recognizable by this felt cap, the pilos, usually given to him by sculptors and painters. To complete and define this scene, there was finally the figure placed behind the loom. This is a sort of monster that has the head, body and front paws of a hog, while the hind limbs are the legs of a man. Before this strange image, who would not recall the adventure of those imprudent men, from whom the sorceries of Circe had taken away the human form, without removing feeling and memory? ²

Note 1.p.299. Odyssey. X. 222-223.

Note 2.p.299. The same. 229-244.

Hesitation would not have been greater before the painting that decorates another cup of entirely similar make (Fig. 198).

One very quickly recognizes there a theme familiar to the ceramic painters, the meeting of Peleus with the wise Centaur Chiron, to whom the hero came to entrust the enfant Achilles, and to give him the care of raising and instructing in the mountain the son of the goddess, that was promised such high destinies.¹

Note 1.p.300. For the paintings in which the same subject is treated, see S. Reinach. *Repertoire de vases grecs et étrusques*, Vol. I, p. 74; II, p.31.

One cannot doubt that the painter had a firm purpose to turn into grotesque the representation of these myths borrowed from the old epic poetry. Circe is no longer here "the goddess of the beautiful ringlets, the divine singer!"² who during an entire year shared her couch with the charmed Ulysses. With her short and stumpy stature, with her deformed face to which the great projection of the lower jaw gives the appearance of the muzzle of a beast, she is almost repulsive; but there is something of comic gayety in the attractive gesture by which with both arms, she offers the perfidious cup to Ulysses, and in his movement, who with open hands seems in haste to take the vase and drink the poison; this is because he knows himself protected against the effect of sorcery by the antidote, that Hermes has caused him to take.³ Comic is also the attitude of this hog, that according to the poet retained a human soul.⁴ The snout is raised to the sky as for a mute protest; but he is there in the ease of the pose, like the satisfaction of the beast full of the acorns, that the sorceress has thrown him in full handfuls.

Note 2.p.300. *Odyssey*. X. 136.

Note 3.p.300. The same. 275-301.

Note 4.p.300. The same. 239-240.

If in the figure of Chiron with his matted hair and the great branch of a tree that he bears on his shoulder, we see nothing essentially varying from the type that custom has continued to give to the Centaurs, but on the other hand, in the two short persons advancing toward him, clothed in long robes and leaning on staves, there is difficulty to recover as one imagines them, on the one hand the athlete whose strength and suppleness triumphed over the tricks by which Tethis wished to tear herself from his embrace, and on the other hand "Achilles of the light

feet," the future conqueror of Hector.

By comparison of the fragments, men have come to restore at least in part several other paintings of the same kind, where in spite of the absence of all legend, has been recognized the representation of various myths that other painters of vases have placed in view. There is Bellerephon in combat with the Chimera.¹ With all the force of his arms the hero pulls toward him by the halter a restive Pegasus; one would say a horse that does not wish to advance. This scarcely responds to the idea that sculpture usually seeks to give to the divine mount that the poets in their turns have wished to ride. There is also a combat of cranes and pygmies;² but here the pygmies are merely as on the cratera of Ergotimos, valiant little warriors who endeavor to struggle without too much disadvantages, against the great wings and long beaks of their feathered enemies. (Figs. 106, 107). The ardor of the battle carries them even to ferocity. One of them bites with beautiful teeth the neck of the crane that he overthrows. Slender and with noble charm in the painting of Klitias, the pygmies here are stumpy and ugly dwarfs. There are also mentioned, but without giving an image anywhere, fragments of another vase on which was represented a Norseman, near whom was written his name Kephalos. It seems that this does not refer to the tragic death of Procris, the spouse of Kephalos. The latter is hunting; but the fox that his dog and he pursue returns toward them with a defiant and mocking air.¹

Note 1.p.301. Athen. Mitt. vol. XIII, Pl. XI.

Note 2.p.301. The same. Pl. XII.

Note 1.p.302. The same. p. 421.

How are the myths and arts of design, like the poetry that inspires them, when usually taken seriously, are they treated here in a manner to provoke laughter, are they translated into jesting scenes? This is because the rustic festivals celebrated around the Cabirian must have the same character as those Dionysiac festivals of winter, where in Megaris and Attica, nearly everywhere the Greek peasant opened the amphoras in which two or three months earlier, he had placed the juice of the grape. It was then that for the first time he tasted the new wine, still young, and sought a joyous drunkenness. Then in the vil-

villages marched that phallic procession in which Aristotle saw the origin of comedy.² The same overflowing gayety was loosed in the panegyries, taking the word still used in Greece today for this occasion, which gathered around the Boeotian sanctuary the people of the vicinity. We are informed of this by certain paintings that decorate the vases brought to light by these excavations. On the back of the vase on which is represented Kephalos, is seen a man loading a cart drawn by two mules, on which are piled jars that may be supposed to be filled with wine. Besides these are the initiated, recognizable by the little bands encircling their heads and the branches held in their hands; wrapped in their mantles and leaning on staves, they are amused by the bounds of a dancer provided with an enormous phallus. Elsewhere is a chariot also drawn by two mules, on which the husband and wife go to the temple. At the head of the troop of pilgrims of which they form a part, marches dancing women covered by a Phrygian caps and an old man runs, who carries on his shoulders a fat flute player.³ Finally, on another skyphos is seen a flutist whose cheeks are swelled by the effort made to blow in his instrument. Opposite him are two nude dancers, one of whom brandishes a tympanon, while the other shakes some crowns.¹

Note 2.p.302. Aristotle. Poetics. Section 4.

Note 3.p.302. Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, p. 422.

Note 1.p.302. British Museum. Catalogue II, p. 73.

In the painting that we have reproduced at the beginning of this study (Fig. 194), the Cabire holds in his hand the vase dear to Dionysos, the canthara. On another fragment, the painter had represented a troop of pilgrims approaching the statue of the god, some making the gesture of prayer with the arms. There again the Cabire is couched in the attitude of repose and his right hand raises a rhyton.² No text informs us concerning the conception to which corresponded the type of the Boeotian Cabire; but the figured monuments invite us to believe that the local religion established a close relation between the Cabire and Dionysos, that perhaps even went to confuse the two deities. All this relationship of the Cabire and of Dionysos tends to inform us. This is in the first place the drinking vase that is everywhere the attribute of the cabire. It is the

place given to the Bacchic procession (*Komoi*) in the temple festivals. It is the vine loaded with bunches of grapes that fills the reverse field of several vases that we have described. The festivals of the Cabire do not seem to have differed sensibly from those celebrated in honor of Dionysos at Icaria as in other villages, of Attica. In an air all charged with vapors of wine, in the shade of the sacred wood where they danced to the sound of the Phrygian flute on the grass covered by glades, improvised actors installed themselves either on stages formed of some planks, or on carts unharnessed in the shade of great trees. Standing on these platforms in the midst of the crowd and its noisy rejoicing, they amused themselves by parodying in living tableaux that turned into buffoonery the myths that grand art took seriously in the decoration of edifices and on the theatres of cities in tragedy.¹

Note 2. p. 303. Athen. Mitt. Vol. XIII, p. 421.

Note 1. p. 304. On these mimic dances and the place made for them in the rites and cults of several temples, see A. and N. Croiset. *Histoire de la littérature grecque*. Vol. III, p. 24-25.

The image of these rural jests is reflected on the surfaces of certain vases dedicated in this sanctuary by the piety of believers that frequented it. Those of these vases decorated by the paintings just described very strongly resemble each other. At the same time, they are distinguished by traits clearly distinct from the products of a certain other ceramics, that has also left its trace in the mass of fragments found in this place. As proved by the inscriptions which they bear and the paintings which the brush have placed on them, it cannot be doubted that they are the work of potters, who worked at the place in the dependencies of the temple. The series formed by these vases offers such unity that one inclines to believe all of them nearly contemporary. If they represent the work of a long series of potters, they would not have so many characteristics in common; one would note sensible differences between them, as are always produced where several generations of artists succeed each other, so that there may be evolution, progress or decadence. Here is nothing similar. The impression received from a careful examination of the vases of this group is, that they all came from the same workshop, whose activity

had but a brief duration.

Where should be placed this period of activity to which we owe these curious monuments? With the learned men that first studied this strange ceramics, we do not believe that for it we should go back beyond the 4th century.² All concurs in indicating this to us. It is the same for the statues of Cabires and of Pais that are reproduced on two of these vases. No longer is felt there the least trace of archaic stiffness. The pose is of very free ease. Also consider in others of these paintings the drawing of those figures not pushed to the change. It recalls that of the Attic vases of the free style, of those reported at the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th. For example, this is the case for the painting where two Menads face a Silenus.³ Finally, what suffices to justify the very recent date proposed to assign to these vases, is the fact that on all, even on those where to obtain a comic effect, the painter has most deformed the image, the eye is presented in profile. It is more frankly the same on those Attic vases with red figures of the severe style, as one says. The humble Beotian potter that worked for his rural patrons was certainly not a knowing draftsman. If without appearing to suspect that he never had a difficulty there, he gives everywhere a correct drawing of the eye seen sidewise, this is because in the century in which he occupied himself in decorating clay, this representation had become long familiar to all ceramic painters.

Note 2. p. 304. *Athen. Mitt.* Vol. XIII, p. 424. Walters speaks of the second half of the 5th century (*Jour. Hell. Studies.* 1892, p. 78).

Note 3. p. 304. *Athen. Mitt.* Vol. XIII, Pl. X.

This pottery with black figures of the Cabirion, there could be no question of seeing there a direct prolongation of the archaic technics, a technics that in Beotia during some years a more than elsewhere, had maintained its ground against the triumphal ambitions and a new technics. What must be recognized here is the renaissance of a lapsed art, a local and temporary renaissance explained by incidents whose details escape us. Pausanias mentions a certain Methapos of Athens, an itinerant miorophant, who in the Messenia freed by Epaminondas had recognized the cult of Andania, and who among the Thebans had reest-

reestablished the mysteries of the Cabires.¹ His intervention must arouse a new gathering of the faithful of the old sanctuary, which had been slightly neglected during a time more or less lengthy, and it would then be a response to the demands of the multitude of devotees, that was opened the workshop from which issued the vases that we have described. It was in the restoration of a very ancient cult that the potter concurred thus, and it is perhaps that he desired to mark by the mode adopted for the paintings traced on his vases. In returning to the black figure, he aged in some sort these offerings consecrated to the god, replaced in possession of his temple; he antedated them.

Note 1. p. 305. Pausanias. IV. 1, 7-9.

If this explanation and this conjecture are accepted, this ceramics would be attributed to the period during which by the talents of Epaminondas and of Pelopidas, Thebes conquered an incontestable superiority in Greece. Beotia must then be very prosperous, and as always happens in such cases, the artists must be called on to express the feelings of joy and pride, that the city experienced which in a few years had acquired so much power and glory. What could produce this effort of art, we could know better if in 335 Alexander had not destroyed the edifices of Thebes; but at least we could connect with this as a very secondary episode of this movement, the original work of the potters who worked for the Cabirion. Those potters must extinguish their kilns after the battle of Cheronea. We knew from Pausanias that the Macedonian conquerors of Thebes devastated all Beotia, and did not respect the Cabirion. The temple must then be destroyed with the buildings that surrounded it. Thus came to an end this last renaissance of the black figure.

In truth, the history of this technique ends with the vases of the Cabirion. This is scarcely so, if one believes that he should mention the vases with black figures, which in the course of the 3rd century were made in a Campanian or Apulian workshop in Italy. Their paintings present no interest. They are of very careless execution. Scarcely any engraved lines. Very few white and red retouches. There can hardly be seen more than an isolated experiment, the caprice of a potter, who to excite the attention of the purchaser, had the idea on a fine

day to imitate well or badly the decoration of the archaic vase which he had seen taken from some old tombs in the cemetery of a dead city like Sybaris.

CHAPTER XXVI. CHRONOLOGY OF VASES.

When we shall undertake to sketch the history of archaic ceramics of Athens, we should like to introduce there the precision of dates. Some well established dates have been as many landmarks planted on this long route with multiple deviations, indications that have allowed the reader to count and measure the stages of the route traversed, but unfortunately the historian of ancient art, when he attacks the painted vase knows little where to seek the elements of an even approximate chronology. The literature refuses him for the industrial arts the data often confused and sometimes subject to caution, yet always very useful to collect, that it furnishes to him for the architecture, monumental painting and statuary. Those ceramic painters that we study with such vivid curiosity scattered their multiple work, in the eyes of their contemporaries were persons too small for any of them to be placed in those catalogues of artists classified by groups and by Olympiads, that Pliny has transcribed with so little criticism, and which yet render inappreciable services.

Only by indirect ways can we attain and not without doubts to date from a certain year or even a certain Olympiad, one of the vases that we have described, but at least to judge well of the place proper to assign it in the continuity of the effort of one of those centuries in which art, served by circumstances and stimulated by the favor of the public, multiplied its creations and marched from advance to advance.

It is a primary means of locating in time the work of a school or the production of a workshop. This is to interrogate history, to learn from it what the political and social life of the principal States of Greece, at what moment a certain art, a certain industry found the conditions and surroundings of a nature to facilitate and hasten their development. It is by this method that we have been able to determine in what order have succeeded the different ceramics, whose inventory we have drawn up, and that we have fixed the relative age of each. Without going back to Mycenaean civilization, that forms a separate world, we have thus recognized, that on this common ground as in other domains, it was the Ionians who took the initiative and gave the example. Their domicile was the eastern coast of the Anatolian peninsula and the adjacent islands. Thus they found themselves

defended by the entire breadth of the Egean sea, from the attacks and the contact of those tribes of the North, which about the 11 th century B.C. invaded European Greece, and there struck with death the art of the Achaian kingdoms. This original and naturalistic art, the Ionians were thus able to gather as its heritage, at least in part. On the other hand, posted as they were at the end of the roads from the valley of the Euphrates, which ended at the sea, they received by the intermediary of the Lydians the products of Chaldean industry, and these placed at their disposal an entire repertory of types and motives, among which they had only the embarrassment of choice. About the same time, to this already very rich and very varied repertory they also added the additional forms offered to their eyes in the marvelous decoration of the Egypt of the Saite princes. This Egypt was all brilliant with vivid colors of its polychrome edifices, and the Ionians had set foot there perhaps after the 8 th century; in the 7 th, soldiers of fortune, artisans and merchants, curious travelers, were already scattered there.

In these conditions, we cannot be astonished that the potters of Ionia were first to declare themselves badly satisfied with the cold combinations of the geometric style and to revive the clay, to infuse in it life in a way by projecting on the surfaces of vases the images of the plant and animal, then soon afterwards that of man and movements by which were expressed his feelings and ideas. We have then thought it possible to refer to the last years of the 8 th century the vases of what we have termed the first Rhodian style, those vases on which all the decoration is borrowed, either from certain survivals of Mycenaean art or especially from oriental models, tapestries and embroideries, ivories and metal cups, those vases where no inscription shows that writing is already in current use among the people who fabricated them.¹

Note 1. p. 309. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p. 465.

These vases on whose sides extend bands of real or factitious animals, their remains have been found among the ruins of colonies that Miletus had formerly scattered on the northern coast of the Euxine sea. In the course of the last years they have been gathered in abundance at Olbia in particular, and in the little adjacent island of Eerezan, which an isthmus formerly

joined to the continent, in the gulf into which flowed both the Hypanis (Bug) and the Borysthenes (Dnieper). They have been collected in the pits into which the colonists cast their trifling wastes, as also in the tombs of the cemeteries. Everywhere there have been gathered in great number fragments of pottery, which we are told recall in a striking manner the style of the vases of Naucratis and that of the plates and oenochoes of Rhodes. On these fragments are mentioned to us feeding ibexes, lions that attack bulls or stags. There are also hunting scenes.²

Note 2. p. 303. Ernest von Stern. Die griechische Kolonization am Nordgestade des Schwarzen Meeres am lichte archaologischen Forschung. (Klio. 1903. p. 139-152). This interesting Memoir is unfortunately not accompanied by plates and figures; but the author gives with much precision there the principal results of excavations and researches executed under his direction or his eyes. We regret not being able to consult the collections published in the Russian language, to which he refers in his notes for further developments.

It was from this metropolis that the Greeks who inhabited those distant colonies must ask all that could aid them to continue to lead the Hellenic life in barbarous lands, as well as manufactured articles, known by the intermediary of rhapsodies, tales of epic poetry, and the songs of the first lyric poets. Thus at Sinope, when the Milesians perhaps set foot after the 6th century, and in these agencies of southern Russia, that appear to have been founded in the course of the 7th century, one after another from the mouth of the Danube to Theodosia and Panticapea in the Tauric Chersonesus (Crimea); but it is Olbia that by recent excavations has furnished for the archaic period the most precious information on the habits and the commercial relations, that Miletus had with those of its sons that had gone to represent it in the fogs of that cold country. Here is what proves the price that those colonists attached to the painted vase whereon flowered the elegance of this brilliant civilization, whose traditions and tastes they desired to retain in spite of their distance. On a number of these fragments are noticed lead clasps, that from antiquity had served to hold together pieces broken by some accident in the course of the long voyage, that the distance imposed on the ships that transported these vessels through the tempests feared in that inhospitable sea.

It was necessary to shorten this voyage as much as possible. Not from Egypt were sent vases to the shores of the Euxine sea. If the pottery of Olbia and of Naucratis greatly resemble each other, this is because both reproduce the types created by the same workshop. Now this shop was perhaps only that of Miletus, the great Ionian city that placed at the service of its maritime commerce powerful art industries. We have believed that we should cause to be observed in a previous study, that ceramographs were too hasty in applying to an entire list of vases the name of Miletan vases, that is not justified by discoveries made on the site itself of Miletus.¹ The use of this term appears less premature if we take in consideration the finds at Olbia and other Greek sites in the same region. If not from Miletus, from whence did the Miletan colonists obtain either the vases sent them by the ship captains of the mother country, or the potters who could be tempted to establish themselves at the agencies of the North to exercise their trade at the place?

Note 1. p. 310. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, p. 203-204, 415.

In the rubbish pile, the contents have the most archaic and simplest character, have been collected the fragments of vases in the style that we have called the primary Eneolian style.² One is there among the ruins of houses, whose construction is most rustic, and which must represent the most ancient Miletan establishment. There is reason to attribute these vases to the same epoch when Miletus undertook for the first time to open outlets on these shores for its commerce, i.e., in the 7th century. In other pits that seem to correspond to a later stage of Miletan colonization, there are found with the remains of Ionian vases and particularly of polychrome cups, fragments of Corinthian and of Attic vases with black figures. Thus one ascends to the 5th century.³ That is the time when in the continental or insular workshops, that we do not well know where they were situated on the map, Ionian potters conceived ambitions higher than those where their predecessors stopped. Contemporaneous poetry had furnished the themes of their paintings; for the execution of their decoration they profited by the procedures, such as line engraving, that had been invented by other ceramists, from whom they also learned to use inscriptions to make better understood the subjects of their paintings. Their design benefits by examples offered them by monumental paintings

and then they produce works like the hydrias of Saere, those cups of Siana and of Cyrene in which we have recognized the models that inspired the Attic potters, when they launched on the market the cups with slender feet, walls embellished by beautiful figures, by which foreign purchasers were so quickly and strongly charmed.

Note 2.p.310. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 240.

Note 3.p.310. E. von Stern. p.142-143. To judge by the differences noted in the mode of construction of habitations and the contents of the pits, there could be nearly a century of interval between the founding of the agency and the moment when a new reinforcement of colonists came to augment the population.

Corinth commenced nearly as soon as Miletus to be a great city of industry and commerce. Vessels made of the excellent clay that abounded in its suburbs were certainly one of the first wares that its ships carried to the barbarous tribes, with which Corinth early inaugurated a fruitful commerce or barter in the entire basin of the Adriatic under the direction of the Epeirades, those proud aristocrats that were at the same time enterprising owners of vessels and men of affairs. Yet in spite of the great quantity of vases Corinth thus exported, its potters lost to those of Ionia. This is because on the one hand in the Peloponessus that they inhabited, the Dorian invasion swept away the traditions of Mycenaean art and the elements of its decoration. Also Corinth had its eyes turned to the West. It did not receive from first hands the products of oriental art, like Miletus; but by good fortune its Italiote and Illyrian patrons were not exacting. The merchants of the isthmus could then for a long time make very fine profits in sending their perfumes in little vases, where the forms, colors and ornament are of marked poverty. These are what have been termed protocorinthian vases.

If the Corinthian pottery became interesting and illumined by a ray of art, this is only with vases of the largest dimensions on which explanatory legends were added to the figures. Now it seems that it was only in the last third of the 7th century, when the practice of writing extended sufficiently in Greece that for people of low rank, like the decorators of clay, commerce only knew how to read and write. Any otherwise the chief of the industry would be obliged to ensure the aid of a workman, who

was not illiterate, if he had not been certain to address himself to purchasers, that knew how to decipher the inscriptions which the brush traced on the clay? The prodigality with which the Corinthian potter scattered the legends over the field of his vases with mythological subjects, assumes the presence in the workshops of numerous potters skilful in forming their letters, and at the same time the existence of a public to whom these letters were familiar. Now these conditions could scarcely be realized before there opened for Corinth the brilliant period of the two reigns of Cypselos and of Periander (660-584). It was then that in the city governed by the princes, who surrounded themselves with poets and artists, the decorators of clay were not content as they had been previously, to represent on their vases real or factitious animals, strange demons with serpent or fish tails, files of cavaliers and of hoplites, dancers or runners. With Periander, one of those singular impassioned men that the Greeks call sages, Corinth in which before all thoughts were turned to gain, was aroused to the life of the spirit. Its art workers, bronze founders, chasers of metal, wood carvers and ceramic painters, must have felt in a certain measure the influence of the surroundings, in which examples from above favored the flight of the creative imagination.

The history of Cypselos is known. Soon after his birth, it is said that he was concealed in a coffer by his mother Labda, and thus removed from the search of assassins who desired to cause him to perish.¹ Pausanias saw at Olympia the coffer that recalled this rescue to which Corinth owed the prince, whose long reign had caused such brilliant prosperity.² It was a case of cedar wood covered by figures, some of which were carved in the wood, others being inlaid in ivory or gold. To give the object which he exhibited the air of antiquity still more venerable, the exegete that did the honors of the temple of Hera said to him, that the coffer in question had belonged to the grandfather of Cypselos; that it had been family furniture;¹ but these were tales of a sacristan, as understood today by shrugging their shoulders by travelers that visit the churches of Spain and of Italy. From the grandfather of Cypselos it would be necessary to carry back the execution of the coffer beyond the year 700, and it was not in the 8th century or even at the end of that century, that the sculptor could engrave in the wood those in-

inscriptions, long lines of letters running in all directions among the figures, whose meaning they explained.² All further indicates there a work of great luxury, that only an ostentatious prince like Cypselos or Periander could order and pay for without regard to the cost of the gold and ivory. Pausanias has repeated without remark the boasts of the exegete; but he doubtless had a better guarantee for another statement. He says, "The coffer was preserved at Olympia by the Cypselides, so named from the author of that race, in memory of Cypselos, saved from death. There were only two of the Cypselides, Periander and Psammetichos; the last only reigned three years; his authority was disputed from the first, and he soon went into exile. There remains Periander. In the first and finest years of his long reign, he had leisure to decide on the plan of a work of this importance and the means to pay its cost. We do not know that he found either among his subjects or at Sicyon or Argos the artist to whom he entrusted this task, which required for this purpose the aid of one of those traveling sculptors, especially Ionians, who then passed through Greece to place themselves at the orders of the magnificent princes and of cities ambitious of glory. Such was Eathycles of Magnesia, who a little later came to carve at Sparta the reliefs of the temple of Apollo of Amyclea.

Note 1.p.313. Pausanias. V. 18-2.

Note 2.p.313. The same. 17-3.

Note 3.p.313. The same. 17-2.

Whether the master of the work was a Peloponessian or an Asian Greek, we believe it was in the vicinity of the year 600, that the coffer of Cypselos must have been offered to Hera of Olympia. When the monument was completed after many months of labor and exhibited in public, perhaps first at Corinth and then soon afterward in Elis, in one of those edifices through which filed visitors representing all Greece, it could not fail to arouse admiration and lively curiosity, less by the richness of the materials that entered into the composition of the decoration, than by the qualities of the fabrication and the variety of the scenes represented there. At Corinth as at Olympia, the multitude must crowd around the beautiful furniture. Each of those present tried to decipher the legends and to define the meaning of the different paintings presented to his eyes.

These paintings were distributed over four, or perhaps rather over three sides of the coffer, in five parallel and superposed zones. Pausanias very clearly indicates this. He says that he commences at the bottom and ends at the top. He adds that there are in all five fields.¹ What results from the brief analysis that he gives of the whole is, that the carver placed in the space at his disposal thirty five different subjects, all taken from the myths that epic poetry had rendered popular. It has been calculated that on the craters of Ergotimos and Klitias there were about 250 figures of men or of animals.² Now the coffer, whatever dimensions were given to it by the carpenter of Perianther, was certainly higher and wider than the largest of the craters. It offered to the chisel a surface more extended than that on which played the brush of Klitias. Without its being possible to propose a number, even by conjecture, there is reason to believe that the number of figures here was greater than on the Attic craters. What this permits us to affirm is, what one knows of a habit of the archaic age. Painters or sculptors, they loved to place secondary persons around the principal actors of the scene that they represented, anonymous or fitted with fanciful names. These accessories intervene there only to fill the voids of the composition or better cover the field.³

Note 1.p.314. Pausanias. v. 17-4; 19-2.

Note 2.p.314. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p. 143.

Note 3.p.314. The description of Pausanias has supplied the materials for several studies. Men have not failed to present graphical restorations of the coffer of Cypselos. Collignon gives the list of the most recent and most interesting of these works. (Histoire de la sculpture grecque. Vol. I, p.94, N. 2). Collignon drew up the list in 1892. Since then other archaeologists have occupied themselves with this monument. As one of the best conducted to which it has given rise can be cited that of H. Stuart Jones. The Chest of Kypselos. (Jour. Hell. Studies, vol. XIV, p. 30-80, Pl. I. Restoration of the decoration of the box by F. Anderson, after an archaic vase). It has been proposed to see an invention of the exegetes of Olympia in the relation claimed to be established between the coffer kept in the temple of Hera and the family of Cypselides. To justify this scepticism it has been alleged that neither Plutarch nor Ephesus (abridged

by Nicholas of Damascus) mentions the coffer of Olympia, when they speak of the chance that cause Cypselos to escape death while an infant; but this argument from silence seems to me weakest. Plutarch near Delphi frequented the edifices, and in regard to the adventure of Cypselos, he very naturally recalled the chapel erected by him at Delphi. Ephore, according to his habit, runs over the entire traditional history of Cypselos to eliminate the romantic and marvellous element. He suppresses the coffer serving as casket. Then he gave no reason for speaking of the coffer shown at Olympia. Why not admit that in those temples on the banks of the Alpheus, where the cult and the preservation of the offerings had never been interrupted, the memory of such a memorable gift would be faithfully transmitted from generation to generation in those families of sacristans, where from father to son was inherited the function of the local tradition?

It must have been an event at Corinth, the public exhibition of this monument by which the prince, who reigned with so much splendor, recalled the memory of the origins of his dynasty. The execution of the work had certainly been required from the famous sculptor, who had spared nothing to do honor to the royal munificence. That long series of refiefs offered to ceramic painters, always in quest of models to facilitate their work, an ample repertory on which they could draw at discretion. They did not deprive themselves. They took there the themes which seemed most interesting to them, groups of persons, poses and expressive movements.

We have had occasion already to mention one of these borrowings, which permits the supposing of many others of the same kind.¹ The description that Pausanias gives of one relief comprised in what he calls the first field coincides so exactly with the paintings that decorate the Corinthian craters found at Caere, that it is truly difficult to see there merely a simple accident. In both the same persons bear the same names, which are arranged in the same order, have the same attitudes and the same attributes. On the vase as on the coffer is a representation of funereal games, that followed the scene of the departure of Amphiaraios.²

Note 1. p. 315. Histoire de l'art. Vol. IX, p. 232, Figs. 342-351

Note 2.p.315. That the painting of the cratera corresponds in all points to the reliefs, that we can now represent to ourselves after the description of Pausanias, has been very well proved by A. Dumont (*Les Ceramiques de la Grece propre*. Vol. I, p. 224-225. He establishes the comparison line for line, detail by detail.

There have been mentioned other Corinthian vases on which the subjects treated by the painter are those, which according to Pausanias were also by the sculptor of the coffer,³ but the theme of the departure of Amphiaraios is the only one concerning which Pausanias gives details sufficiently precise for the comparison to be made with complete evidence. If by miracle there had been exhumed in the ruins of the temple of Hera the coffer of Cypselos, as were discovered there the Hermes of Praxiteles, there would certainly have been found materials for more than one comparison of the kind that we have instituted; but however isolated this may be, it suffices to cause us to divine what part the ceramist painters took from this sort of album, whose leaves of gold and ivory were there fully opened beneath their eyes.

Note 3.p.315. A. Dumont. p.225-228.

By the superior quality of these models, due to one of the best sculptors of the time, is explained the change that appears to us to have been produced at a certain time in the style of the potters of Corinth. As we have remarked, that when for vases of great dimensions they had renounced plant and zoomorphic decoration, when they had commenced to represent on their hydrias and crateras, scenes taken from many episodes of the poems most familiar to the imagination of their contemporaries, the mode of representation to which they adhered still remained very awkward.¹ They placed all their persons in a single plane, following each other. Then come other vases, such as those of which we have reproduced all the paintings. It suffices to see them to recognize that they are the products of an already more advanced art. The movements are more lively and varied there; but what particularly makes the difference is, that there the picture has depth. The figures are there profiled in two planes instead of being separately placed on the ground, free to cover each other, at least in part.

note 1.p.318. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p.839.

If then the proof be made that the ceramists of Corinth as wise men, hastened to profit for the graphical interpretation of the myths by the aid offered them by the work of the sculptor, there is reason to believe that the signal of progress was given by the appearance of the coffer of Cypselos. The completion of that memorable work thus marked a date in the history of Corinthian ceramics. It would be for the first years of the 6th century that this fabrication began to offer to its patrons overseas the vases on which its decorators gave the full measure of their talent, where their art reached the level which it should never pass. In Greece as in Italy, these vases of the new series could not fail to be quite noted and much sought for. By the interest that they presented for the themes of their decoration as well as by the beautiful arrangement of the composition, also by the qualities of the drawing and by a judicious use of retouches in color, they were very superior to all which had previously left the workshops of the isthmus. It would be about this time in the first quarter of the century, that Corinthian manufacture was best fitted to make its influence felt on other ceramics, especially on those which were still to seek to their way, to take counsel of others. We have found the trace of this influence in the Ionian and Chalcidian ceramics;¹ but it is at Athens it was exerted with most force and that it had effects most apparent. There was a moment when the ceramics of the Corinth of the Cypselides had sufficient prestige and authority by the examples that it gave, that one or two generations of potters of Athens believed that they could not do better than to borrow from them the principle and plan of their decoration, which permitted the establishment of a synchronism that must be noted by the historian of art.

note 1.p.317. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p.508, 515-518; I, p.8, 3, 21.

On the contrary, there is nothing in the Chalcidian ceramics, neither in its epigraphy nor in its decoration, which can suggest the hope of finding there points of attachment for their chronology, that one has a desire to construct. The case of these ceramics is very peculiar. Ionian vases have been gathered in notable quantity, both in the limits of Ionia proper as well as in the adjacent islands and in the Ionian colonies of Egypt. It

is the same for the ceramics of Corinth. If to the tombs of Euraria we owe the best preserved vases that issued from that manufacture, its products are still represented in the cemeteries of the isthmus and its vicinity, as well as in the soil formed by the ruins of the ancient edifices of the opulent city. It is further in the suburbs of Corinth that have been collected those terra cotta plaques, which by the entire character of the images and legends that they bear, as well as by the artist's signature are closely related to the painted vases, whose attribution to the potters of Corinth is contested by no one.² In the vases only discovered in Beotia have been recognized without difficulty the products of workshops operated at Thebes, Thespies and Tanagra; but Beotia was an agricultural country without ports for an active commerce: it maintained few relations with foreigners. Monumental painting and statuary further did not appear to have furnished ceramists with their models, that arouse and refine their taste. The decorators of clay there passed by an insensible tradition from the geometric style to paintings in which is shown the human figure, but which still remained very simple. In even the most advanced of these vases cannot be found indications that permit assigning them to one date rather than another, even if under all reserves. There is merely a routine production that was preserved till Attica, very near, scattered in its vases in the entire Beotia and even sent its potters to open workshops in Beotia. Tisias, whom we know established himself in Tanagra, must not have been the only deserter from Ceramicon that did this.

Note 2. p. 317. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Plqs. 100-113.

As for the so-called Chalcidian ceramics, it presents itself in very singular conditions. The vases that it is agreed to group under that title have been found here only in the cemeteries of Eubœa; their fragments have not been collected in the ground on the shores of Euripus. The inscriptions read on the vases furnish the sole reason for attributing them to Chalcis. The dialect and alphabet are those of Chalcis and of its colonies. No doubt on this subject; but on the other hand, the origin of these vases being revealed to us only by their legends, it results that we have no means of recognizing those products of this fabrication preceding the time, when the use of writing

was disseminated in Greece. Nothing distinguishes them from vases that other workshops fashioned, when the painter attempted to substitute decoration of the black figure for the arrangements of the geometric style. Thus we find ourselves condemned to learn nothing of the beginnings of this ceramics.¹ The difference from its rivals, the ceramics of Ionia, Corinth and Athens, the ceramics of Chalcis only discovers to us late, when it has arrived at what may be called the adult age. Then what duration through which it may have passed escapes us, but it has lived enough to have been able to borrow from the Ionians many elements of their decoration, and from the Corinthians the practice of explanatory inscriptions and that of the engraved line. Again examples from Corinth inspired it to regulate the general arrangement of its decorations. It takes from the Corinthian potter the system of circular zones. In none of the vases brought to Chalcis is found the decoration in metopes, such as *Aiasis* and *pelekias*, *Imagoras* and *Andokides*, practised at Athens. Then it does not appear that the potters of Chalcis sought models at Athens, at the time when paintings with black figures produced there its masterpieces, with the artists whose names have just been recalled. The models that they used were rather those furnished them by the Ionian and Corinthian potteries. There as well as in the works of bronze founders of their native city, they found the types and motives by which they were aided in creating a style, that in spite of its mode of eclecticism, has its tint of originality.

Note 1. p. 313. It is possible that the excavations of Cumae in Italy have preserved to us something of this primitive Chalcidian ceramics. There have been found in the tombs of Cumae oenochoes and lecythes that belong to the category of the so-called protocorinthian vases, and that strongly resemble the vases of the same types that we have taken from the most ancient tombs of the Syracusan cemetery del Fucso (*Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IX, Figs. 283-284). At the same time as Corinth, Chalcis had made and exported those little vases, which form the transition between the geometric style and that of the vases with black figures. See Gabrici. *Scena sulla origine dello stile geometrico di Cuma*, etc. 1811.

We have conformed to the opinion generally accepted when we

have placed about the year 550 the time that the workshops of Chalcis exported into Italy the amphoras of their manufacture, which have been found there in Etrurian tombs.¹ Perhaps there is reason to be more precise. It would be from the first half of the 6th century that all these exports date. If we incline thus to remove a little farther back the date, which we had at first proposed with all reserves, this is that within this Chalcidian ceramics, one finds only very slight traces of an influence exerted on it by the ceramics of Athens. There is a phenomenon that scarcely explains itself, the two cities being very near each other, if one persists in admitting that the evolution of Chalcidian ceramics was accomplished and completed about the time, when the Attic potters issued to the international market the most beautiful vases, which the technics of the dark silhouette had allowed them to execute. On the contrary, all differences vanish when one regards the Chalcidian vases as contemporary with those vases of Athens that we have called Attic-Corinthian. Athens and Chalcis were then at the same point. In the two cities, the workers of clay they had their eyes fixed on that Corinth, whose artisans under the Cypselides had made tributary to their industry all the inhabitants of the coasts of the Mediterranean. Later when Pisistratus and his sons have done for Athens what Cypselos and Periander had done for Corinth, it will no longer be the same. Aided and stimulated by the great works by which the city was decorated by the effort of the architect, statuary and painter, the decorators of clay in the workshops of Chalcis will give their paintings an enclosure, which increased their values; they will enlarge and strengthen them in the execution of their figures, the style of their drawing. In these conditions, such will be the prestige of the ceramics of Athens, that it will defy all competition. Then it seems that the potters of Chalcis, like those of Corinth, will soon renounce the struggle. Perhaps to utilize their men and equipment, some chiefs of workshops will continue till the end of the century to make painted vases according to the formula to which they were accustomed; but their kilns could not fail to be extinguished and their workmen to disperse, when in 508 or 507 Athens, after having triumphed over the coalition formed against her under the auspices of Sparta, will occupy Chalcis and establish on its territory 4000 cleriques.¹

Note 1.p.319. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p. 18.

Note 1.p.320. Herodotus. V, 77.

If the workshops then closed reopened afterwards, this must have been by the care and for account of the master potters of Athens, that came to settle at Chalcis and Eretria with the new occupants of the Euboean plain. There are no vases with red figures on which are read legends written with the Euboean alphabet; but many vases of this type, that are justly classed with Attic vases, were perhaps issued from those workshops founded by the immigrants from Ceramicos. There is proof that the industries of clay continued to prosper on that coast of Euboea in the hands of Attic workmen. The cemetery of Eretria has supplied a number of polychrome lecythos with white ground, which are not easily distinguished from those made at Athens in the 5th century. As the native artisans had done formerly, their successors profited by the beds of excellent plastic clay very near them at Aulis on the Boeotian coast of the other side of the strait. In the second century of our era, Pausanias noted that this canton of the territory of Tanagra had scarcely any inhabitants except potters.² The clay of Aulis some centuries earlier furnished the materials of those charming figurines, that have made the name of Tanagra so popular. As for the ceramists of Chalcis and Eretria, it was easy for them to cross the tranquil waters of the Euripus to obtain clay at Aulis on the continent. Thus is explained now the ceramic industry of these two cities, troubled for a moment by the war, promptly resumed its activity, but under conditions no longer those of former times. After the victory of Athens, the workshops of Chalcis and Eretria were no more than branches of the workshops of Ceramicos.

Note 2.p.320. Pausanias. IX. 19-8. Plutarch advises whoever desires not to get into debt to replace on his table the vessels of silver by plates of clay furnished him by Aulis or Tenedos.

Euboean ceramics then as an autonomous industry had but a very brief duration, or better said, since we cannot go back to its beginning, there was only a brief period of its existence comprised in the field of our vision. Quite otherwise is the case of the ceramics of Athens. We shall follow its development, century by century. The most ancient works that it left to us, as

shall refer to the very distant time when the Greek artist began to renounce the geometric style, that cold play of lines that the tribes of the North, the Dorians of tradition, had substituted in the entire extent of the Hellenic peninsula for the rich and living art of the so-called Mycenaean civilization. With the vases of the Dipylon in Attica, as otherwise with the so-called protocorinthian vases, we shall see the ceramist endeavor to make a place in his decoration for the forms of the organic world.

We have accorded to these vases of the Dipylon the attention that they merit. The workman there shows himself already very skillful in preparing and fashioning the clay, in turning and firing pieces of great dimensions; but what forms the special interest are the figures that the brush has laid there in number. Doubtless the drawing of those figures is yet of almost barbarous awkwardness; but the novelty, the event of capital importance, is even the appearance of these figures on the clay, the fact that there are figures of animals, men and women, grouped in paintings, that speak to the mind and present to it the image of life.

For the entire period that is sometimes called the Greek middle ages, we know so little of Athens and its history, that it is impossible for us even to express a conjecture on the circumstances, that awakened in Attica this movement of liberation and renovation. It cannot be a question of assigning a date to those great craters, on which were represented the obsequies of the dead of noble race. The excavations have proved that these vases played in the cemetery the part which will later be played by marble steles, painted or sculptured.¹ Also these were placed on tombs; but they did not bear, as the steles will bear, inscriptions intended to defend from oblivion the memory and name of the deceased. They are as mute as the Mycenaean vases. This is because men did not write in Greece when the effort of the potter of Athens created there this transition ceramics, that while proposing to make the figure alive and to give it appropriate gestures, he did not yet know how to define the form by an accurate contour. Whether one considers the style of these strange paintings, or proves that they were never accompanied by legends, he reaches the same conclusion; the fabrication of

the so-called vases of the Dipylon could commence from the 8th century. In the scenes represented on these vases can be seen the memorial of the funerary ceremonies in which the entire city was associated with the courning of that family of the Medontides, whose chiefs governed Athens as archons for life, then as decennial archons until about the end of the 6th Olympiad (714). On the other hand, we know not a single text engraved on stone or bronze, that the epigraphists could believe themselves to have reason to carry beyond about the middle of the 7th century.²

Note 1.p.322. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 55-57, Fig. 4.

Note 2.p.322. A. Kirchhoff inclined to date from the last years of the reign of Psammetichus, i.e., about 620, the scratched inscriptions of the Greek mercenaries in the service of Egypt, that are read on the legs of the colossal figures of Ipsamboul in Nubia. He would place a little earlier the most ancient funerary inscriptions of Thera (*Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*. 4th edit. p. 47, 84).

So far as one can judge where dated texts are wanting, in the last third of this century the Greeks began to make a very free use of the alphabet, with their compatriots of the Asian coast and of the islands of the Archipelago had borrowed from the Phoenicians, and that with certain expedients and additions, they had adapted to the sounds of their language. Now a recent find gives reason to think, that during the entire course of this century, the potters of Athens continued to make this pottery, on which was still so strongly felt the persistent influence of the geometric style. On the shoulder of an oenochoe collected at the Dipylon at the very bottom of the trench, was discovered an inscription whose beginning forms a hexameter (Fig. 199).¹ Then came some words that have not been deciphered in full; but it seems indeed, according to the legible part of the text (Greek), that the jug must have been offered as a prize "to the one of all the dancers, whose acts are most graceful."

Note 1.p.323. A. Furtwängler. *Zwei Thongefässe aus Athen* (*Att. Mitt.* p. 108-112, Pl. III).

What forms the particular interest of this text is the alphabet, that served for the writing. There are letters, the alpha and iota, which reproduce very accurately the forms of their Phoenician prototypes. This inscription is certainly the most

of Attic inscriptions known.² The alphabet there is even so near the model from which it is derived, that one would be tempted to believe it earlier than the texts so far before regarded as the most ancient monuments of Greek writing.

Note 2.p.323. This is the requested opinion of A. Kirchhoff, the learned epigraphist, from whom Furtwängler had asked a note on the paleography of this inscription. Kretschmer, who had studied with so much method and care the inscriptions on painted vases, is entirely in accord with Kirchhoff (*Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*. 1894, p.113).

As will be seen by the view that we give of the oenocoe (Fig. 200), the inscription was not painted on the clay by the potter before placing the piece in the kiln.³ It was engraved with the point; but according to all appearance, this was done after the jug left the workshop. Men only thought of making this jug a prize of a competition in a time, when the artisans of Athens yet knew nothing of producing better than this kind of pottery. Later, when they will fabricate the vases that we have called protoattic, the vases on which appear the gods and heroes of fable, this little jug with the poverty of its decoration would have had no value.

Note 3..p323. E. Gräf. (*Die antike Vasen von der Akropolis*, No. 303, Pl. XI), mentions three letters traced with the brush on a fragment, which he classes among the fragments of the vases of the Dipylon; but the fragment is too small and too deprived of decorative elements, for one to be able to believe himself authorized to assign it to this place rather than to another.

In the panel arranged on the neck of the Oenocoe, the painter has placed near a swan or a goose, a hind grazing (Vignette at the end of the Chapter). These aquatic birds are one of the preferred motives of the potters of this school. They frequently arranged them in long rows on their vases; but what they usually added to these birds are the horse and sometimes the dog, the fish or the stag.¹ I know no other example of the grazing hind than on this pottery; but this variation changes nothing in the character of the ornamentation. It has not prevented connecting the oenocoe in question to the series of vases, that have appeared to us to be contemporary with the great crateras of the Dipylon with a funerary destination. The ceramist who

decorated this jug is indeed of the line of ingenious and obscure artisans, that when the Greeks of history began to be constituted, patiently applied themselves to reintroduce by degrees in art the idea of taste for the beauty of the world of life but he belonged to one of the last generations of that family. The images here are not purely schematic, as they have been from the first attempts. For the bird and for the quadruped, the contour of the body already approaches the real form. The movement of the hind is well seized.

Note 1.p.324. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Plqs. 38-41, 42-43, 54, 64, 86, 89, 92.

To judge from the execution of its decoration, this oenochoe would then be classed among the vases of the so-called series of the Dipylon. On the other hand, with the very pronounced archaism of the alphabet of the inscription, we should be led to believe that this vase was made at the epoch when writing had not begun to be in current use in Greece, i.e., about the end of the 7th century. It is thus demonstrated, that about this time at Athens, certain workshops remained faithful to the practices and the traditions of the potters of the Dipylon.

We have found still the persistent influence of those traditions in the most ancient of the vases, that we have called protoattic, in the lebes Burgon, the hydria Analotos and the amphora of Rymettus, as well as in the groups that are termed vases of Psalerum and vases of Vourva, from sites from which they came. In the decoration of all these pieces, the human figure plays a part more and more important, and by degrees it assumes proportions that more nearly approach the normal ones. There are seen to appear types, such as the lion, sphynx and siren, which are borrowed from the repertory of an oriental decorator; but there is not yet a trace of writing on these vases. I believe them all earlier than the 45th Olympiad. They date from a time when there were still but few men that knew how to read and write.

Note 1.p.325. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Plq. 152; X, Plqs. 48-50, 52-61.

The era of rapid progress opens with this 6th century in which Greek genius created the themes, which will be treated and renewed henceforth by all the plastic arts without weariness, in which it has sketched the types that architecture, sculpture and painting will lead to perfection during the course

of the two following centuries. About the year 600, or rather a little before, there must have been fashioned the amphora of Nettos,² to rise over some aristocratic tomb. This inaugurates the series of those vases with dark silhouettes, that during a hundred years were exported by thousands into Italy, and contributed to enrich the Athens of Solon and of Pisistratus. Here all is new. The two themes of the decoration, the exploit of Hercules and that of Perseus, are borrowed from mythology. The black glaze has a lustre that the potters of the Dipylon knew not how to give it. They knew the use of the engraved line, while the painter here uses the graver with decision to model the interiors of his figures. Red retouches are frankly placed and diversify the appearance of the whole. With themes of the same kind is found the use of the same procedures, and an entirely similar fabrication in two other vases, that we have compared with this amphora, the cup of Egina and the amphora of Piraeus. The explanatory legends appeared with the amphora of Nettos and the cup of Egina.³

Note 2. p. 325. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. Plqs. 63-65.

Note 3. p. 325. The same. Plqs. 66-71. Among the fragments on the Acropolis that Grdf connects with this series is one (368 a Pl. XIII) on which he reads the name of Antenor.

Was it not under the influence of the Chalcidian ceramics that was produced this first start of Attic ceramics with black figures? I should freely believe it. What primarily renders this conjecture admissible is the fact, that Chalcis much preceded Athens in the ways of industry and international commerce. From the 8th century, a rival of Corinth, it planted numerous and prosperous colonies not only on the north shores of the Aegean sea, but also in Sicily and in Italy. Its ships frequent the ports of Ionia; they placed their well tempered swords and all the objects of luxury, that the founders, smiths, and Chalcidian chasers excelled in making from copper of Euboea, which they alloyed with tin;¹ but they found also much to take and to imitate in that Ionia, which had possessed all initiatives. It is the Ionian ceramics that seems to us to have especially inspired the potters of Chalcis; we have found among them the frequent use of motives clear to the Ionian ceramist. Such are the confronting each other, the interlacings of serpents or of palmettes

the lotus flowers that float in the field, borne by long sinuous stems.² Elsewhere in the complex drawing of certain monsters, we have believed that we recognized borrowings made from Corinthian painters.³ Whatever part it is proper to make in the composite work by contributions from these two sources, we should incline to think that the workshops of Chalcis were in advance of those of Athens. When the latter only produced anepigraphic vases, such as those of Phaleron and of Vourva, where the decoration only comprises commonplace images, that amuse the eyes with nothing to say to the intelligence, perhaps the Euboean potters already exported to that Italy, the route to which they knew long, the amphoras and hydrias that have been found in the Etruscan cemeteries, beautiful vases of very careful execution, on which writing intervenes everywhere to explain to the spectator the meaning of the scene, which the painter has taken from the rich treasure of the national myths.

Note 1.p.328. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p.3-4.

Note 2.p.328. The same. p. 18-17, 18-20; Plaa. 2, 10; Vignette of Chapter XXII.

Note 3.p.328. The same. Fig. 11.

In this hypothesis it is necessary to explain otherwise than ordinarily done the resemblances, that are frequently mentioned between Attic and those in which are recognized the products of Euboean manufacture. The potters of Chalcis did not have to take lessons from those of Athens. On the contrary, these would be those, whose examples would have aided their neighbors to make a decisive step in the good path. Until the time of Pisistratus and that of Solon, the Athenians had been delayed and behind in Greece. Surrounded by a girdle of mountains, located at the middle of a plain that did not open on the sea by a port well protected from the winds, Athens led a sedentary and obscure life. Just as it had neither competed in the rich flowering of epic poetry nor in the first flight of lyric poetry, it had been for nothing in the progress of those trades, like those of workers in metal, modelers and decorators of clay, who supplied and disciplined in a way the materials, that were later wrought by the major arts. However, it was necessary to follow even after the forward movement, which in the domain of form as in that of letters, pushed the Greek people to seek forms that would be the clearest and most brilliant expression of its beliefs, feelings

and ideas. Thus the Attic ceramist was weary of demanding from linear ornament alone the elements of the decoration of his vases, that he had undertaken to give to the image of men and of animals proportions and amplitudes that better recalled nature and life, than to make the figures of the vases of the Dipylon, elongated and thinned even to deformity; but that the so-called vases of Phalerum and of Vourva, he was still very far from the right in the correction of drawing, and his repertory was one of extreme poverty; it lacked interest.

From the time of the Dipylon, the potter of Athens was a skillful workman; but to become an artist, he needed models and suggestions that could only be supplied to him by foreign masters. He found these suggestive models very near him in the works of the potters of Chalcis. By the barks that coasted in the calm waters of Euripus, and that were aided by the Etesian winds to double cape Sunion in good weather, the vases of Eretria and of Chalcis came without risk to the beach of Phalerum, or indeed they were brought to Athens by the easy mountain paths that extended between Pentelicus and Parnessus.

These relations with the two fabrications of Chalcis and of Eretria in which Chalcis had played the part of instigator and inspirer of progress, we believe their traces can be found, both in the painting of vases and in the alphabet of the inscriptions read thereon. For example, here is one of the vases representing the best work and taste of the ceramists of Athens in the period, which precedes that of the vases which we have called Attic-Corinthian. This is an amphora found at Pireaus.¹ Now there is an incontestable resemblance between this amphora and the Chalcidian types.² Same form, a curve that is no longer that of the amphora of Hymettus³ or that of Vourva,⁴ but which is better balanced, that has more nobility and still a little heaviness. Same wide and flat ears. Same general plan of the decoration. On the body is a single painting that occupies the entire surface, as on the Eubean amphora of Hercules and Geryon. On the neck is a motive that the Chalcidian ornamentalist perhaps borrowed from Ionian ceramics, but for which in any case it had a marked preference, the cock proudly erect among scrolls of palmatiums or of serpents.⁵ Finally, what is not less significant, in what remains there of linear ornaments serving to enclose the figures, there is noted near the bottom and near the

lip of the vase, those oblique zigzags, that are one of the signs by which ceramographers believe themselves able to recognize the Chalcidian vases.⁶

Note 1.p.328. *Histoire de l'Art*. X. Fig. 70.

Note 2.p.328. The same. Figs. 1, 2.

Note 3.p.328. The same. Fig. 52.

Note 4. The same. Fig. 64.

Note 5.p.328. The same. Figs. 8, 10.

Note 6.p.328. The same. Figs. 1, 14, 70.

Here are no legends, but we find them on another vase which we have regarded as nearly contemporaneous with the amphora of Pireaus, on the so-called amphora of Nettos.⁷ By its curvature and the general plan of its decoration, this does not fail to recall the Chalcidian amphoras. In the two paintings that decorate it, the drawing has that slightly hard energy and that correctness of lively and even violent movement, that we have mentioned in the paintings of the beautiful amphora of Hercules and Geryon;⁸ but here the ornamentation is of a richness not found on the vases that we have chosen as the best representatives of the taste of the Euboean potters. On the other hand, as it is noted, the Attic painter employs here one of the types of letters that characterize the Chalcidian alphabet. In the inscription engraved in a vase of the Dipylon (Fig. 199), the lambda has a form which tends to that later caused to prevail everywhere in Greece the final adoption of the Ionian alphabet. On the contrary, on the amphora of Nettos we have in the name of Hercules the Chalcidian letter, from which will come by the intermediary of Cumes the L of the Italic alphabets. This substitution of one form for another, is there not reason to explain as inclining as done by the two learned epigraphists who first noted it? ¹ When the potters of Ceramicos decided to imitate the models that they asked from the masters of Chalcis, what they borrowed from these vases was not only the principal arrangement of the decoration, a new series of themes and a new style of drawing. Also they copied the inscriptions. In attempting to trace these legends, the Attic potter had been induced to transcribe as presented to him by the model, one of the letters most frequently appearing there. Once taken, the habit had persisted. This is the open lambda that is found on one of the vases with

black figures of the 6th century, and still on the vases with red figures of the severe style of the following century. In this partial modification of Attic writing, there was another indication, a clear indication of action that the industry of the rich and powerful Chalcis must exert at a certain time on the growing industry of Athens.

Note 7.p.328. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. Figs. 83-85.

Note 8.p.328. The same. p. 11-12.

Note 1.p.329. Kirchhoff. *Athen. Mitt.* Vol. VI. p.108. *Anteckmer. Die griechischen Vaseninschriften*. p.110.

To the closing 7th century in its 30 or 20 last years, we attribute those so-called protoattic vases, that while allowing to be foreseen a change of taste and of programme, which one will not have to await long, yet does not carry the living impression of this geometric style to the empire, from whose power the Athenian ceramist only escaped by an effort, which did not succeed without many relapses and momentary recoils. The most recent vases of the series are certainly those on which the figures are accompanied by inscriptions; but it would be wrong to allege these legends for refusing to carry as far back as we do the time at which were made those pieces. From 621 men were familiar at Athens with the use of writing, for the laws of Draco, from the day of their promulgation, were inscribed on cylinders called *kyrtheis* or *azones*.² To engrave those long texts in the hardness of wood was however a very different affair from tracing with the point of the brush some letters on clay.

Note 2.p.329. Aristotle affirms that the legislation of Draco is the first put into writing. (Greek). The comic poet Cratinos quoted by Plutarch (Solon, XXV), speaks of *azones* in which are read the laws of Draco as well as the laws of Solon. See Josephus. *Contra Apion* III, 4.

The chateral of Ergotimos and Klitias gives the impression of an art sensibly more advanced than that of the amphora of Nettos. Between these two vases should be inserted intermediaries that are lacking to us, so that there may be no voids in the series. It is of little importance however. In waiting till some happy finds come to fill this gap, here is what it is proper to understand and to place in the light. Between the hour when with vases such as the amphora of Nettos, the Athenian potters showed themselves as decided to break the last bonds, which attached

them to the old routines, and that when with vases of the type of that decorated by Klitias, they made proof of a mastery, which soon ensures them the privilege of being the favorites of a rich foreign patronage, between these two moments that correspond to two distinct phases of their well regulated activity, a great change was produced.

Athenian fabrication has not yet conquered complete independence. As in the time of the protoattic vases, it still seeks outside examples and advice; but it no longer asks them from the same masters. They no longer imitate the amphoras of Chalcid. In the imitation of Corinthian fabrication, it appeared to have a marked predilection for the crateras with or without feet, whose width imposed on the decorator the division of the field into several parallel zones, each of which has its painting that extends entirely around the spacious vessel.¹ The idea of this arrangement was suggested to the potter by the form itself of the cratera; but once that he had acquired the habit, he even applied it to the amphora. The Attic arrangement of hydrias which seem to be contemporaneous with these crateras all has zones with superposed paintings, and there are some where these zones are three or four in number.² These vases, crateras, amphoras and hydrias, are those which we have called Attic-Corinthian. This term seems to us justified by the comparative study of the monuments. It does not seem doubtful to us indeed, that the arrangement characterizing the vases in question may have been borrowed by the potters of Athens from the great crateras on which the ceramic painter of Corinth compared on the same vase several different episodes and epic actions, and gave to the plastic transcript of these tales much more amplitude, than the Ionian and Chalcidian painters could do, who to treat the same themes and place in view all these heroic adventures, had at their disposal only the much reduced fields of the amphora and of the cup.

Note 1. p. 330. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. Pl. II, Figs. 81-86, 90.

Note 2. p. 330. The same. Figs. 72-74, 77, 89, 90.

According to all appearance, it was under the brilliant reign of Cypselos and of Periander that the Corinthian ceramist, associating himself with the spirit which those princes had expressed on the life of the city, produced vases that are the least

imperfect of his workers we have stated now this potter, when he undertook to treat more complex themes than those which satisfied his predecessors, must have the aid of the model offered him by this coffer of Cypselos, which was certainly hailed as one of the masterpieces of contemporaneous sculpture. It was in the vicinity of the year 600 that the coffer ordered by Perikander was dedicated at Olympia.

There was necessary a certain time for the new Corinthian ceramics, that the complexity and the variety of its mythological paintings, to be appreciated at Athens and to find imitators there. In these conditions it would be to the 20 or 30 first years of the 6th century that we should attribute the Attic-Corinthian vase. One could then accept the approximate date of 580 proposed for the most important of these vases, the craters of Ergotimos and Klitias.¹ Among all the pieces of which this series is composed, there is none that justifies as well as this craters the hypothesis of the influence that the coffer of Cypselos, or some other Peloponessian movement of the same kind, had exerted by the intermediary of Corinthian ceramics on the Attic ceramics of this period. By material and form, the vase differs from that described by Pausanias, but with that exception, the general arrangement and the date of the decoration are all alike. On the coffer the sculptor had superposed five parallel bands. On the craters these zones are six in number. We have indicated a Corinthian craters whose paintings present such a sensible analogy to those that decorate the coffer, that one could believe a direct imitation.² Nothing similar here. It is hardly that in two or three paintings on the craters of Ergotimos appear the persons mentioned in the description of Pausanias: Theseus accompanied by Ariana and playing the lyre after his victory over the Minotaur, the pair of Tethis and Peleus, the Centaurs in combat with a Greek hero. There are also on both chariot races on the occasion of funerary games; but the true resemblance is not in these meetings. It is in the method followed by the two artists even in the principle of the composition of the two entireties. Both the sculptor of Perikander and the Attic painter have taken their subjects as they fancied in the same repertory, that of the cyclic poetry, and to present them to the public, they distributed them in entirely similar

enclosures. Cypselos and Feriander had impressed a vivid impulse on the prosperity of Corinth, on its industry and export commerce nearly a century before Pisistratus came to arouse Athens from the slightly somnolent life, that it had led until his accession. The rights of priority of the arts of Corinth are well established. In the arrangement of the paintings that decorate the cratera of Ergotimos and the amphoras which date from the same time, one then has reason to take it as a faithful reflection of the taste and style of the most advanced Corinthian ceramics.¹ Again the potters of Corinth and not those of Ionia, so wisely in writing, that Klitias has imitated in the effort made to facilitate for some future purchaser, some Tuscan lucumen interested in Hellenism, the knowledge of the different paintings ornamenting his vase. If he did not place there, like the sculptor of the coffer, entire hexameters, he lavished there explanatory legends. There are found 28 names inscribed near the persons and also many objects that concur in the representation. I imagine that in a workshop of that importance, there must be a scribe, a calligraph charged with that need.

Note 1.p.331. Pottier (Catalogue, p. 819) speaks of "about the year 570 as the date generally adopted for the Francois vase."

Note 2.p.331. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 833, Figs. 349-353.

Note 1.p.332. One of the Attic-Corinthian amphoras that we have represented, reproduced two of the scenes that decorate the Corinthian cratera, which we believe was inspired by the coffer of Cypselos, the departure of Amphiaraos and the funerary games. (Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. Figs. 78, 79).

The troubles are known that followed the death of Feriander. The industry and commerce of Corinth could not fail to suffer. Now this was just the time, when under the impulse given by two men of the first order, Solon and Pisistratus, there manifested themselves and passed into action the reserves of strength, which were slowly accumulated in Attica, that sort of peninsula which the continent projected into the full Archipelago. The invasions of the tribes of the North, when they had overthrown the rest of Hellas had spared Attica, which had imposed on them a deviation; but their invasions there had pushed there groups of immigrants as into a safe shelter, taken from various families of the Hellenic race, but particularly of the Ionian family.

Entrenched behind a girdle of mountains in a territory, that by the plains of Marathon, of Eleusis and of Athens, it had openings only on the sea, the inhabitants of Attica were attached to a soil, which without being truly ungrateful, required patient and obstinate labor from the cultivator. At first divided into several cantons almost independent of each other, these had ended by giving themselves a capital, Athens, which commanded the largest and most fertile of the plains of the country. Athens thus became the religious, social and political centre of a State, which had over most of the Greek States the advantage of being better united and of occupying a larger extent. Very near Attica and behind Parnassus, several rival cities disputed the ownership of the fat country of Boeotia. On the other hand, Sicyon, Megara and Corinth possessed outside their walls but very limited suburbs.

Note 1.p.332. One of the Attic-Corinthian amphoras that we have given, reproduced two scenes that decorated the Corinthian cratera, which we have believed was inspired by the coffer of Cypselos, the departure of Amphiaraoos and the funerary games. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. Figs. 72, 73).

The unity of the Attic people had been founded by a series of little wars and of compromises, the honor of which was referred by the legend to the fabulous Theseus. It had taken two or three centuries to consolidate itself by the work of kings, then of archons for life, and of decennial archons, finally by annual archons. Thus was created a State with nearly the same area as Laconia, which was also the domain of a single city; but in the valley of the Eurotas, the bulk of the people were composed of serfs, born enemies of their Dorian masters, while in Attica the wise measures taken by a legislator like Solon sufficed to lessen the violence of the eternal quarrel of the rich and the poor, to unite them into a single body of citizens, all equally interested in the destinies of a country toward which all had born duties and rights that were recognized by them. Solon had thus prepared the formation of a democracy, whose strength was in a middle class, that enriched the city by its labor, by work at a trade and in business honored by opinion, which the laws favored and encouraged among Athenians, more than it ever did in any other State of Greece.

To be fruitful, to lead to ease those that practised it, the

labor on the ground like that in the art trades, needed to place abroad the superfluity of its products, that could not be consumed locally. Solon relieved the condition of the peasant by the reduction of the mortgage debts. He had decreed laws intended to develop the culture of the olive. By the reform of the currency, he had facilitated transactions, he had made the drachma and tetradrachma instruments of exchange, that would soon be appreciated at all places on the Mediterranean, by the constancy of their weight and the purity of their metal. In his youth, Solon had done the work of a ship captain and merchant on a vessel that belonged to him, and which he had sailed in the Egean sea. Thus he had seen much. It was understood that he was occupied in removing Athens from the isolation in which she had previously lived, to open to her ways on the sea and the markets, to which the sea gave access. His entrance into public life, the first act by which he attracted to himself the attention of his fellow citizens, was the unexpected initiative taken by him in the affair of Salamis; it was the splendid stroke of that passionate elegy that restored to the Athenians, depressed by several successive checks, the courage to reconquer from the Megarans an island, when such was the power of the enemy, they barred both the harbors of Phalerum and of Eleusis, closed them to the going or return of barks for fishing or commerce.

For the same purpose and in the same thought of the future, Solon had decided Athens to mingle for the first time in affairs, that must be regulated beyond the frontiers of Attica. He had brought it into alliance with the pompous tyrant of Sicyon, Clisthenes, and with the Scopades of Thessaly, to interpose in Phocis between the Crisseans and Delphians, to restore the oracle of Delphi its seriously compromised independence, thus to free from all subjection this spiritual power, which had its part to play in the later life of the Greek world.

It was thus under the auspices of Athens and those of Sicyon was opened at Delphi in 586 the new series of Pythiads, those festivals celebrated every four years in honor of Apollo. The edifices and the trophies that Athens will erect on the morrow of the Median wars in the sacred precinct, will show how close had remained the relations inaugurated by Solon between Athens and Delphi. By the reconquest of Salamis, then by a bold intervention in the movements and quarrels of the other States of

central Greece, Solon had enlarged the horizon of the chiefs of this democracy, which his institutions had commenced to organize. All those employed in serving the city by their industrious labor and had talent were thus invited to look outside, to seek among foreigners models that would aid them to surpass the secrets of the trade, so that when they were no longer stopped by the difficulties of the technique, they could develop their native originality and surpass there the masters, of whom they had first been the docile and earnest pupils.

Thus these are the years that count in the history of the art that interests us, and these first twenty years of the 6th century during which the open and resolute mind of Solon will preside over the first awakening of Attic genius. It was then that was truly founded that school of ceramists of Athens, whose paintings on clay have preserved to us the most faithful reflection of the work of the celebrated painters, that the admiration of the ancients equaled to the most illustrious representatives of statuary. In the vases then produced by the workshops of Ceramicos, the decoration by its coloring and especially by its general arrangement, betrayed, it is true, the imitation of Corinthian types; but already by the choice of subjects and by the firmness of drawing, one sees announced there a feeling for the living form and beauty of movement, which the artisans of Corinth never possessed to the same degree.

The impulse was given. Progress was rapid. Soon the Athenian potters perceived that they had an advantage in not multiplying the figures, as they had done on the craters of Erechtime and other vases of the same style in the Corinthian manner. They renounced this for what might be termed the dispersed order. They took the method of placing on each vase but a small number of figures, engaged in an action, whose meaning was already indicated by the attitudes and attributes of persons, and would also be cleared by legends which gave them their names. Those figures rose on a light ground, arranged for that effect in the brilliant black of the coating, a field that was limited to an enclosure of rings or frets, leaves, flowers or palmettes. These are true paintings, whose appearance recalls that of the frescos, which on the walls of temples or porticos, are enclosed between mouldings or bands of color. These paintings on which the painter had concentrated his efforts, offered more interest

to the spectator than files of persons running after each other. They had more chance to attract and to fix the attention. This is what we have termed decoration in metope, that was practised by Amasis and Exekias, to name here only the most fruitful of those master potters.

What proves that the vases of this style are later than those named Attic-Corinthian, is not only this better understanding of the composition and progress of design, which without being yet freed from all archaic conventions, had become more free and had assumed more emphasis. This is also the character of the alphabet used by the painter to write his legends. There are seen the most ancient forms giving place to more recent shapes. To convince one's self, it suffices to make a comparison of two letters that are especially significant in this respect, the eta and the theta. For the first it is always the primitive form that Exekias employs, which is called the closed eta.¹ For the theta, Exekias most frequently employs the form destined to prevail, the circle with a central point, and also sometimes the earlier form, the circle barred by a cross.² With Amasis is also sometimes found the closed eta and the barred theta;³ but Exekias has these two letters in the forms that they then tend to take, and which they will always retain.⁴ The alphabet of the workshop of Exekias is then of more modern appearance than that of the workshop of Amasis, which does not fail to confirm a conjecture suggested to us by a comparison of the style of the two masters.⁵ Exekias was later than Amasis by some years. Between them was perhaps the interval of a generation. As for Nicosthenes, he always writes this name with the pointed theta, which we read on so many vases; but one can almost dispense with making this remark. It has sufficed to study the work of Nicosthenes, so varied and so curious, to set it in its place on a sort of frontier between the painters that inaugurate a new system of decoration, and those who have made of the black figure the use which we know.

Note 1.p.336. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. Plqs. 25, 27, 29, 130.

Note 2.p.336. See in Furtwängler, Griechische Vasenmalerei, Vol. I, Pl. XIII, the lower band which represents the dance of the captives rescued from the Labyrinth. In the name of Theseus is a theta with a central point, while in the name of Eurysthenes, this same letter has a cross bar.

Note 3.p.336. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. figs. 118, 119.

Note 4.p.336. The same. Fig 124 for the eta. for the theta, Kiener Vorlesungsblätter. 1888. Pl. VI, in the names of Penthesilea and Athena. The barred theta maintains itself longer in use than the closed theta. It is found also on the altar consecrated by Pisistratos the younger, a son of Hippias, that must have been erected about 520. (C. I. Att. IV, 1, No. 372 e). It is even found by a rare exception on a vase with red figures signed by Euthemides (Klein. Vasen mit Meistersignaturen, p. 194).

Note 5.p.336. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. p. 195.

These masters of the black figure have seemed to us to be divided in groups. There is that of the artists inspired by the examples of Corinth, and that of their successors who with the decoration in metope created an original ceramics, the true attic ceramics. The first are contemporaries of Solon, the second are those of pisistratus. The work of the latter, by the qualities of composition and execution that we have mentioned there show the influence of models that the major arts, mural painting and statuary offered then to ceramists under the influence of a prince, that applied himself to transform and embellish the city. Of Anasis and of Exekias, neither the ancient writers nor the lapidary texts say a word to us; but an inscription found in the excavations of the Acropolis places on of their contemporaries and rivals, Nearchos, in connection with a sculptor Antenor, known to us by literary tradition. Thus it furnishes us in this history with one point of reference that has its importance.

This inscription is read on a slab of marble in which is thought to be found the base of the most beautiful of the female statues that have issued from these trenches.¹ Here is the translation:- "Nearchos the potter has consecrated to Athens as first fruits of his works; Antenor, son of Euxares, made the statue."² In this Antenor, men have not hesitated to recognize the sculptor, who after the expulsion of Hippias, cast in bronze the two statues of the tyrannicides Harmodion and Aristogiton.³ If soon after 510 Antenor enjoyed at Athens a reputation sufficiently well established, that the city charged itself with paying its debt of gratitude to the heroes, its liberators, it is not to suppose that before that date, he had produced and signed at Athens many works, which gave him the honor of that epoch.⁴

Then one cannot wander much from the truth in placing ten or fifteen years earlier, about 540; or 520, the execution of the votive statues of which Nearchos paid the cost. The workshop, of Nearchos was in full prosperity under the reign of the two Pisistratides. His activity was certainly prolonged until the end of the century and perhaps later. This is proved by the cups signed by this Ergoteles and this Tleson, who both did not fail to add to their names this mention:— "sons of Nearchos." The cups of Tleson were much sought for in Etruria, where have been collected nearly forty. Now like their father, Tleson and Ergoteles only painted the black figure. It is then demonstrated that on the eve of the Median wars, the vases of this style had lost nothing of their vogue, and that they still easily found purchasers in the markets of Italy.

Note 1.p.337. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, Pl. II.

Note 2.p.337. G. I. Atta IV. 1, 373⁹¹. On the two signatures of Nearchos found on the Acropolis, see Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. p. 120-202, Fig. 130.

Note 3.p.337. Pausanias. I. 8, 5. On these statues, see Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII, p. 562-565.

Yet in spite of the attachment still retained to that technique by the force of habit, by an entire party of national and foreign patrons, taste had begun to change, even at the moment when this style produced its best works. In the workshops and the public, men vaguely suspected the defects inherent in the system and the fear that all the talent of the most skilful painters could not succeed in conquering them. We have found all the symptoms of that uneasiness. We have stated by what experiments, by what tentatives made in different directions they had prepared the revolution, which must end by substituting the red figure for the black figure. One cannot be astonished that the latter died of its supreme effort and as if from its success itself. That is the law, as every form of poetry, every form of art, when it has attained its climax, has ended its useful role. That when the flower has expanded, it fades and dies. This death is not always reached with the same delay or in the same fashion. Where the imagination is fatigued, the primitive form survives a long time by itself; it turns to routine and exhausts itself in repetitions; but elsewhere that the sap is overabundant, it is very quickly replaced by another form, which furnishes to a

young and fruitful genius the materials of original creations. Those things passed at Athens in the Workshops of Ceramicos. Allowing painting with black figures to vegetate there, painting with light figures reserved on a dark ground after a certain time, the only one practised by the best endowed artists, which in the measure that it allowed the means of expression at its disposal was inspired by the examples given in a century nearing to perfection, by the masters of the major arts of historical painting and of statuary.

On the tendencies and circumstances by which are explained this inversion of the method, there can scarcely be two opinions; but what remained very obscure even in these recent times, was the date proper to assign to the appearance of the first light figures reserved on a black ground. Men are agreed in seeking this date after the Median Wars.¹ One is inclined to think that the red figures had commenced to show themselves immediately after the year 480 beside black figures on the vases of Nicosthenes and of Andokides. To these artists who practised both techniques, soon succeeded the masters of what is termed the severe style. It was between 470 and 450 that it is believed that there worked Epictetus, Eupronios and Euthymides, Brygos, Douris and Hiero.

Yet we were informed more than three-fourths of a century since, that this chronological date was very subject to caution. After 1834 an excavation was made at the southeast of the Parthenon by an archaeologist of singular activity and of a very penetrating mind, L. Ross. Where the rock is abruptly concealed there, and to enlarge the terrace that should bear the grand edifice projected, it had been filled till it had reached the desired level. In this fill, Ross opened a very deep trench, and like the very exact observer that he was, he has defined with much precision the nature of the materials that he found there.² Beneath the superficial and quite recent layer was a bed of marble fragments, clay figurines, pieces of bronze and bits of vases. Traces left by fire were visible on much of this rubbish, with which were mingled charcoal and cinders. The conclusion was imposed, that what formed this fill was the remains of edifices burned by the Persians in 480 and the offerings which the Acropolis contained at the time of the disaster. Some of the fragments of pottery were decorated by red figures on a

black ground. Ross particularly published a skyphos with the representation of an owl and the fragment of a pinax inside which was represented a banquet scene. The drawing is in a beautiful style and does not lack suppleness.

Note 1.p.339. To this chronology, then generally accepted, Bayet and Collignon still adhere in their *Histoire de la céramique grecque*, published in 1888 (p. 153-160).

Note 2.p.339. Ross. *Archäologische Aufsätze*. Vol. I, p. 133-142, Pls. IX, X.

Men refused to accept the evidence. They made an effort to assign to this deposit a more recent date. It was supposed that it had been formed during the works undertaken after the retreat of the Persians, by means of materials sought in the lower city to cast in the depression to be filled. To this hypothesis was a first objection. Access to the Acropolis by the ramp cut in the rock, which led there with several turns, was too inconvenient to lend itself to the carts which would have allowed carrying these materials in full loads, as we should do on our work yards.¹ On the other hand there are more difficulties, if one admits that the work of filling was executed by means of rubbish found on the plateau itself, everywhere piled in heaps. In 480 on the eve of the naval battle of Salamis, the Persians obtained possession of the Acropolis, massacred its defenders, and Herodotus says that "they they pillaged the temple; they set fire to the citadel and reduced it to ashes."² What must have contributed much to feed the fire and to form a vast furnace at the south of the plateau, were the scaffolds erected for the construction of the first Parthenon, that of Clisthenes, of Aristides and of Themistocles. There must have been at that point a mass of timbers. The following year before the battle of Plataea, the Persians resumed and completed the work of devastation. This time also, flame lent its aid to the axe and the pick. On leaving Athens, Xerxes burned it. If there remained in place something of the walls, houses and temples, he had them thrown down, leaving only ruins behind him."³

Note 1.p.340. Beule. *L'Acropole d'Athènes*. 2nd ed. p.44-45. There are still distinguished on the slope the grooves made in the living rock, so that on the stone polished by travel, the feet of the passers and of the beasts of burden or animals destined for sacrifice should not slip. The ascent was hard and

iresome; the descent must have required much precaution.

Note 2.p.340. Herodotus. VIII, 53.

Note 3.p.340. The same. IX, 13.

Even after Ross' discovery, there was still some hesitation in the minds of archaeologists on the question of knowing when commenced the making of vases with red figures. Those adhering to the latest date were perhaps in the right, not to wish to change their judgment on the faith of a single excavation; but there appeared no more room for doubt after the excavations, that from 1860 to 1868 uncovered to the rock the entire plateau of the Acropolis.⁴ Then everywhere from the Propyleum to the Erectheum and all around the Parthenon, what was removed by the tools of the workmen was more or less deep according as the surface of the rock was more or less distant from the existing surface, the layer of rubbish which Ross had found south of the enclosure, carbonized wood, steles and bases with votive inscriptions, fragments of architecture and of sculpture in limestone and marble, statuettes of terra cotta, and by thousands the fragments of ordinary pottery and of painted vases. Many of these marbles, many of these figurines and of these clay fragments bore the mark of fire that had swept them, of the smoke that had blackened them, when its clouds had enveloped the edifices that fell, one after the other. Before evacuating Athens, the Persians had in a manner placed their signature on the ruins which they left behind them.¹

Note 4.p.340. On these excavations and the conclusions that ceramographs have been authorized to derive from their results, see particularly the summary report of B. Gräf. Ueber die allgemeine Ergebnisse der Vasenfunde von der Akropolis zu Athen. (Jahrb. 1893. Anzeiger. p. 13-19).

Note 1.p.341. This layer is what German archaeologists call the Persian rubbish.

When Cimon and after him, Pericles undertook to efface the traces of these ravages and to erect new temples, larger and more beautiful than those that had been destroyed, they must first proceed to a general repairing of the terrace that served to support the structures. To obtain the series of plane terraces required by the projected buildings, they must remove the neaps formed in places by the accumulated materials and fill the holes left between them at intervals; all this area must

leveled.² What proves the care with which this labor was conducted is the group of 14 statues, the celebrated Cores, that have been discovered between the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, placed in a ditch that had been dug expressly to receive them.³

Note 2.p.341. On the method of execution of this leveling, see B. Gräf. p. 15.

Note 3.p.341. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 574.

It was thus demonstrated that the layer formerly described by Ross was everywhere composed in the same manner and extended over the entire area of the Acropolis. Complete or mutilated, the inscriptions collected there are without dispute assigned to the 6th century by epigraphists, according to their content, orthography and the forms of their letters. Those texts which appear most recent can belong to the first years of the following century. As for the fragments of statues and reliefs that abound in the same deposit, it is where one recognizes the very ancient and almost formless attempts of a chisel, that after having commenced its apprenticeship on wood, it continued it in working soft stone; but there are also found the works of artists like Antenor, Critios and Nesiotes, who under the influence of Ionian masters first attempted in Attica to cut marble to decorate the edifices built by Pisistratus and his sons.⁴

Note 4.p.341. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 581, 582.

The origin of this layer and the date of its formation being thus fixed by the character of the epigraphic texts and of the figured monuments that it contains, one is compelled to stop at the same limit of time for the fragments of painted vases with which it abounds. All those fragments which appear to offer some interest have been laid aside in the course of the excavations. There was on the ground an enormous heap of fragments. When the excavations were completed, M.M. Wolters and E. Gräf undertook to cull these remains. This work occupied them nearly two months. They distributed these fragments by classes in great baskets, which they showed me in 1892 in the museum of the Acropolis. They showed me specimens of all makes that had succeeded each other in Greece since the highest antiquity, local works and foreign works that had imported their products into Attica; but of the temporary classification thus established, we shall retain here but a single fact. There were in very great quantity, fragments of vases with black figures in the style of

Anasis and of Exekias; but there are also seen, although in less number, fragments of vases with red figures, which pass for having made their appearance on the market in Athens only in the years, that succeed the Median wars. The proportion with regard to the black figures according to one of the authors of the approximate statistics then drawn up was one to three.¹

Note 4.p.341. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p.581-582.

Note 1.p.342. *Gräf. Arch. Anz.* 1893. p. 18.

Since then it has been possible to be more precise, due to the careful and minute examination to which these fragments have been subjected.² Many vases of this sort, especially plates and cups, have been entirely or partly restored. The most competent judges agree in recognizing in certain fragments which they have studied, here the style of Euphronios, there that of Brygos elsewhere that of Douris or of Hiero. Euphronios is represented there only by these remains of a vessel, which there is every reason to believe issued from his workshop. Also by a base found in the same fill and on which are read these few letters, *Euphronios carameus*, the remains of a votive inscription that can easily be restored. On this block of stone, Euphronios must have consecrated to the goddess one of the most beautiful vases of his fabrication.¹ On another base from the same source is found the name of Andokides, a predecessor of Euphronios, who on several vases bearing his name had associated the red figure with the black figure. Doubtless as painter, he signs a dedication made by the potter Mnesiades, otherwise unknown. (Greek).²

Note 2.p.342. Hartwig, to whom the study of Attic cups had given an entirely special competency, came when Wolters retired to join B. Gräf for that recension. These archivists labored to collect the materials of a publication, whose title we have given on p. 88 of this volume, Note 1. The work of classification, the choice to be made among these thousands of fragments, the reproduction by photography of those appearing to present some interest, all that did not fail to require much time. Thus to our great regret, it was found that the two portfolios of the work that have appeared yet (Aug. 1912) contain only fragments of vases with black figures. For vases with red figures, whose fragments were gathered in the Persian rubbish, we have but partial notes, that anticipate the entire publication. The most interesting is that of Richards. Selected vase fragments from the

Acropolis of Athens (Jour.Hell.Studies. Vol. XIV. 2,3, p.188-197, 381-387, Pls. II, IV, X).

Note 1.p.343. G.I.Att. Vol. I. Supplement to b. 182, No. 312.

Note 2.p.343. G.I.Att. Supp. to No. 273²³². The letters have forms more ancient than the inscription of Euphronios to judge of them by the execution of the sculpture, it is probably a maker of vases with red figures that must be recognized in the master potter, whom a relief, unfortunately very mutilated, represents as offering to Athena two cups as specimens of his art. Lechat regards this monument that he studied and reproduced as earlier than 480 by a few years. (La sculpture attique avant Phidias, p.366-368, Fig. 29). Of the name of the potter, there remain only the three last letters I O S, It is asked if the dedicator was not Euphronios.

When the Persians ravaged the Acropolis, painting with red figures was then no longer at its beginning. After the hesitations of the first hour, those ceramic painters that claimed to make a work of art had renounced for this technics, that of their predecessors. They used the nero procedure for decorating their vases. The proof is made. It is by the presence of fragments of vases with red figures in the layer of rubbish and by the inscriptions that class the makers of these vases among the donors, whose offerings were broken by the hammers of the invaders. Other indications come to confirm the value of this result so obtained.

The tumulus in which were buried the dead of Marathon must have been erected soon after the battle.³ Now there has been found with the vase with black figures a fragment of a cup with red figures.⁴ There remains almost nothing of the interior, where seems to have been represented the ephete and a nude infant but there is reason to note the fret which served to enclose that group. This motive is more complex than the simple fillet which on the cups of Epictetos serves as a border. It is permissible to infer, that about 490 the style of Epictetos was already surpassed in the workshops in which those cups were made.

Note 3.p.343. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VIII, p. 84-87.

Note 4.p.343. Athen. Mitt. 1893. p.63, Pl. V, 2.

One can also seek in another order of facts, points of chronological reference. It is admitted that the epithet kalos added to the name of a man on a vase could be applied only to young

persons, who by their position, wealth or beauty, were in favor at Athens. We have thus chanced to discover among the favorites of fashion some of the persons, who when arrived at maturity played a part in history.¹ As one not much tempted to refer to the celebrated son of Pisistratus, assassinated in 514, the vase which bears the name of Hipparchus. After the Median wars, the names of Hipparchus and Hippias were no longer borne at Athens, at least for a century. They are not found in the long lists of Attic citizens, that have been drawn up by the aid of the inscriptions. These names recalled memories odious to the Athenian democracy and had been interdicted. Does the cup of the museum of Oxford on which is read the name of Miltiades have no allusion to the conqueror of Marathon? Leagros, so frequently mentioned on the vases of the group of Eurymachos, was he not an Athenian who died as strateges in 467? ² If this be so, it was about the year 500 that he was an ephebe and prince of youth. Besides, does one not find an evident confirmation of this identity in the legends of other more recent vases, that name Glaucou, son of Leagros, when we learn from Thucydides that a Glaucou, son of Leagros, commanded the Athenian vessels at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war? ³ Glaucou could then have been acclaimed as *kalos* about 470. Thus might be followed the track of many illustrious persons on the vases, Hippocrates brother of the reformer Clisthenes, Megacles, Callias, chiefs of the aristocratic party, Panaitos who fought at Salamis, Hippodamas, strateges in 459. These assimilations are seductive. One comprehends all that is easy to say for the date of vases; but he cannot longer dissimulate the peril of these inferences. The same name was borne by different persons. The Megacles, Callias and Hippomachos of the vases are not necessarily those who figure in the tales of the historians. In brief, the most certain chronological reference is that furnished by the relation Leagros-Glaucou, because it agrees in the inscriptions on vases and in the historical texts. But of what age was Leagros when he died in 467? Of what age was his son when he commanded at Corcyra? We are reduced to conjectures. We are again led to say that the entire period for the vases bearing these two names is placed nearly between 520 and 470." ¹

Note 1. p. 344. On this subject see the Article filled with the

ingenious views and curious comparisons in which Studniczka, in the course of his studies of the history of Greek painting has treated this question: - *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Vasenmalerei mit roten Figuren* (Jahrb. 1887. p. 157-168).

Note 2. p. 344. Herodotus. IX, 75.

Note 3. p. 344. Thucydides. I, 51.

Note 1. p. 345. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 710-711. We do not decide to make use of the fragment of a vase collected at Susa by the Morgan mission, a fragment according to Pottier, that formed a part of the booty carried from Greece by the troops of Xerxes. (Compt. rend. de l'Acad. d. Inscr. 1902. p. 428; 1903, p. 216). Pottier recognizes there the remains of a vase of Sotades, signer of several pieces, that by the freedom of their style announce themselves as later than those signed by Euphronios, Douris and Brygos. It seems to us difficult to admit that Sotades also worked before the Median wars. This vase could have been taken to Susa much later, either by some of the Greeks that various circumstances led to the court of the Great King, or by one of those Persian envoys, who during the 5th century had made more than one occasion to visit Greece. Elsewhere Pottier himself, in calling attention to new fragments of vases with black figures, confesses that "the most recent materials of the Morgan missions are slightly modified." He says: - "the more that will be gathered in great number the fragments of Greek vases in the subsoil of Susa, the less will be sought their explanation in exceptional and accidental circumstances." (Favorilegium. Melchior de Vogue. p. 505-506).

Whatever reserves are to be made concerning the part taken from these legends, it no less remains established that the data which they furnish tend to confirm the conclusion, that has been suggested by the study of the contents of the layer of rubbish left on the earth by the sack of the Acropolis. Indeed to the 6th century is it necessary to carry the invention of the procedure of the reserved red figure. The first applications of this method were due to Nicosthenes and Andokides and dated about 530 or 520. The rapid progress made by the decorators of the new school was facilitated by the examples that Cimon of Cleones then gave, perhaps in frescos executed at Athens itself. There has been mentioned in the paintings by which they decorated their vases the use and modes of presentation and of painting.

which that master was the first to use in historical painting, according to Pliny.² Epictetos was contemporaneous with the sons of Pisistratus. Euphronios had already been at work since 510 and his rival Euthymedes must have closely followed him. Douris, Hiero and Erygos had begun to produce in the first years of the 5th century, and their activity like that of Euphronios, was prolonged very long after the second Median war.¹

Note 2.p.345. Studniczka. *Kimion von Kleonai*. (Jahrb. 1887. p. 158-159).

Note 1.p.348. These are the approximate dates proposed by Pausanias. (Berl. Phil. Koch. 1894. p. 109, 112). Klein places the group of Epictetos in the time of Clisthenes and the active period of Euphronios between 490 and 455. (*Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 27-30). These differences have but a secondary importance. Hartwig believes that Euphronios commenced to paint between 578 and 500 (*Joüurs d'osselets in école de Rome. Melanges d'archaeologie et d'histoire*. 1894.p.282).

When we attempt to assign dates thus, that are entirely approximate, to the ceramic painters of the severe style, it is only as accessories that we have brought into the account the indications, that these names of kaloi seemed to offer; but it is a different order of facts that must be required with more entire confidence, from those names inscribed on vases, that may or may not be of historical persons. One can scarcely refuse to admit that two different vases which bear the same name of an ephebe must be contemporaneous by a few years.² "Consequently the makers or the painters that have inscribed on their vases the same names of ephebes are likewise contemporaneous. These synchronisms are precious. Tables have been drawn up in which are seen at a glance the groups of artists which belong to the same time. Thus the name of Hipparchos unites Epictetos and Peldikos; that of Leagros connects the others, Cacyrlion, Oltos, Euxithros and Euphronios. The names of Lykos and of Panaidos recall with Euphronios and Douris the names of Hippodamos, Douris and Hiero, & those of Megacles, Phintias and Euthymides, etc.." ³ "In that way can also be distinguished different periods in the career of the same artist. The vases that mention Leagros are among the most ancient of the works of Euphronios. Those on which appears Glaucon, son of Leagros, are necessarily twenty to thirty years later." ⁴

Note 2.p.346. This was established by Hartwig (Meisterschalen).

Note 3.p.346. Klein. Die griechischen Vasen, etc. p. 25. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften. p. 15-19.

Note 4.p.346. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 711-712.

The study of the writing of painters of vases leads to observations which tend to confirm the conclusions which we have reached in other ways. Thus on some vases with red figures are again found the lod form of theta, θ , which was no longer in use in the 5th century. In one of these signatures, Euthymides also employs the θ .¹

Note 1.p.347. Kretschmer. p. 115-118.

On the other hand, on none of the vases of the so-called severe style appears the Ionian orthography, that distinguished by different signs in the e and o, the short and the long vowels. This orthography was adopted by the city for public acts only in 403; but it appears much earlier in the epigraphic texts, lapidary or others, which do not have an official character.³ It entered into current use at Athens much before the State imposed it on its scribes. This is proved by the legends of the so-called vases of the free style, which are referred in bulk to the second half of the 5th century. On the most celebrated of the vases of this category, the hydria of Meidias, the painter has employed the Ionian orthography for all his legends.⁴

Note 2.p.347. Kretschmer. p. 118.

Note 3.p.347. Köhler. Die attischen Grabsteine, etc. (Athen. Mitt. X, p. 359-379).

Note 4.p.347. On the date to be assigned to the vases of Meidias, Furtwängler is not of the opinion of Gräff, who would place this about the year 440. He believes it is certainly later than the Parthenon; he would date it from the last quarter of the 5th century (Griechischen Vasenmalerei. Text. p. 33-39).

Not without causing some surprise are found examples of the same orthography on a small number of vases with black figures. There is another motive to be admitted, as we have done, that the ancient technics has prolonged its resistance obscurely to an advanced year of the 5th century.

Note 5.p.347. Kretschmer. p. 114.

It is important to insist on the date of the appearance of the new mode of painting, and to fix it as much as permitted by the data of a different nature at our disposal. To place this

date after the second Median war, as done at first, would be to share an error that many historians have not failed to make, who see things rather confusedly from too far and too high. According to these historians, it was the perils and emotions of the struggles supported against the Persians, which in a way created the Athenian soul, that from its previously unsuspected depths caused living forces to spring, whose sudden and brilliant flight made Athens in less than a half century the richest and most powerful city of the Greek world, and also in the domain of letters and arts the mother of so many works in which Greece fully realized its ideal of beauty, of moral and of physical beauty. Doubtless the joy of the victory after the distress of the risks run, impressed on these forces a new impulse, which made them overcome the last obstacles; but the push was given before there came the crisis which it seemed must make little Greece a province of the vast Asian empire.

From Solon came the first impulse, salutary and vivifying. By conferring rights on all inhabitants of Attica, he made them citizens of a country toward which for that moment they began to feel duties. At the same time he decided Athens to mix in a quarrel that did not directly interest it, but which divided all Greece, to take part for the god of Delphi, for the Pythian Apollo, which henceforth preluded the role that it would play later, when the responses of his oracle should sound like even the voice of the conscience of the Greek people, and inspiring the most generous resolutions. In calling his fellow citizens to this intervention and effort, Solon made them quick to conceive the notion and to feel the sentiment of this panhellenic patriotism, which in spite of exhaustion and of imitation a century later, in the strait of Salamis and under the walls of Platea would arrest the Persian conquest on the threshold of Europe.

By the wisdom of his laws and the boldness of his diplomacy, Solon had thus aroused their souls; he had prepared them for the exaltation that in hours of danger would rise even to heroism. As for Pisistratus, the service that he rendered to this people in formation was to open their minds, to cultivate and free them by making known to them, proposing to them as initiatory and as models the great works which poetry and art had already produced elsewhere in Greece and particularly in Ionia. When his dynasty

was overthrown, it had amply performed that task, and of the useful work accomplished under its auspices, nothing was lost. Then was the tyranny of Hippias, the liberating act of Harmodios and Aristogiton, and finally the care that the freed city had to take not to fall again under the yoke of detested tyrants. All this concurred in enlightening the ideas, in brightening and strengthening feelings which could only originate and be expressed during the brief time in which the regime established by Solon was not falsified by more or less disguised intervention of a despotic will. This regime of liberty regulated by law remained dearer to the Athenians, when at the end of a few years they had lost nearly all its benefits, when they had scarcely more than seen and divined its nobility, in a rapid flash of hope about the beginning of the century. When they had reconquered it, then adhered to it passionately, and they applied themselves to perfect its working by the reforms of Clisthenes. This was produced among them in the years preceding the first Median war a fine display of energy, supple and resolute, whose effects made themselves felt equally in all the enterprises on which they pleased to employ it.

Herodotus understood this very well, and what he indicates concerning the brilliant victories at about the end of the 6th century, which Athens obtained over the allied Boeotians and Chalcidians:- "the forces of Athens," he says in closing the tale of that war, "always kept increasing. One could prove well the ways in which the equality of the citizens is an excellent thing but this example alone suffices to demonstrate it. While the Athenians remained subject to their tyrants, they were no more distinguished in war than their neighbors; but they acquired a marked superiority over them when they were freed from that yoke. This shows that in the time when they were held in slavery, they loosely understood a definite purpose, because they labored for a master. On the contrary, as soon as they had recovered liberty each of them hastened with ardor to labor for himself." 1

Note 1. p. 349. Herodotus. v. 78.

Herodotus here had in view only politics and war; but this is only one of the sides, one of the aspects of the transformation that he indicates. From our point of view, we have to explain by the action of the same causes, by the pride in reconquered freedom and the first military successes, other changes which

at the same epoch and turn in history operated in the life of the freed city, other manifestations of this genius, which would soon make of Athens "the school of Greece," as Thucydides well says.²

Note 2.p.349. Thucydides. II, 41.

To this grandeur and primacy of Athens that was prepared and sketched then, Solon was its first worker; but Pisistratus and his sons no less usefully concurred to hasten the hour when it should reveal itself, and strengthen that splendor with new power to the Attic spirit. They had usefully served Athens as much by their reign as by their fall; they had first served as promoters of letters and arts; they had then served by the reaction produced by the abuse made of power by the heirs of the founder of the dynasty. Pisistratus had called and made Athens understand the rhapsodist depositaries of epic poetry and the contemporaneous masters of lyric poetry; he had enlarged the programme of the rustic festivals of Dionysos. From them originated and rapidly separated the tragic and comic dramas, original creations which alone sufficed for the glory of Athens. Now from its beginning, tragedy made itself the interpreter of the patriotic sorrows of the city, they of its joyous pride after the liberating victories. Phrynichos drew tears from the Athenians by placing under their eyes the taking of Miletus, sacked by the Persians. Phrynichos again and Eschylus, one with his Phoenician women and the other with his Persians, celebrated the defeat of Xerxes.

The influence of Pisistratus and of his sons was exerted with even more emphasis and more prompt effect in the plastic arts. We have stated elsewhere by what works and embellishments these princes had given to Athens an entirely new appearance, what edifices they had constructed on the Acropolis and in the lower city, now they had called the sculptor and the painter to collaborate with the architect to create these entireties of a richness which Athens had not yet known.¹ As soon as the city had become mistress of itself, it boldly became on this ground the heiress of the ambitions of the defeated dynasty. On the Acropolis that will no longer serve for residence and fortress of the tyrants, the restored democracy projected immediately to consecrate to its divine protectress, Athena Polias, a temple

That would be larger and more beautiful than the Hecatompedon of Pisistratus. Soon after in the sacred precinct of Delphi, he erected a monument, the treasury of the Athenians, whose inscription and sculptures should perpetuate the memory of the glorious battle of Marathon.

Note 1. p. 350. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, p. 315-318, 538; VIII. p. 23-37, 546-552.

These sculptures of the treasury, of the 40 metopes of the Doric frieze, represented the exploits of Theseus, the defeats that he and Hercules had inflicted on the monsters and brigands, on the Amazons who had invaded Attica. What was personified in those legendary heroes in the mind of the magistrate, who had indicated to the sculptor the themes which he had to treat on that edifice, were the stratages and the hoplites who had repulsed the shock of the barbarians and had closed the road to Athens. In all the grand pages of the Attic sculpture of the time is found this procedure of transposition. To the victories that the free Hellenes had won over Asian barbarism, it was believed that even more nobility and more radiant splendor could be given by referring them to this distant myth. Where the Greek imagination has always felt itself more at ease than in the present, under the veil of a symbolism, whose meaning was seized by all minds. The present world of yesterday and of today has one defect that chills admiration, which obstructs the inspiration of the poet and artist; this is that the splendor of great actions is nearly always obscured by what shadow human weakness mingles therewith; it is that where the liberators of the land, a Miltiades, Themistocles, Pausanias of Sparta, either by the consequences of their faults or by the effect of low jealousies, are often reduced to go into exile or to die in disgrace. On the contrary, the reaction of the myth separates and clears the figure of the hero; it effaces and covers the defects to be forgotten. Hercules, as shown to us by his legend, was frequently weak and violent. He yielded to all his passions, all his appetites; but when he had passed through the flames of the tyre of Oeta, he ended by an apotheosis. It is for this reason that the Attic artist, when he desired to show the most memorable episodes of the struggles that the Athenians sustained against internal oppressors and foreign enemies, took the method of thus pro-

projecting into the past as on a cloth background, the personified image of the persons and events of the present. Only exceptionally, as in the portico called Stoa Poikile, the painter P. Panaetios represented with the features, costumes and arms of his time the combatants of Marathon, and again as if to ask pardon for that deviation from current usage, he took care to arrange a place in his painting for Theseus, Hercules and Athena, who by their presence on the field of battle, antedate in a way the scene, and give it almost the character of a battle fought between Greeks and Trojans on the banks of the Scamander.

These fictitious battles, images of real and recent combats, we find everywhere in the paintings with red figures, as we have found them in the reliefs and sculptures. Everywhere on the vases just described, we shall see the Olympian gods in combat with the giants, the paladins of the Homeric epic poetry defeating the Trojans, and Theseus, the national hero, triumphing over the Amazons. The decorators of clay were thus inspired by the themes suggested to them by statuary and monumental painting. What we further held to establish particularly, is that in the adoption of the light figure reserved on a dark ground, it is necessary to see the natural effects of an increasing crisis, which no less than a century would cause Athens to pass from a rather heavy infancy to an ardent youth, a presage of the most robust and fruitful virility. When the ceramic painter inaugurates a method by which he will give to the living form a much more faithful rendering, than could be obtained by the technique of the black figure, he obeys the ideas and feelings that caused the efforts and directed the hands of the great artists, whose masterpieces will soon make illustrious the Athens of Cimon and of Pericles.

CHAPTER XXVII. Attic Vases with red figures in the severe Style.

1. Introduction.

The vases which we are going to describe and represent in this study, that will not pass and will not even attain the middle of the 5th century, by archivists are usually called vases of the severe style (strong style of the Germans,² strong and large style of the English).³ We shall employ this term because it is in current use, but perhaps it is proper to seek to explain a term, that does not itself have all desired precision. What best indicates its meaning and extent is the fact, that in the language of ceramographs, it is opposed to the term vases of the free style, which is applied to vases in which is found the reflection of the paintings of Polygnotos and of the sculptures of Phidias. The free style is that of the artist charmed by the beauties of the living form, and having penetrated all the secrets of its construction and of the play of its organs, has finally succeeded in freeing himself from all the abbreviations and exaggerations, all arbitrary deformations that experience suggested to the first designers. The bodies that he undertook to reproduce were presented to the eye of the spectator in their correct proportions, with their most complex movements, and with the foreshortening assumed by the perspective view. It was about the middle of the century, toward 460 or 450, that the ceramist painters attained that mastery. Those of the preceding period did not reach it. Doubtless in many of their works, there is already a rare knowledge of form, a marvellous aptitude for seizing alive the grace of a contour or of a spontaneous movement. There are qualities of drawing which are of the first order. Yet almost anywhere in them is still felt, either in the entirety of the composition and in the attitudes of the persons, or in the arrangement of the draperies, the persistent trace of certain archaic conventions. Thus even among those decorators that seem most advanced, in the faces of the figures shown in profile, the eye always retains more or less the appearance of an eye seen in front view. We shall see this inaccuracy disappear only in vases of the succeeding period, in those of the so-called free style (Fig. 201). It is the same with the drawing of the ear (Fig. 202).

Note 1.p.353. Pottier usually employs this term without seeking to define it. (Catalogue, p. 872, 880, etc).

Note 2.p.353. Hartwig in *Festschrift für Overbeck*, p. 25.

Note 3.p.353. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases of British Museum. Vol. III. Introduction, p. 3-7.

Note 1.p.354. The numbers in the parentheses in this Table refer to vases in the Louvre, Hall G. The figure frequently presents the drawing reversed, so that comparison may be easier. On the originals, several of these eyes are drawn from left to right.

What distinguishes one from the other series of vases that are classed under these two names, we have made understood; but we must confess that at least one of the terms of the names generally adopted does not entirely satisfy us. Nothing is to be said of the free style; the epithet there defines very clearly the character of the vases of the second period; but it is otherwise with the expression, severe style. The antithesis of the words free and severe is not clear. In regard to the first of these words, it would be desirable to be free to use another, which would be more correct and expressive. There is already in the interpretation of nature given by Euphronios and Brygos a great part of freedom, sometimes a sovereign liberty. Only in parts and in certain details, which do not strike at first sight, there is betrayed some not entirely effaced memory of the stiffness and restraints of former times. I see no words that suffice to mark that shade. To speak of a regulated style would be to force the note and to give a very inaccurate idea of the fabrication of the masters in question. Perhaps it would be wiser to limit myself to writing, as sometimes done; the first style of red Attic figures. This name prejudices nothing; but the form is rather long. It is better for us, with the benefit of these explanations and reserves, to use the names consecrated by practice, which cannot cause any confusion.

Note 1.p.355. Same indications and observations as for the Table of drawings of the eye.

We have studied and reproduced in a preceding Chapter several of these vases, where the potter seems to hesitate between the two techniques, which he then knew how to practice, where he used both the black and red figures (Pls. VI, VII, Figs. 177-183);

but the hesitation betrayed by that complexity of the decoration will not last long. The Greeks were too artistic not to seize at the first glance the advantages of the figure modeled in light in light, not to comprehend how much better it would be than the opaque silhouette to give the impression of life, to make felt the thickness and to project the relief of the body. Before there had disappeared the generation which rejected the black figure, the red figure had partly won; but if the latter had taken possession of the more spacious fields and those most in view, the ancient technique, like a defeated troop retiring in good order, yields ground only foot by foot. While they handled the brush, the painters that in their young years were trained in its school, often managed to retain a place in their decoration for it, were this only secondary. More than one amphora and hydria are known with painting in red figures, where on the shoulder or on the cover extends a band of little black figures of very free execution. These are cavalier and chariot races, combats of warriors, menads, dancing satyrs and hunting scenes. (Fig. 203).

Elsewhere to represent the mode out of fashion, there are only the enclosures of the panels, a frame in which the ornaments, palmations or frets, are outlined in black on a light ground.¹ Yet more frequently, what recalls the past is only a certain detail, where is found the unforeseen use of processes of execution not really in the spirit of the new mode of decoration.^{On} The most ancient of the vases with red figures, there is frequent use made of the incised line, sometimes to indicate in the interior of the figure the muscles and joints, more frequently to isolate the black mass that forms the hair, to separate it from the ground of the same color.² The painters yet had not all learned to model the image by means of light touches or a brush filled with thinned black. They still experienced some embarrassment in separating the hair and the accessories, in reserving around them a very narrow band of red clay.

Note 1.p.356. Louvre. Hall F, 204. Hall G, 17, 30.

Note 2.p.356. The same. Hall G, 1, 2, 3, 7, 10.

Again by the same memory of former practices, in many paintings, the brush has laid on the ground of light red these retouches of dark red, and sometimes of white, that formerly served

to lessen the saeness of black silhouettes.³ There is a certain vase representing Bacchus and the Menads, on which the bunches of grapes of the vines scattered on the field are tinted with this violet.¹ Elsewhere the blood flowing from wounds is indicated by the painter in this manner.²

Note 3.p.356. It is thus on a cup and on an amphora of Phintias (Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pls. 32, 52, 91). On these retouches in violet red, see Nichols (Am. Jour. Arch. 1902. p.33). and Schneider (Jahrb. 1889, p. 201). For the red retouches; Houvre, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 17, etc. White retouches are more rare (Louv. 3, 54, 81).

Note 1.p.357. Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 91.

Note 2.p.357. The same. Pl. 88.

2. Cups. Epictetos and his Group.

Ceramographs are divided on the question of knowing whether to Nicosthenes or to Andokides should be given the honor of the invention of reserved figures in red on a black ground, but one can scarcely doubt that one of those workshops issued on the market the first paintings executed according to the methods of the new technics. From Nicosthenes and from Andokides we have both vases with black figures, vases with black and red figures and vases with red figures.¹ Both were makers and potters. The verb *epoiesen* accompanies their signatures. We are ignorant of what decorators they employed to make experiments by which they are admired; but the first artist who signed as painter by *egon* phon vases with red figures is Epictetos.² Twenty years since were counted 23 vases on which his signature was read, and these were cups or plates with three exceptions.³ Because of new discoveries, this number must have increased by several units. There are only four of these cups on which are black also with red figures.

Note 1.p.258. On the role that Andokides played in the development of Attic ceramics, see Schneider. Jahrb. 1889. p. 203-207. On the technics of Andokides, see the observations of Furtwängler in Berl.Phil.Woch. 1910. p. 204, 205. Also *Österreichische Vasenmalerei*, text and Pl. III. Andokides was perhaps a potter rather than a painter. Whether he or another decorated the vase on which is inscribed his name, both technics were practised in his workshop; but Andokides ended by frankly deciding for the

red figure, and the painters employed by him were required to execute finely details, which permits attributing to them some vases that lack the signature of the master.

Note 2.p.358. Most frequently he writes *ēgrasphen* and not *ēraphsen*.

Note 3.p.358. Klein. *Meistersignaturen*. p. 100-108. To the list made by Klein can be added a cup signed by *Epictetos* and found in the museum of Schifanoia at Ferrara. (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1912. p.271). There is seen a bearded man, clothed only in a chlamys cast over the shoulder. He runs, holding in the right hand a horn, in the left an *oenochoe*.

Nicosthenes signed as potter one of these cups with mixed technics. Two others left the workshop of *Hischylos*.⁴ As for all vases on which appears only the red figure, they were decorated by *Epictetos* for several makers; *Hischylos*, *Pamphaios*, *Pythion*, *Pistoxenes*. Thus one can form a very correct idea of the role that *Epictetos* played in the world of ceramics at Athens. For *Nicosthenes*, who in the bulk of his works is still a master of the ancient school, he painted several black figures.¹ When he began to handle the brush at the same moment when the taste began to change. Between the two technics, he very soon made his choice. It is indicated by the talent with which he practised the new sort of painting. So all chiefs of workshops disputed his services. What confirms the date that we have proposed to assign him between 530 and 510, is the fact that on two of his cups is inscribed this name of *Hipparchos* in which is thought to be recognized that of the son of *Pisistratus*.

Note 4.p.358. On the workshop of *Hischylos* and its products see *Walters. Jour. Hell. Studies*. 1909. p. 103-109. *Walters* adds there several signed vases to the list that *Klein* has given.

Note 1.p.359. From him are four little subjects in black figure.

The signatures of *Epictetos* are read on two amphoras; but all other pieces on which they are found are vases of less dimensions and cups predominate. Then particularly as a decorator of cups is it proper to regard *Epictetos*, and to render an account of the role that this type then takes in Athenian ceramics, changes suffered by its form and ornamentation, it is necessary to return to the school of the black figure.

When we were writing the history of the technics of black figures, we stated at what time the Attic potter felt the desire

to give the drinking vase the character of art and beauty, that it was proposed to impress much earlier on the amphora and the cratera.² We have shown how it was from the Ionian fabrication, that it demanded the models which allowed it to satisfy this ambition. Ionia created the type of the kylix, the tall cup mounted on a foot. It seems that it was Amasis, soon followed by Exekias, who suggested to the Attic potters the idea of turning and decorating the kylix. Since then the chiefs of workshops of Ceramicos applied themselves with perseverance and success to perfect this type. With the cups of Ergoteles and of Tleson, of Hermogenes and Anacles, they created types whose elegance left little to be desired; but if then already knew how to place either inside or outside their cups well chosen themes of a nappy variety, they hesitated and still experimented, how the decoration should be divided between the basin and the exterior. The principal effort of the most skillful painters was not placed on the cup. Always on the necks and sides of Amphoras, hydrias and crateras were placed the paintings with most interesting subjects, and the figures that by their boldness and firmness of drawing best represent the art of the archaic age. In spite of the part then taken by the fabrication of Athens, the cup had not yet assumed in the production of its workshops the importance, that it would conquer under the reign of the red figure. Only with Nicosthenes is seen to appear "the cup with shallow bowl and sides insensibly lowered, that future queen of Athenian ceramics in the 5th century." ¹

Note 2. p. 359. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. p. 212-238.

Note 1. p. 380. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 788.

This type, brought into fashion by Nicosthenes, is that repeated without notable variations by the workshops in which were turned the cups decorated by Epictetos. If the form of the vase is nearly the same everywhere there, the style of the painter appears to be developed in the course of a career that must have been very long. At the beginning, inside was placed only one figure, enclosed by a light fillet, which separates it from the border covered by black glaze. On the exterior and between the two prophylactic eyes surrounded by palmetums, he inserts two figures of ephebes devoting themselves to the games of the palestra, or of soldiers hastening to the combat. Elsewhere is a Scythian archer with his tall cap and the spots of his costume

Note 2.p.380. Walters. History of Ancient Pottery. Vol. I, Pl. 37, Fig. 2.

Epictetos had a marked predilection for isolated figures. On a certain cup signed by him, he placed but one of his figures in the hollow of the bowl, without painting anything on the exterior. Such is that cup with no decoration other than the image of an Ionian satyr. With a tail and horse's ears (Fig. 204). Crowned with ivy, the satyr is kneeling without either knee touching the earth. There is a movement that only a very supple body could sustain without fatigue for some instants. The demon holds one of the two hands over orifices by cords. He seems there to test the weight to assure himself that it contains enough wine to quench his thirst.

More frequently there are figures both inside and outside. One can take as a type of the cups of the first manner of Epictetos one of those decorated by him for the potter Pamphalos. Within is an ephebe that urinates in an oenochoe (Fig. 205). "The naive immodesty of the movement taken from a frequent episode of the contest shows that no detail of familiar life is repugnant to the decorators. They did not disdain the little comic side. One notes the pretty curve of the leaning body, the bold crossing of the arms and legs, the fine toes of the feet."¹ On the exterior, on one side is a hoplite picking up his spear (Fig. 206), and on the other is an archer drawing an arrow from his quiver. (Fig. 207). Here is the study of a body curved so much forwards, that one of the two hands almost touches the ground, and one foot only rests on the toes. There in a still more extended movement is a back seen entirely foreshortened. In all these images is felt the search for a difficulty, and one divines the pleasure taken by the artist in triumphing over it. These are novelties, efforts of the kind of those that Cimon of Cleones had first introduced in historical painting.² The stroke of the brush is singularly light. It has traced with rare delicacy the contour of the silhouettes, and if it has shown very few internal details, where it has indicated them, this has been done with entire certainty.

Note 1.p.381. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 388.

Note 2.p.381. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p. 223-225.

Same qualities in a plate also signed by Epictetos and whose

decoration is yet more simple. It comprises only two persons without palmations or other ornaments with the filler than serves as a frame (Fig. 208). "Nothing can represent better than this painting, admirably preserved and intact, the spirit of Greek archaic painting, with its innocent freshness, naive and graceful awkwardness. This is an illustration of Greek life in the palestra; the ephebe victor receives from the hands of a monitor or pedagogue the palms and fillets that he has won in the competition. It is the portrait on foot of the young man as Aristophanes depicted him in the *Clouds*.¹ Of the young man who will later be the warrior of Marathon, a pupil in the gardens of the Academy, racing beneath the sacred olive trees, with robust cast, brilliant color and broad shoulders. A sketch with few details, great purity of line, admirable black glaze, outline of hair incised. There is no indication of the internal muscles. Still some traces of the ancient awkwardness. There is noted the unskilful drawing of the hands. The pupil of the eye touches only the lower lid; but the drawing of the mouth, instead of being a simple straight line, already announces the form which will be perfected in the workshops of the group of Eupronios-Erykos; the lips are separated by a slight interval and both are recurved. The entire attitude of the nude ephebe in repose breathes an imitation of grand sculpture, and one would believe him standing on his base as one of the Olympiads, whose statues ornament the sanctuary of the Altis. A vase of this recent makes one comprehend the mastery of Epictetos and the advantage found by the manufacturer in attaching him to his workshop.¹

Note 1.p.382. *Clouds*. Verse 1005 et seq.

Note 1.p.383. Pottier. *Catalogue*. p.389-390.

Emboldened by success, Epictetos did not fear to attempt more complex compositions. Thus he signed a cup of the Louvre on which are counted on the outside no less than 17 figures.² On one side are 9 warriors, Greeks and Asians, fighting around the nude corpse of a hero. On the other side are 7 Menads walking in procession and bearing thyrses; a single one holds a fawn in her arms. On the inside are remains of a person seated and playing on the lyre. The painting has suffered most there; but the entire cup is in very bad condition.

Note 2.p.383. Louvre. Hall 3, 3.

This cup may be compared to two cups of the British Museum that present the same character. Inside the bowl, here is a female dances before a flute player (Fig. 209), and there extended on a bed is a singer, who throws his head back to throw his voice better. On the exterior are scenes with several actors. One of these vases was decorated by Epictetos for the workshop of Python.³ At one side is seen Hercules slaying Busiris (Fig. 210)⁴ and at the other is the image of a feast. The other vase adds to the ordinary exclamation of kalos only the name of Hipparchos.⁵ On one side is Theseus slaying the Minotaur between two women present at the combat. On the opposite side are five nude young men, who give themselves up to the joys of the banquet. They prepare the beverage and prepare to drink it, they play the flute and dance.

Note 3.p.383. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum. Vol. III, p. 83 (E. 38).

Note 4.p.383. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, Fig. 221, Pl. XXI; X, Figs. 81, 176.

Note 5.p.383. Catalogue of Greek vases in British Museum. Vol. III, p. 83 (E 37).

According to all appearance, to the last years of the career of Epictetus belong the cups of this sort. He must have been aroused by the initiatives taken by the younger competitions to crowd his decoration, which he had not done at the beginning. Then deciding to reject the motive of the two prophylactic eyes, he enlarged the field at his disposal and thus obtained the means of multiplying the figures there, yet even then he did not take great trouble for invention. His themes, the combat around the corpse of a warrior, Theseus, conqueror of the Minotaur, Hercules punishing Busiris, he borrowed from the repertory of his predecessors; but faithful to the taste that he had shown from the beginning for familiar scenes, on each of the cups what at one is tempted to regard as his last works, he opposes as a pendant to the mythological subject a painting that depicts and recalls to the guests the pleasures of drunkenness. Not by imagination does he shine. The effort is devoted to the drawing, and he labors to render all both correct and more cold. Better than any of his predecessors had done, he feels and shows the beauty in the flexible lines and in the freedom of the movement of a virile body, young and nude. He makes himself the attentive and

sincere painter of the Attic epenê. By this he merits being counted in the history of Athenian ceramics, that he was the precursor, one may say even the master of Euphronios, Douris and Eryxos.

The traces of this influence are found everywhere on a series of cups unsigned by a painter, that issued from the same workshops to which Epictetos lent his aid. We are so poorly informed on the question why the painters signed certain of their works and did not sign all, that it is impossible to affirm that any one of these anonymous cups was not decorated by Epictetos; but there is every reason to think that a number of them owe their ornamentation to the brushes of pupils or rivals of the master. Thus ceramographs often speak of the school or group of Epictetos.

As a specimen of these cups which at first sight one might be tempted to attribute to Epictetos, is cited that of the potter Onelis.¹ Inside and outside are epebes exercising in the palestra with dumbbells, throwing the disk and the javelin, and wrestling; (Figs. 212, 211); but the drawing here is less fine and correct than on the cups signed by Epictetos.

Note 1.p.366. Louvre. Hall E. 15.

If the general movement is very correct, the members are thin, the arms are too long and are awkwardly bent in places. On the other hand, we know the names of at least some of the painters among whom the potters sought their collaborators, when they devoted themselves to the fabrication of vases with red figures. One of those most occupied appears to have been that Epilycos, whose signature is read with the verb egraphsen on a cup of the Louvre and on fragments of two other cups.² On the best preserved of these cups is seen inside, Hermes who with the left hand raised holds a flower, while he carries in the right hand a long caduceus from which is suspended a fillet with fringes and spaced knots, which indicates that he comes as an ambassador. He is covered by the petasus and has no clothing but a chlamys thrown over his shoulders (Fig. 213). On the outside are two mythological scenes, each with two persons. At one side is the combat of Hercules against Acheloo, the latter has the form of a Centaur with horns on his head. On the other side is a Nike and a Menad. In this vase, where the paintings of the exterior have suffered much, the best preserved is the Hermes, and to

judge by this figure, the work of Epilycos much resembles that of Epictetos, but his drawing has less accent and firmness. There is found in him more refinement on the fragment of another cup, where there now remains from the decoration only two nude ephebes drinking wine from a great cratera.¹

Note 2.p.366. The name of Epilycos occurs elsewhere only on three pieces. It has also been found on many other painted vases, but where it appears, it is either accompanied by the epithet kalos or is without any accessory mention. This pottery is too different in form and style for it to be possible to regard it as being all the work of a single artist or even as coming from a single workshop. There is then reason to consider here only the cups of Epilycos signed by him as painter. (Pottier. Epilycos. Etude de ceramique grecque, in Monuments Piot. Vol. IX, p. 135-178, Pls. XI-XV, X. Complémentary note, p. 49. Catalogue, p. 891-892). Yet according to the style, one could also attribute to Epilycos some of the cups on which the name of Epilycos is followed by the adjective kalos. (Pottier. Catalogue. p. 894-895.

Note 1.p.367. Louvre. Hall 3, 10 bis.

In the same group of the rivals of Epictetos, it is proper to place the painters Pheidippos and Psiax. There is from Pheidippos a cup with eyes on which are represented a scythian archer in the bowl, outside being a nude warrior running with four athletes. It was made by Hiscnylos (Fig. 214).² For the otherwise unknown potter Hilinos, Psiax decorated an alabaster whose subjects and fabrication show an imitation of Epictetos.³

Note 2.p.367. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases, etc. Vol. III, p. 43, Pl. I (E, e).

Note 3.p.367. Klein. Meistersignaturen, p. 134.

On other cups without signature of potter or painter, which by the names of kaloi read there as by the style of the decoration are classed among the works of most ancient workshops in which was practised the mode of the reserved red figure. This is the case for a cup in the Louvre, which even measures 1.74 ft. wide with the handles (Fig. 215).

This is one of the largest cups known. The inscription Menon kalos is twice repeated there. The composition seeks to harmonize familiar subjects and the heroic legends. Inside is a nude ephebe, who holds a lyre and runs to rejoin his companions (Fig. 216). On the outside between large palmatiums of beautiful coast

of lotus buds, hercules brings the wild boar of Erymanthes to the frightened Eurystheus concealed in his pithos. Behind the hero is his protectress Athena; behind Eurystheus are Kalliphoë and Stenelos, mother and brother of the king (Fig. 217). Ulysses under the guidance of Hermes prepares to depart on his war chariot (Fig. 218).

What justifies the place that we have assigned to this cup in the series is at first the name of this ephebe, who appears to have been much in favor in the Athens of the last years of the 6th century. Even 34 cups are known that boast of the beauty of Kemon, and one of them is signed by the potter Chelis, who was certainly a contemporary of Epictetos.¹ The study of the style confirms this inference. There are yet many vestiges of archaism. In the arrangement of the horses of the quadriga, grouped in pairs, symmetry is exaggerated. This is also so in the too parallel folds of the drapery and in the too regular trace of the zigzags and the border described below. The muscles of the abdomen are indicated in an entirely conventional manner. In the profiles, the eye is very long and slightly opened, is still entirely made for a front view with its pupil in the middle of the ball. The hands are very awkward in execution; but with all these defects, how many qualities are already of the first order! In the figure of Hercules with one foot on the ground and the other placed on the edge of the pithos, the drawing is of rare boldness, even in the rendering of the toes of the feet, those of the right foot being curved to raise the foot in the air. For the ephebe player of the lyre, one can criticize the forced movement of the head; but the legs and torso are well thrown forward with rapid and powerful spring. One can also only admire the correctness of the pose, everywhere very expressive. It is material in Athena, who extends her arm in sign of protection, toward the hero dear to her; for Eurystheus with his father and mother, if there be a difference between the persons, it very strongly expresses the terror inspired in all three by the mass of the monster and the violence with which Hercules prepares to cast him on Eurystheus. The heads of the horses of Ulysses have refinement and a singular elegance. "If this cup bore the name of an artist, it would count among the celebrated specimens of Greek ceramics." It shows the fabrication of the cup

already at the climax, producing works that become true vases of price, and of which use was only made in solemn circumstances.

Note 1.p.339. Klein. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften.p.54-81.

Note 1.p.371. Pottier. catalogue. p. 886-897.

The motive of the ephebe carrying the lyre seems to have been very much in fashion about that time. It is found with nearly the same movement in the interior of another cup, whose exterior also is decorated by mythological scenes (Fig. 219). It bears neither the name of the potter nor the name of the ephebe, but it might well have come from the same workshop as the cup dedicated to Menon. In both images the muscles of the abdomen and those of the thigh are indicated in the same fashion; but on the anonymous cup, the movement of the head is more natural. It accords better with the movement of the body. Another difference is, that on the first cup the ephebe holds in the left hand the end of drapery, that is believed to be recognized as the covering of the cithara. Here the object which that hand supports resembles a piece of meat, the leg of mutton. The young man is perhaps represented as returning from a sacrifice where he sung a hymn in honor of the god. He brings his part of the victim.

The study of this beautiful cup made it fully understood why we have emphasized this cup so much, in this history of the light taken by Athenian ceramics about the end of the 6th century. It is not without just reasons that we have decreed this cup a place of honor. It is because the first painter that has taken a brilliant part in the new system of decoration, Epictetos, is properly a decorator of cups, and that the training of painters of the light figure was made particularly on the cup. The programmes which were imposed on them by the purpose, that the cup was called on to fill, aroused them to efforts, each of which ensured and hastened their steps in the path of progress. By giving them on the outer surface only a narrow field to decorate, it compelled them to concentrate, to suppress those useless persons, that on the broad sides of the amphora and hydria, served to fill the vacancies in the composition; but what especially forced them to measure this boldly against all the differences, that opposed them in rendering the living form, was the necessity of filling the circular area offered by the interior of the bowl. The society for which then labored was charac-

by the beauty of the virile form, made supple and trained by the exercises of the palestra; this was then particularly the figure of an ephebe which they were incited thus to place where there was scarcely space for more than one figure. Doubtless the data were always nearly the same; but finally to excite curiosity, the artist diversified the motive by the variety of the attitudes. The movement changed from one vase to another. Here the ephebe, the warrior or the Silenus walks, there he runs. Elsewhere he crawls or casts himself forward with lowered head. He dances or leaps; he throws the discus, brandishes the spear or draws the bow; on several cups is seen an athlete exercising in picking the ground to strengthen the muscles, according to a custom widely distributed in gymnasiums and mentioned by several ancient authors (Figs. 220, 221).¹ Elsewhere a person lying down, holds the lyre of the musician or the cup of the drinker. (Fig. 222). The external field is utilized in the same spirit of skilful adaptation of the form to the space to be filled. Thus on the outside of a cup of the museum of Madrid, there are seen on each side two nude women lying and facing each other. The one at the left plays the flute, and the other in a similar attitude extends to her companion a great kylix. Above is the inscription; "drink, thou also." (Fig. 223).

Note 1.p.372. What best gives the idea of the effort made by the ceramic painters of that time to diversify the themes, which served them as ornament for the interiors of cups, and to adapt their figures to the round basin, is the album published under this title: - Designs from Greek vases in the British Museum, edited by A. S. Murray. 1894. There are representations on tinted paper of more than 80 photographs, taken of the interiors of cups with great care at the Museum.

Note 1.p.374. Theocritus. Idyl. IV, 10, and scholiast on this verse. Festus under Rastrum. See Hermann-Blümner. Lehrbuch der griechischen Privataltertümer. 1882. 3rd Edit. P. 349.

On a small number of cups, there are two joined figures in the internal circle.² Sometimes those are turned in the same direction, and one of them partly covers its companion. Elsewhere they wrestle, when they embrace or engage in some concerted action, the two figures facing each other. All these arrangements comprise variations, that from one vase to another modify the

appearance of the central group.

Note 2.p.374. There are even three figures inside a cup attributed to Euphronios by Hartwig. (Metastasechen, Pl. XV).

Placed on the festal table, the cup had already attracted attention of the guests by the elegance of its proportions and the beautiful curves of its handles. Then when the slaves had filled it, this passed from hand to hand, and he that had just emptied it, fixed his eyes with complacency on the image that decorated its bottom. He appreciated its unexpectedness and grace. In that city where from the reign of Pisistratus, was thus more and more extended the taste for intelligent and discreet luxury, the cup had become the favorite vase, when the most skilful artists applied themselves to decorate it by their best works. It was there that these, to interest the eyes of connoisseurs, attempted bold foreshortenings and the sports of perspective. By studies of the nude for which they furnished occasion, the cups served them as a school. In undertaking to decorate it, they acquired a most precious knowledge of form, and they initiated themselves in the art of representing this form seen at all angles, a science and art benefiting at the same time all paintings that they had to draw on vases of larger dimensions.

About this time, Attic potters also added to the effect and the beauty of all their cups by the invention of a particular ground tone of reddish orange on which the black shows better than on the natural red of the clay. They likewise applied this tone on other pieces of luxury, their amphoras and hydrias. How they obtained it is not well known; but what is certain is, that under the effect of the glaze, this tone took an extraordinary lustre.¹

Note 1.p.376. Pottier. catalogue. p. 734-735. Monuments Piot. Vol. X, p. 52.

In regard to these cups, which thenceforth play such a great part in the ceramics of Athens, and which will soon furnish it with some of its masterpieces, there has been made an observation that has its interest. "There is noted a detail of which we have not yet a satisfactory explanation. The subject is not always placed on the axis of the handles. It would seem natural, that the potter having furnished the painter with the vase in

a state to be decorated, the latter would take into account the structure of the vase and guide himself by the line of the handles to arrange his internal subject. Now the handles are often seen to form a line quite oblique and not perpendicular to the painting (Louvre. Hall F, 66, 68, 83. Hall G, 12, 13, 104, 118, 141, 142, etc.). Why has not the artist taken the trouble in the interior to adjust himself by the handles? Is this a sort of disymetry that pleased the eyes of the Greeks? Is it negligence? The question remains for study."²

Note 2. p. 378. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 857.

The solution of the problem appears to have been given in a recent study made on more than 200 cups.³ The axis chosen by the painter to establish the painting of his medallion was imposed on him by the mode in which he placed the cup to decorate it. The cup was laid on a table, so that it rested on its upper edge and on the side of its foot. Thus placed, the cup is not in a stable position, since it has only two points of support. Then it inclines to right or left, affected by the weight of its handle is in contact with the table (Fig. 224). This equilibrium being realized, the artist draws vertically the figure that is to fill the medallion; but the corresponding horizontal is not parallel to the axis of the handles. This is the tangent drawn through the end of the handle to the circumference of the bowl; it is the line of the table joining the former and the latter. The line of the handles is thus an axis of oblique support for the cup to be decorated; it cannot serve as the axis of the decoration.

Note 3. p. 378. H. Roussay. L'axe du médaillon intérieur dans les coupes grecques. (Rev. Arch. 1912¹. p. 80-83).

See how the author of this study summarizes the considerations that he has presented:— "the axis of the medallion being oblique, since this obliquity had fixed the limits and was the case generally, it was necessary to seek a technical explanation of the fact. As the artist could not properly incline the axis of his persons, according to all probability he painted his subject vertical, and a constant cause made the vertical chosen by him to be not in the axis of the handles. What could be that constant cause? The position of the cup. The problem then led to seek the position of the cup for which the obliquity of the handles

was a necessity of the trade. We have found that position; it furnishes an entire explanation of the facts in their least detail and is compelled by them. It is then necessary and sufficient.

Note 1.p.377. Houssay. p. 88. In the very ingenious and minute study of Houssay is found the indication and explanation of the case, why the choice of the axis of the medallion is not explained by the work on the table and the support of the cup on one handle. There are very small cups that the artist held entirely in the left hand while he painted. It might also occur that the cup lying on its side remained in equilibrium after some oscillations without a handle coming in contact with the table. It was then the point of stability so obtained which determined the choice of the axis, etc.

It is now proper to return to those vases on which the talent of the painters, refined by the discipline to which they had been subjected by a useful apprenticeship, found it could display itself more at ease on larger fields than those furnished by the cup. We shall on our way meet with painters with each his personal style, distinguishing himself by innovations introduced in the design and by the originality of his execution. In the lists that I shall draw up of the works of these masters, and cups will have their place, a beautiful place; but none of these artists entirely devoted themselves to the decoration of cups, as Epictetos had almost entirely done. Of all workshops which then carried so high the fame of Athenian fabrication came the vases which reproduce, perfected by a very sure and delicate taste, all the types made known to us by the study of the ceramics previously described.

3. Cacrylion and Euphronios.

With Epictetos and the artists trained by his lessons, the first generation of painters of the light figure had learned to feel more vividly than their predecessors had done, the beauty of the nude and to represent it in a less conventional manner, to use for rendering all its aspects the resources which the new procedure offered. Thus one endeavored to outline the contours of the body by a firm black line, by what we term the line in relief, from the slight projection that it has left on the surface of the clay. As for the muscles and the construction of the skeleton appearing through the flesh, men tried to indicate

them by lighter lines, obtained by a brush dipped in a diluted color, in a black thinned by the addition of water; thus was attained a beginning of modeling. Then the principal effort was made in the drawing. If the composition was nappily simplified, it usually was left a little loose; men were satisfied to place persons together without establishing between them those very intimate relations shown by the crossing of the members and the vivacity of actions.

It is divined from these indications, what was the nature of the task to be accomplished. The drawing of the ceramic painter had to become still more faithful and more free. he would be required to learn to represent the body no longer in that sort of geometrical drawing given by the front view, but in perspective as it appeared to the eye from whatever point it was seen. It was not only the form of the body which it was required to seize more nearly. It was necessary to pass into the lines of the face at least something of that virtue that ^{was} externally expressed by the nobility, the movements of the soul. Doubtless until then all decorators of clay had not adopted a uniform type for drawing the lines of the face. From one workshop to another, this type varied in a certain measure; but it was the same profile or the same face, that was found on all vases signed by the same name and a painter, one could almost say, on all vases from the same workshop. It was rare that the artist made an effort to give to one of his heads individual features, and for the entire period preceding that on which we shall enter with Euphronios, I know scarcely an example of a painting in which the mouth and eye, interpreters of the soul, are charged to manifest by the manner in which they are drawn, terror or suffering, admiration or joy. At most could be cited a vase with black figures on which sleep is indicated by closing the eye, which is represented only by a horizontal line (Fig. 184). Men tried early to sketch, not without a certain awkwardness, the most expressive and spontaneous gestures. They finally attained to giving to these acts much correctness and vivacity; but the painter had not yet learned to contract or to lighten the faces of his figures, thus to place there an expression, which should be more intense and likewise more clearly defined, that could either affect the movements of the body, the flexure or stiffen-

stiffening of the arms, the extension or bending of the fingers.

The more the image is reduced and the more difficult for the painter^{is} to indicate by a slight inflexion of the lines of the forehead or nostrils, by the closing or opening of the eyelids, by the displacement of the pupil, by the opening or closing of the lips, the variations of the state of the soul of the person of his paintings. From this point of view, the cup usually does not give the artist conditions as favorable to him as those provided for him by the cratera, amphora or hydria. With very rare exceptions, it does not offer to him such spacious fields to decorate,^{as} where the figures could attain dimensions permitting the giving the drawing of the face a certain development. Thus while Epictetos and his rivals devoted themselves almost entirely to the decoration of cups, other painters allowed their brushes to cross over the large surfaces offered them by the vases of great height, found their material to solve the problems, which their predecessors had hardly suspected.

From the beginning of the 6th century the potters of Athens had accustomed their patrons overseas to demand from them those great vases that were often sent them filled with savory oil and the wine of Attica. Why had they interrupted the manufacture because in the decoration of those pieces the light figure had succeeded the black figure? A certain chief of a workshop, at the same time had devoted himself with the aid of Epictetos to perfect the form and paintings of the cup, produced by the aid of other decorators amphoras, that by the structure and ornamentation recall those of Nicosthenes; but often contemporary potters, Hischylos, Chelis, Pythion, Pistoxenos and Cachrylion, seem to have devoted themselves exclusively to the making of cups. It might be that there was only a deceptive appearance, due to the chance of the finds. Yet it seems difficult not to recognize a specialist of the cup in that one of those makers, who from the number of vases signed by him that have come to us, appears to have had the most active and most frequented workshop about the end of the 6th century.

From Cachrylion in 1893 were known 16 signed vases, that are all cups with or without a foot.¹ The name of kalos Meannon is common to him with Chelis, that the presence of the prophylactic eyes on one of his cups and the style of his decoration connect with the group of potters for whom Epictetos worked; can be

the name of the ephete *peagros* in common with that of Euphronios. He signed the cup that Euphronios decorated, and in the best of his works it is believed can be found traces of the influence of the style of Euphronios. Cachrylion thus served to place between the first generation of potters, who practised the decoration in light on a black ground, and that of the masters who developed and enlarged the art of the red figure. Before studying these masters, it is then proper to accord some attention to that of Cachrylion.

Note 1. p. 330. On Cachrylion see P. Hartwig. *Die griechischen Meisterschalen*, etc. *Klein. Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, p. 124-130, 221. To the lists made by Klein and Hartwig can be added the bottom of a cup found by P. Orsi in his excavations at Gela. (*Gela*. p. 458, 459, Fig. 328).

Subject 13 is an ephete standing near a horse. The two figures are in very bad proportions and drawing; they are very inferior to all those decorating the other vases signed by Cachrylion. One would be tempted to believe in a very awkward modern counterfeit, if Orsi himself had not taken from his trenches all the fragments that he published; but this weakness of execution can be explained otherwise. We should have there an ancient counterfeit, the work of some local potter, who to sell better his bad wares, did not hesitate to attach to it the mark of an Athenian workshop well known and much frequented.

On the 16 cups that he has signed, the verb that appears after his name is always *epolesen*, that the painter ordinarily employs to signify to the purchaser that the vase on which appears this inscription left his workshop. Only once, on a cup of the museum of Munich beside Cachrylion *epolesen* is found a signature of the painter, Euphronios *egrapsen*.¹ This constant repetition of the formula *epolesen* comprises only one interpretation. Cachrylion was certainly the chief of a workshop whose mark in his time was first on the market of Athens and foreign markets. If on the vases that he placed on sale, he did not inscribe the name of the painter, as done by the potters for whom Epictetos had worked, this is because he decorated them himself, or had them decorated under his eye by workmen attached to his workshop, that were merely docile interpreters of his sketches. Four chiefs of workshops, Exekias, Nearchos, Douris and Myron, adorned

to declaring on certain vases that they furnished to the public that they claimed the honor both as potters and as painters.² Euphronios signed sometimes as painter and sometimes as potter. This suffices to prove that more than one manufacturer knew how to handle the brush, or if preferred, that more than one painter understood how to direct the operations of modeling and turning vases. The arts of clay as practised at Athens did not comprise an absolute separation of the two trades, that of the potter and that of the painter of ornaments and figures.

Note 1.p.381. Klein. Die Vasen mit Metastereisignaturen.p.138-140

Note 2.p.381. The same. p.38, 39, 180, 217.

By the formula that he employs, Cachrylion announces himself to his patrons as the sole author responsible for all the work made in his workshop. Once only in our knowledge, he believes that he should act contrary to these customs. Perhaps this was on the formal request of his correspondent in Etruria, that he took the method of exceptionally soliciting the assistance of a painter in vogue, giving his name beside his own on the clay of the vase, whose decoration is not by Cachrylion, it is proper to carry to the credit of Euphronios, and which we shall refer to again. On the cups that he signed alone, it is proper to judge Cachrylion and to define his style.

It is a first trait by which the cups of Cachrylion resemble those decorated by Epictetos, showing the same taste and the same practices of the workshop. Around the medallion of the bowl there is here still only a double red fillet, while on the cups of Euphronios, even in those appearing most ancient, there is in this place a fret that gives a richer border to the image. On the other hand, this is what makes Cachrylion seem more advanced than the potters that employed Epictetos. Cachrylion abstains from placing on the exteriors of his cups the stale notion of the propnylactic eyes, a legacy of technics out of fashion. He employs the palmation to separate the figures that decorate this part of the vase.

The figures which he places on this exterior further are rather juxtaposed than connected together, engaged in a common action. Such is the case for a cup at Palermo or which extend groups of ephebes,¹ and on a cup in Paris whose decoration has the same character.² Inside it is a young man playing ball (Fig.22)

On the exterior are ephebes in the palestra. Two of them wash their heads in the basin of a fountain, and a third executes movements for making his arms supple (Fig. 226). It is more difficult to state what occupies the others (Fig. 227). There is cited only a single cup on which may be a mythological subject. This is on a cup of the British Museum.³ Inside a woman holds a flower and dances to the sound of the lyre played by a young man standing before her (Fig. 228). On the exterior is an ephebe leaning on a staff and chatting with a woman that also presents him with a flower. At the right and left of this group is an infant on a horse. All that does not rise from the commonplace images, which decorate most cups from the workshops of the times; but on the other side of the exterior is a scene, whose arrangement shows a true art of composition (Fig. 229). Theseus stands on a chariot with four horses and carries off Antiopeia, queen of the Amazons, that he supports with the left arm. The young woman is clothed in oriental costume with the mitre and the anaxyrides, turns from him and looks back as if to speak a last farewell to the distant land from which he takes her. Behind the chariot of Theseus walks his inseparable Perithoos and his friend Phorbos. The names of the persons are inscribed on the clay. By the placing of these legends as by the entire character of the painting, this picture forms in the work of the potter an exception that merits mention.

Note 1. p. 382. Hartwig. *Mesiterschalen*. Pl. I.

Note 2. p. 382. *Howare*. Hall 3, 38.

Note 3. p. 382. *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases*. Vol. III, 8, 41.

On several other cups, there are no figures except inside the bowl. One can scarcely cite more than one cup, that just described, on which the painter has placed two persons facing each other (Fig. 228). Usually there is but a single person, an Amazon, warrior, drinker on a couch, ephebe, and as one of the best specimens of these images may be taken a cup that formerly belonged to the collection Rayet (Fig. 230). It did not come from the Etruscan tombs, like the other cups signed by Cachryllion. It was found at Velanidezza in Greece itself on the north coast of Attica.

What the painter has represented there is a nude man running. He has the helmet on his head, greaves on his legs, a spear in

the right hand, and on the left arm is a shield notched out on its upper edge, so as to leave more freedom in handling the spear. This cup offers beside its source one peculiarity, that makes it very worthy of interest. Doubtless it had been broken into several fragments on the funeral pile of the dead. Those fragments were put together and cemented without the painting having suffered any of those retouches, of which Italian restorers are so lavish. "By this perfect integrity, one can follow there the traces of the sketch, traces that very frequently cannot be found on vases that came from Italy. The painter has sought his figure on the cup itself, simply revived and still a little soft. The pencil that he used when he traced the lines, and slightly burnished in a way in its passage. Hence are brilliant lines that are distinguished by lighting the painting by glancing daylight, and that we have tried to indicate by a dotted line in the pen drawing inserted here. Cachrylion then did not copy the model. He improvised and invented his subjects on the vases themselves, which he had to decorate. It will be noted, that in the successive experiments of the sketch, and later in the definite line in black color, he has constantly enlarged the contours and made the lines more flexible. He has made a curious effort to correct a natural defect of "seeing lean," that he has so perfectly taken into account." ¹

Note 1. p. 385. Rayet and Collignon. *Histoire de la céramique grecque*. p. 176-177. On this process of sketching on vases with red figures, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 330-333, Figs. 177.

This defect is indeed what strikes us in the decoration of the vases of Cachrylion. The painter poses his figures well and properly seizes their movement. The entirety of the contour is very correct, but retains a certain dryness. Inside this contour are scarcely any lines to model the body, that accent the muscles and joints. When there are such, they are not always correct. The heads are small and the profiles are without accent. The eye is only a flat tentil and the mouth remains closed. Here is found nothing of the amplitude and power in the rendering which we shall have to indicate for Euphronios. Cachrylion sometimes seems to aspire to enlarge his style; but this effort is not sustained and does not end. If as some have supposed, Euphronios was trained in the workshop of Cachrylion, the pupil has singularly surpassed the master, and over him nothing of the

merits that form its originality. Of personal invention, Cachrylion has carried nothing more into the choice of his themes than into the style of his drawing. In all that we know of him, there is only one painting which is truly interesting by what the painter would put into the expression, if not in the lines of the face, at least in the attitudes of the persons.¹

Note 1. p. 388. On the style of Cachrylion, see Hartwig. *Metaverschalen*. Text, p. 17-70. Also see his Plates I, II, III.

In brief, what in Cachrylion merits not to be forgotten in the history of the ceramics of Athens is, that his signed work forms in some sort the transition between that of Eucletetos and that of Euphronios. It is at this same time, to this same stage of art, that belongs a certain number of unsigned cups, mostly without external decoration, which it has been proposed to attribute at least in part, to the workshop of Cachrylion. These are those on which are read the names of Memnon, of Epidromos and of Leagros, accompanied by the epithet kalos.¹ Memnon and Leagros are the only names with kalos that are read on the cups of Cachrylion.² Memnon is also found with Chelis, which gives reason to believe that Cachrylion and Chelis were nearly contemporary. Doubtless Memnon belonged to a generation preceding that of Leagros, for his name is read on several cups on which black figures are near red figures.³ As for Epidromos, his name is read on 10 cups that are all anonymous; but I do not see on what ground to assign some of these cups to Cachrylion.⁴ If all be considered, the subjects of the paintings are borrowed from the same repertory, there is in the execution of the figures a more advanced art, which seeks more lively movements, and which particularly applies itself to model the torso and the members by more lines in diluted black. This is proved by a cup on which are seen two ephebes crowned with flowers and seated on a festal couch. One of them has drunk too much and relieves his stomach, while the other pays no attention to the incident, but plays the double flute (Fig. 231). The boots of one of the diners, busking with high legs, are placed on the ground. The character of the drawing here recalls the style of Euphronios much more than that of Cachrylion, and this resemblance is still more marked in the great number of 45 vases on which is found the name of this Leagros, who appears to have been for several years the great far-

favorite of fashion. Already Cachrylion renders homage to him,¹ and one finds him drawn on a cratera signed by Euxitheos³ and on a cratera of Euthymides.⁴ Besides these four vases that place Leagros in connection with the potters and the painters named previously, there are some 40 others dedicated to him by the legend Leagros kalos, which bear neither signature of painter nor potter.⁵ On nearly all the execution is by painters that distinguish themselves by the variety that they place in the choice of their themes, by the accent of freedom of their drawing, and especially by the care that they take in strongly marking the internal details. There suffices to give an idea of this, a cup in the central medallion of which represents a nude young man chasing a hare (Fig. 232). The brush has made felt there the skeleton beneath the muscles, which is also indicated in the abdominal region with an emphasis that even goes to exaggeration. What is felt there is the influence of the style of Euphronios and his contemporaries. It betrays itself here even in the enclosure of the image. This is no longer a simple fillet as with Epictetos and Cachrylion. As always with Euphronios and his rivals, it is a fret in firm drawing.

Note 1.p.387. On the value and meaning of this epithet kalos in the epigraphy of Attic vases, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. II, p. 381-384; on the data that can be derived from it for dating the vases; X, p. 344-245. On these attributions of anonymous vases to Cachrylion, see Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 38 et seq.

Note 2.p.387. Klein. Vasen etc. Cachrylion. Nos. 10, 14.

Note 3.p.387. The same. Chelms. No. 2. Klein. Die griechischen Vasen, etc. Memnon. Nos. 1-8.

Note 4.p.387. This is what Hartwig does (*Meisterschalen*. Pl. III and explanations of Plates).

Note 1.p.388. Klein. Cachrylion. No. 7.

Note 2.p.388. Klein. Olto and Euxitheos, No. 4.

Note 3.p.388. Klein. Euphronios, No. 3.

Note 4.p.388. Euthymides, No. 4.

Note 5.p.388. Klein. Lieblingsinschriften. 2nd edit. p. 70-81.

It is possible that several anonymous vases, that celebrate the beauty of Leagros, came from the Workshop of Pamphaios, one of the manufacturers that seems to have been most in vogue about the end of the 6th century. He commenced by producing vases with

black figures, then he devoted himself to the red figure and caused to be decorated by Epictetos two cups with his mark, that have come to us; but his workshop remained active long enough, that on certain vases from it, there is believed to be recognized the influence of the style of Euphronios.¹

Note 1.p.389. To the list of vases signed by Pamphaios given by Klein may be added the foot of a cup recently found by P. Orsi in his excavations at Locres. (Bull. d'arte. Vol. III. 1900 p. 143.

There are two amphoras by Pamphaios, whose form recalls that of the amphoras of Nicosthenes.² They form a pair in a way. On the body are subjects taken from traditional myths; but on the neck are found the figures of nude women, which Epictetos loved to frame in varied poses in the bottoms of cups that he signed. Here is one of these amphoras (Fig. 233). On the neck at both sides is a woman clothed in a very short and adhering tunic, held at the waist by a girdle, running and turning the head backward. She holds in each hand a little dolphin by the tail. On the body, on one side is Menelaos recovering Helen. Armed as a hoplite, he advances with great steps, holding his sword in his right hand. He seizes the wrist of Helen with the left hand, who with disheveled hair extends the right hand in token of supplication. On the other side is the Centaur Chiron, who carries the infant Achilles (Fig. 234). Bearded and with a long pendent hair, the Centaur is draped in his himation and carries on his left shoulder a leafy branch from which hangs a dead hare fastened by her paws. On the right hand of the Centaur extended forward is seated the little Achilles, wrapped in his mantle. With an entirely similar arrangement, the other amphora has on the neck two nude women, who in different attitudes prelude their toilette by putting on their shoes (Fig. 235). These sketches from the gynaeceum are of value for the attitude and the skill of the drawing. Menon and Andokides have left us amphoras decorated in the same taste, that must date at nearly the same time as that of Pamphaios.¹

Note 2.p.389. Hall G, 2 and 3. On Pamphaios and the eclectic character of the products of his workshop, see Klein. *Metastereotypen*, p. 87-97. On some vases his name is written Pamphaios and Panphaios. A maker that must have been contemporary with

Gachrylion and Pamphaios is Hermaios, whose signature is read on two cups that formed a part of a collection now scattered. (Collection Van Branteghne. Catalogue by M. Fröner. 1892. Nos. 28, 29, Pl. III).

Note 1.p.390. Ampora of Menon (Am. Jour. Arch. 1905, p.78). Amphora of Andokides, Louvre. Hall G. I.

Already more than once in sketching the history of the beginning of painting with red figures, we had occasion to pronounce the name of Euphronios. We could then betray some impatience at being constrained to delay for these imperfect attempts, and seem hurried to come to the artist who first knew how to utilize the resources of the new technics to give to the decoration of Attic vases a nobility and beauty to which they had not attained under the brushes of his predecessors.² Like the principal chiefs of workshops in the period when the severe style attained its climax, Euphronios is represented both by cups and by vases of other types. Likewise in the work of the most fertile painter of this epoch, Douris, if there are counted 21 cups, there are also a chanthra and a psycter.

Note 2.p.390. Klein. Euphronios, etc. 1889. This book has its defects, which have been criticized with excessive severity; but by the very extended researches whose results are given, investigations undertaken in both libraries and museums, he has rendered real services to ceramographs and he can still render them.

From other indications, such as the names of beautiful ephebes and the names of potters inscribed on vases that he has signed, Euphronios had begun to produce some years before Douris and Erygos; but to judge by the progress shown by his style and technics, he appears to have continued to paint when these younger masters were in ^{full} vogue. It was about the end of the 6th century that he commenced; his career was prolonged till about 550 or 560.

Of all those ceramic painters, Euphronios is the one whose figure and role may best be seen in the shadow from which appear these patient and skilful workers. Up to a certain point, one can sketch his biography. He was already a famous artist before 480. We have stated now there was found on the Acropolis in the layer of rubbish created by the conflagration of 480 and 479 a

dedeciation by Euphronios, potter.¹ One is much tempted to recognize Euphronios on a stele, whose relief represents a master potter offering to Athena two cups as a specimen of his art. Of the name of the giver remain only the last three letters, i o s. Doubtless this is little, but what renders the conjecture probable is that we do not know a single other Athenian ceramist of the 5th century, whose name ends in ios.² Finally, what proves the reputation very rapidly acquired at Athens by the ceramic painter Euphronios are the three words, which we read traced by the brush of a contemporary painter on an amphora now preserved at Munich. On the front of the vase, the painter has inscribed his name and that of his father, Euthymides of Polio; but here is what he added to this signature on the back: - "never has Euphronios done so well!" In this cry uttered by the artist there is both pride and anger. Euthymides is not so convinced of his own superiority, that he does not envy the success and vogue of Euphronios.³

Note 1. p. 391. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X, p. 343.

Note 2. p. 391. Lechat. *La sculpture avant Phidias*, p. 387.

Note 3. p. 391. Klein. *Metastertsignaturen*. 2nd edit. p. 194.

There are from Euphronios vases signed in two different ways; some have *egrapsen* and others have *epoisen*. Those bearing the second of these forms are of freer make and more advanced than those on which the first is read. They would then be later; they represent the production of the last years of Euphronios. During the first half of his life, which must have been very long, Euphronios worked at wages for several master potters; then he became on a fine day the chief of a workshop, and manufactured on his own account.

The inference derived from this succession of the two formulae is confirmed by the evidence of the monuments. Among the three vases which Euphronios signed as painter, there is one, the cup of Munich with the combat of Hercules and Geryon, that Cachryllion signed as potter.¹ From the examination of the vases on which is inscribed the name of this maker, we have concluded that Cachryllion must be almost a contemporary of Epictetos, i.e., of the beginning of the red figure.² On the other hand, the name of the ephebe Leagros, that is read on the three vases signed with *egrapsen* is absent from works on which appears the formula *epoisen*. When these left the kiln, Leagros was forgotten. *etc.*

young men, Panaitos, Glaucon, Erothemis and Lycos were then the kings of fashion.

Note 1.p.392. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p. 138-139.

Note 2.p.392. The same. p. 124.

How Euphronios found himself led to change the situation thus is easily divined. he was --- this is proved by the caprice of Euthymides --- the painter most in view, and consequently best remunerated. By this trade he had amassed enough money that the idea came to him to derive more profit from the reputation made as a decorator and the experience acquired of all secrets of the art of fire. When he saw leaving the Piraeus in full cargo for Italy and Sicily, those vases that his brush had decorated by ornaments and figures, he could not prevent himself from calculating for himself, what each of those exports represented for the manufacturer in tetradrachmas with the owl and beautiful staters of gold. Doubtless the manufacturer ran risks to which the painter was not exposed, accidents in firing, also those of the caprices of fashion; but if his business was well conducted and circumstances favored it, this chief of industry had every chance of making a fortune, while the most skilful of his collaborators could not hope at most to gain a liberal livelihood. Doubtless this decided Euphronios to become a chief instead of a simple employee, that he had been until then.³ When did he undertake this part? I freely believe that it was after Salamis and Platea, when the Athenians were proud of their recent progress, and set themselves with feverish activity to reopen their workshops, and under the protection of their victorious fleet, to renew the commercial relations, which the Persian invasion had interrupted. They had then a rapid resumption and lively movement of business. Articles of Athens, as we would say today had for two years been lacking on all markets, where they had been first for half a century. As soon as the sea was free, export was restored. Then was the moment for an enterprising ceramist to open a workshop, whose products would be recommended at first by a name already popular at Athens and abroad.

Note 3.p.392. Hartwig, Furtwängler and Pottier all discard this conjecture.

Of the double formula into which enters the name of Euphronios there has been given another interpretation, that for our part we refuse to accept. It has been desired to distinguish two

Euphronioses, one of which was doubtless the father of the other and was merely a painter while the second had the mark of a potter.¹ This hypothesis does not resist a comparative study of the entirety of the vases on which appears the name of Euphronios. On the vases signed by Euphronios as potter, there remains much of Euphronios the painter. If there are found some differences between these two groups of monuments, the resemblances are too marked for one not to be convinced by that examination to recognize in all these paintings the work of an artist, who without changing his temperament, has not ceased to strengthen his drawing and enlarge his style.

Note 1. p. 393. Dümmler. Bonner Studien, p. 78.

There have so far been found only three vases that Euphronios signed as painter. These three vases are a psycter at S. Petersburg (Fig. 236), a cup at Munich, and a cratera at the Louvre. (Fig. 238). In the decoration of the cratera has the artist made proof of most power and originality. It is then proper to commence the study of this series with that of the psycter and cup, which appear to be works of the beginning. Euphronios shows himself superior to his predecessors; but one divines there from more than one indication that he still experiences some embarrassment before certain problems, that his rivals and he himself solved later without difficulty.

The psycter was one of those vases that had its marked place in the festal hall, and was of those whose decoration proposed to enliven the guests, by presenting to their eyes images to appeal to their senses, which should recall past pleasures and give a foretaste of the pleasures of the future. These memories were evoked and these appetites were aroused by a theme varied in a thousand ways by the painters of crateras and cups, the representation of Bacchic scenes, that they either represented as naturally scattered in the streets of the city, those joyous processions, those comes that usually terminated in Greece the banquets, or transposed into an imaginary world, that showed the Menads fainting in the arms of drunken Silenes. The effect produced was of the same kind, when these artists cast on the clay the beautiful forms of nude ephebes as well as those of female dancers, flute players and courtesans, who took part in these festivals.

On the psycter are seen four women with their hair placed

under a cap and entirely without clothing, carelessly posed on couches made softer by piles of cushions. Two of these women are extended at full length leaning on the left elbow; two others are seated with busts revealed. One of them is a flautist, whose fingers play on the instrument held by the lips. The three others each have two cups in hand, their brows enclosed by crowns of smallage, that passes for making drunkenness come more slowly and be more easily borne. One of them is viewed in front and prepares to empty her cup. The other holds it placed on her open palm, as if she wished to measure its depth before carrying it to her mouth. The fourth has seized it by a handle and uses it to play at cottabos (Fig. 239). This game had its marked place in the species of orgy (symposium) that followed the dinner. There was left in the cup after each bumper was drunk, a small quantity of wine; then the cup was held by passing one finger into one handle; a sort of slinging movement was then imparted to it, then the mouthful of wine left at the bottom was either thrown toward the opposite wall of the hall, or toward a fixed aim. During this time one thought and even spoke in a loud voice the name of the person that he loved, and according to the precision with which the liquid or latex reached the proposed aim, and according more or less to the noise that it made in falling, the player believed that this person returned it or had only indifference. On these primitive data, the imagination of the drinkers invented a hundred different combinations. The cottabos had an orderer, a king; it became a sort of competition; it had its victors and prizes, its stakes and forfeits. The latex was cast in time at the sound of the flute. The mark became a balance, one scale must be made to descend, or an entire pile of objects, one of which was hit by the jet and brought down a cascade of successive falls. The cottabos remained for more than a century the rage at Athens, Corinth, Thebes, and at all cities where pleasure was loved and where men boasted of elegance. Not a feast was well ordered, that was not enlivened by this game. Men prided themselves on having for it the richest and most beautiful cups. Cups still more luxurious might form the prizes. It is not doubtful that the favor enjoyed by this sport strongly contributed to the development taken by the industry of the cup in the first half of the 5th century.

grecque. p. 162-162. Also see Article Cottabos in Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et Romaines (By Lafaye)..

By this game Smicra, "the little," amused herself here. Each of the drinkers has her name inscribed near her in the field. Smicra with the index finger of the right hand passed through the handle of a skyphos, prepares to cast the contents of the vase; but before this action, she turns her head toward the beautiful ephebe, Leagros, whose feelings she is going to test. The words that she pronounces are read from right to left, painted on the clay near her right arm (Fig. 240). "Tis for thee that I cast this latex, Leagros." The apostrophe to Leagros, although written in Attic letters, presents the forms of the Doric dialect.¹ This is that the game of cottabos for being a Doric invention, to have been imported from Sicily to Athens.

Note l.p.397. Tin is the Doric form of the dative and accusative of tu for ou.

By this inscription and by the interest that the same presents and that it explains, this vase is already very worthy of attention. It is no less curious by the character of this style. There are faults in drawing that are perceived at the very first. The right leg of the flutist is too long. Certain movements of the arm have something a little angular, a little hard, that these painted elbows, which are also found elsewhere with Euphrosios; but what is here an especially strange awkwardness, is the manner in which the breasts are presented in the figures of Smicra the drinker and of her neighbor Palaisto. They are much too far apart, and the painter instead of placing the globe on the chest seen in front view, has made it project in profile at the right and left of the torso.

It is not without surprise that one finds such a serious inaccuracy in a painting, where in other respects the artist has made proof of decision and knowledge. He has known how to vary the poses of his four persons, poses that are of happy and natural form. The entirety of the contour is everywhere very correct. The figure of the flutist in particular is of a good growth. The drawing has a breadth to which Epicetetos did not attain.

In these four figures, the painter abstained from indicating the relief of the muscles and the joinings of the articulations. Perhaps he desired to indicate thus that female flesh with its

delicacy and roundness, did not present to the eye the same appearance as that of the ephebe, where tendons and muscles have been developed by the exercises of the palestra.

There under the reserve of the special traits that define the sex, the sole difference that he has made is in the mode of rendering, between the body of the man and that of the woman. The latter in the entirety of its construction has the robustness of the male body. This interpretation of the form is further not peculiar to Euphronios. It is found with nearly the same shades in the other contemporary painters. This is also what prevails in the sculpture of the 5th century, at least in that of European Greece, of Peloponessus and of Attica.

The admirable statues themselves of the pediments of the Parthenon are also conceived in this form. It will be only in the 4th century that painters and sculptors make the discovery of a new beauty, if one can so speak. Zeuxis, Praxiteles and Scopas finally learned, that for certain subjects the female forms have an elegance which distinguishes them from masculine forms. They insist on this character. They seek there the source of the pleasure that must be caused to the spectator by the images, which they offer of that beauty to him. Like the psykter of the courtesans, the cup on which are represented the combat of Hercules against Ceryon, and the carrying off of the flocks of the giant, classed among the first works of Euphronios. There is read beside the name of Euphronios that of the potter Kacerylion. The work further has an entirely different importance, than that just described. The cup is beyond the ordinary in its dimensions: it measures 1.62 feet in diameter with the handles. One admires there the variety of tones and their beauty, the lustre of the black glaze, which serves as a ground to the figures of a very vivid red and that of an orange glaze on which is detached the painting of the inside of the bowl. This same glaze, which is very rare in use, colors the foot of the vase. Finally, the decoration is here much more complex than that of the psykter. Inside is an isolated figure, and on the exterior is a subject comprising numerous persons.

In the bowl is a cavalier whose mount walks with high steps. (Fig. 241). This perhaps Peagros himself, this young man to whom is addressed on the psykter the vow of Smicra, and whose

name reappears here, accompanied by the epithet *kalos* near this image. Shod with boots of skin, the rider has a flat hat with wide brim, the Thessalian petasus. He wears thrown over his shoulders the Thracian mantle whose thick and stiff fabric does not drape as freely the figure as does the light *chlamys*, the uniform mantle of the Attic cavalier in service.

This entire costume with its foreign elements gives the impression of a fancy dress. The beautiful aristocrat parades before the multitude in a rather foreign dress, which he desires to impose on this fashion that suits all his caprices. Well seated and with hands low, he pulls at the bit. Under this pressure, the horse with broad neck and shoulders and projecting chest throws his head backward to the rear. No line of the ground. The noofs of the horse rest on the contour of the disk, that presents the profile of the bottom of a valley. The figure is very skilfully placed on its circular enclosure. The artist has devoted his principal effort to the other painting. The exterior of the cup has received a decoration wanting in the interior of the bowl. There the orange band is in direct contact with the black of the field. On this exterior and below the figures, between them and the foot, the ornamentist has interposed a scroll of elegant palmations.

The painting that surmounts that motive forms a continuous band, whose development is not even interrupted by the handles. Yet although it presents no marked division, it is divided in two scenes. On one side is the combat of Hercules and Geryon, (Fig. 242), on the other is the march of the herd which the servants of Hercules drive toward Tyrins (Fig. 243).

Euphronios has chosen a subject that his Ionian, Corinthian and Attic predecessors had often treated, and he has not tried to innovate, so far as the arrangement and costume of the persons.¹ One finds there all the figures that this painting comprises in earlier works, besides the two antagonists. These are Iolaos and Athena, who never leave Hercules to go alone into danger; there are the keepers of the herd, father Eurytion and the dog with two heads, Orthros, nearly related to Cerberus. To fill the field, Euphronios has added the four companions of Hercules, who drive away the beasts on one side, and on the other behind Geryon is a woman, perhaps personifying this distant island of Erythria, that the giant inhabited.

Note 1.p.402. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. Figs. 3, 5, 125.

As on vases with black paintings, Hercules has the head, shoulders and chest wrapped in the lion's skin and holds in his left hand the bow and arrows, while his right brandishes the club. Geryon consists of three entire bodies connected by the girdle. The painter has further allowed himself to employ in the presentation of his figures certain conventions used by his predecessors. Thus in his Hercules, the head, legs and feet appear in profile, while the bust is developed in front view for its entire length. Still more striking are other inaccuracies. The position of the figure being given, the back of the right hand of Hercules must present itself to view; yet the inside is seen. Euphronios has sacrificed there the accuracy of the drawing to the desire to explain the movement by the flexure of the fingers snut on the wood of the club. Some observation regarding the shield of Athena. One should only see the back, the inside; but if the painter had retained the actual appearance, he could not have made visible the emblem that decorates the field of the shield, a Gorgon's head. In the group of five cows and the bull that represent the herd, he omits some legs (Fig. 243); but to prove this, it is necessary to look closely. What is more apparent to the eyes, that each of these animals has but one horn, as in many old paintings. One horn, that next the spectator, was thought to cover and conceal the other. Finally, the companions of Hercules have both feet placed flat on the soil; now the warriors charged to drive toward Tyrins the conquered prey must be regarded as in full march.

In this painting as in that of the banquet of the courtesans, the drawing of Euphronios yet betrays by more than one trait the persistent influence of the procedures of archaism and of its conventions; but how much progress is already accomplished, which cause to be foreseen those still more decisive! The painting is well composed. One feels there a sort of rhythm that assigns to each person his place, and connects him to the central group. This group comprises four persons, Hercules and Geryon are engaged in a combat which will end only by the death of one of the combatants, and very near at one side is Athena, who although quite certain of the triumph of her protégé, throws herself forward as if affected by the heat of the battle.

on the other side being the nymph associated with Geryon, who is agitated by a spasm of terror. All there is violence and passion; but a little farther off at both sides are only figures that breathe calmly, those of friends that are confident in the prowess of the hero, and seem to regard the victory as already acquired. Iolaos did not think himself called on to interfere. His four companions as improvised herdsmen have taken possession of the herd, that is docile and passive and follows its new masters. There are in between the attitudes of the leaders and those of the secondary actors of the drama, a contrast that has a happy effect.

In the present condition of the painting, this group of beasts forms a slightly confused mass in spite of the care, that the painter has taken to vary the poses of the animals, in making by a strong and clean line the contour of each of them, and of indicating by lighter strokes of the brush the folds of the skin of neck and sides; but all gives reason to think that the painter must have required from color the means of avoiding this apparent confusion. He must have employed there retouches, that because of their slight adhesion to the clay, have disappeared without leaving visible traces. It is probable that the figures of the first plane were detached in white from the dark figures of the second plane. What authorizes this conjecture is the fact, that on several earlier vases on which are represented the scene of the driving away the herd of Geryon, the animals are distinguished from each other by a difference in tint.¹ Now Euphronios in the graphical translation given of this myth, was impressed by that left him by the ceramists of the 6th century.

Note 1. p. 403. It is thus on an Ionian amphora and on a Chalcidian amphora (*Griechische Vasenmalerei. Text. I, p. 106-108*). See the flock of Paris on an Ionian Amphora. (*Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, Plg. 262*).

If by what he retained of that heritage, Euphronios was still connected to the past, what properly belongs to him is his drawing, which from one work to another becomes more free and firmer. Everywhere here is the indication of the movements is a rare accuracy. All is to be praised in the shape of the vase, and also the firm and easy seat of the cavalier with the high steps of the horse and the pose of his head. These merits are

still more apparent in the images of the exterior. The superhuman strength of Hercules is emphasized there by the breadth of the trunk, by the thickness of the members where the well placed lines show the attachments of the bones and the power of the muscles. Both arms fight. The entire figure is thrown forward with a spring that is divined as irresistible. The issue of the combat can be foreseen. Hence, though this drawing is not always correct, it is already very expressive. It is in the attitude of Athena, who runs toward Hercules, and in the slightly stiff but very significant gesture of the nymph, the companion of Geryon. It is still more so in the figure of Eurytion, in the right arm on which falling Eurytion leans to retard his fall, and also with Geryon in the two arms hanging from that of the three bodies of the giant, which an arrow has struck with death. All effort for expression has even been carried farther, even in rendering the face. In the two dying figures, the eyes are turned upward; they are going to be extenuated. The pupils are no longer in the middle of the globe; they have moved toward the upper eyelid.

These qualities of a bold and already very knowing draftsman reappear, but are better freed from the conventions of archaism in the paintings of a crater of the Louvre (Fig. 244). No name of the potter; but by the nobility of form and the discreet richness of the ornamentation, it is divined that the vase left the hands of one of the most skilful makers of Ceramicos. There is a type which will reproduce the ceramists of the school of Euphronios, to perfect them farther.

The vase is of round form, and yet one cannot say it has a front and back by the character of its decoration. On one side is a mythical subject, the combat of Hercules and Anteus. On the other is a theme taken from familiar life, a concert of music. In the festal hall the vase must be so placed that the first of these two pictures was exposed to the view of the guests. The figures are of larger dimensions and the drawing has more accent, a difference explained by that of the subjects. The second painting is also no less careful in its drawing; in the nude torso of the ephebes, the brush has omitted nothing of the detail of the muscles.

The front painting comprises five persons (Fig. 244). "At the centre are the two adversaries of colossal height and form

a pyramidal group. On the left is Hercules, bearded and nude, half reclining with the left knee on the ground, with his left arm passed around the neck of Anteus, his right arm beneath the right armpit, and with both hands joined he grasps him strongly to choke him. The giant is bearded and nude, has fallen on the ground with body turned from left to right, the right leg bent beneath him, the other being free and bent; under the grasp of Hercules, his head has been violently thrown backward and forms the top of the group. His right arm is paralyzed and is extended with the hand turned to the ground, while the left arm is still free and seeks to release the stifling grasp."¹ At the left in the rear place is a draped woman, perhaps Ge, the earth and mother of Anteus, fleeing and lifting with the right hand a fold of her mantle; she turns her head and extends the left hand, as if she called for help. At the same side are suspended in the field the arms of Hercules, the lion's skin in front view, the club upright and the quiver closed by a lid. At the right are two other draped women (the wife and daughter of the giant?), who likewise flee with heads turned to the place of combat. Both make gestures of affright. Only two names are written in the field below the signature of the painter, those of Hercules and of Anteus. Of this last legend, where the writing ran from right to left, the two first letters have disappeared.

Note 1. p. 406. Pottier. *Vases antiques*, etc. p. 154.

Whatever has been said of it (Euphronios has his detractors), we cannot cite in the signed work of contemporary artists any painting comparable to the group of Anteus and Hercules. "The contrast between the figure of the hero, impassible and cold with closed lips, calm and widely open eyes, and the convulsed features of his adversary, whose mouth with visible teeth opens to emit a cry of anguish, the eye turned up under the lid expressing approaching death, the execution of the eyebrow and mustache with black and snaggy edges, the technique of the hair and beard in thinned color and with irregular strokes expressing the savage and virsute nature of the Libyan giant, the attitude of the women above this compact group, who put the dramatic agitation in their gestures of fright, all contribute to make of this painting one of those most precious documents, t

that we possess of the Greek painting of the 5th century, before the Median wars (Plate VIII)." ¹

Note 1. p. 407. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 932.

As details of style will be noted the entirely conventional fashion in which the lashes are indicated around the eye, --- it seems that the painter took the model there from bronze sculpture, --- since on Hercules the hair is in projecting close lines, which are like an imitation of the prominent spirals pressed against each other by which the sculptors rendered the abundance of the hair. In the torso and pelvis of the overthrown giant, the powerful pectoral muscles, the ribs visible beneath the skin, the median line and the aponeusis of the abdomen are indicated with a precision that does honor to the anatomical science of the painter. There is almost an excess; that recalls the figure without skin. On the other hand, one can only admire in Hercules the beautiful movement of the leg bent and of the foot seen underneath as well as the display of energy evidenced by the two feet of the hero fixed to the ground. Note also the effect produced by the right hand of Anteus, pendant as if dead. The arms and lion's skin of the hero form a corner with picturesque decoration.

All this painting proves that Euphronios never intended to state that the giant renewed his strength each time that he touched the earth. Otherwise he must have represented Hercules lifting Anteus in the air to succeed in strangling him. It was very much later that this variant of the myth seems to have been believed, perhaps suggested by an erroneous interpretation of a monument that represented a classical phase of the Greek combat. In the paintings of vases, from the 7th to the 4th centuries, the giant is always seen thrown on the ground. ²

Note 2. p. 407. Stephani. Comptes rendus. 1867, p. 13 et seq.

The painting on the back is indeed by the same hand as that of the principal side (Fig. 245). If the design is more simplified there, this difference in execution must only be from the difference in subjects. What is especially striking in this painting is the art of the composition. Three young men, Leagros, Kephisodoros and a nameless one, represent the public present at a concert; their attitude shows the attention that they desire to give to the sounds of the flute of the musician Polykles. The predecessors of Euphronios had accustomed their patron

to see all heads at the same level in a group. The nearerers are seated to listen more conveniently, while the player must stand, the painter had some difficulty to conform in all points to that rule of *icocephalie*,¹ but he knew how to evade the difficulty adroitly. Instead of placing his flutist on the top of the platform, as Cachrylion did when he represented the same scene,² he showed him on the lowest step, in the act of ascending the steps of the platform, one foot being still on the step. The body leans forward so that the flutist does not much surpass the heads of the other persons. These have one hand resting on a large staff, the other placed on the thigh, with very natural poses. Their busts are nude. They have no clothing other than the mantle rolled around the loins. The proportions are everywhere very correct, and the four figures are well distributed in the field, which they fill without encumbering it.

Note 1. p. 408. On *icocephalie*, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, pp. 393-700.

Note 2. p. 408. Klein. Vasen mit Meistersignaturen. p. 123.

The name of Leagros written in this painting near one of the persons suffices to prove that the cratera in question must be nearly contemporary with the psycter and the cup of Geryon, that are decorated by this same kalos. Fashion was doubtless no less capricious at Athens than at Paris, and those that it had consecrated as princes of youth must have very quickly lost their prestige, when the beard grew on the chin. Leagros seems to have been one of the most admired of those elect by popular prejudice; yet he also must have retained the privilege of this situation only during a very brief space of time. Since 7 of the 45 vases on which his name is read are still vases with black figures, one can scarcely bring lower than the first years of the 5th century the date of his ephemeral royalty. This date further accords with the very reasonable hypothesis, that in him is seen the strategé killed by the enemy in 467.³

Note 3. p. 408. Klein. Lieblingsnamen. p. 70-81.

The composition presents in the cratera of the Louvre more interest than in the two other vases described above; but it is especially in the drawing that progress is emphasized. Doubtless here as in the two other paintings, the designer too easily resolved to use conventions that he knew in advance were

accepted by his public. In the figures of none of these three vases is there a single attempt to foreshorten. Because he retained the ancient practices, the Euphronios that was on vases from Cacnrylion and other contemporary potters is again attached to the past; but on the other hand, as one feels him tending toward a more faithful representation of the living form! This firm aim is attested by the increasing clearness of his line, the more marked effort imposed on himself to attain to expression. We are then right to regard this cratera as the latest in date of the three vases signed by Euphronios as painter, which does not mean that it may be much later than the two other pieces. To the richly endowed artist some months frequently sufficed to make a decisive step in the path in which he was engaged.

On the three vases in which are summarized the first period of the artistic life of Euphronios, he seems to interest himself less in the drapery than in the nude form. He does not seek the picturesque effects that the drapery can give, which it will soon give under the brush of certain contemporaneous masters.¹ He sometimes contents himself with casting short shawls over the shoulders or on the thighs of ephebes. As for the figures of women, he is compelled to clothe them, when they do not belong to the list of gay women; but the tunics and mantles in which he clothes them only give meagre folds in a cold parallelism. When for a person racing, he wishes to detach from the body the ends of the animation, he does not know how to give a supple appearance to those parts of the fabric that the wind is thought to lift; he makes stiff and angular bundles of them. (Figs. 242, 244). For Euphronios the drapery is behind the nude.

Note 1. p. 410. This accords with what is stated by Hartwig (Meisterschalen, pp. 130, 143) and Furtwängler (Griechischen Vasenmalereien, text and plates 92-93).

To complete the list of the monuments of what might be termed the first manner of Euphronios, it is proper to mention at least two vases that appear to belong to the same period. One of the two was a cup of which remains only some fragments.² The painter had represented there episodes of an Illioupersis, of the taking of Troy by the Greeks. Inside is the murder of Astyanax by Neoptolemos before Priam seated at the altar of Zeus.

On the outside is a combat between Greeks and Trojans. Of the word kalos and of the proper names that accompanied it, nothing remains but some very vague vestiges; but what forms the interest of these fragments is the two letters E V read on one of them under the altar where Priam has sought refuge. This can only be the beginning of a signature, concerning which one can hesitate only between Euphronios and Euthymides or Euxitheos; but by the quality of the line, the drawing of the feet and particularly by the way in which is rendered the disorder of the hair of Astyanax, it is believed or rather recognized the hand of Euphronios. One also feels in this execution some trace of the traditions of archaism, and this gives reason to think that after the name of the artist should be restored rather the verb egrapsen than the verb epoiesen; but all that retains a conjectural character, even the attribution to Euphronios as the place proposed to assign to this cup in the entirety of his works.

Note 2.p.410. Museum of Berlin, 2281. K. Robert. Vasenfragmente des Euphronios (Arch. Zeit. 1882. p. 37-52, Pl. III). Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Text, p. 150-151. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p. 140, No. 6.

On the contrary, the name of Euphronios is inscribed with all its letters on an amphora with twisted handles, near one of two figures of Amazons, each of which decorates one of the sides of the vase;¹ near the other Amazon is the legend Antoxenos. Unfortunately this amphora has suffered much. It has been much restored. One cannot state whether on the original it had a verb that made of this name the true signature. Then who is this Antoxenos? A potter or a kalos? With the state of the vase, it is difficult to answer these questions. By its decoration with isolated figures on the body, as by the style itself of the figures, this vase does not fail to recall certain works coming from the workshops for which Epictetos worked.

Here are now the vases on which Euphronios no longer placed his signature as painter, but his maker's stamp, Euphronios epoiesen. These are more numerous. Even seven of them are counted;² but the problem which they present is difficult to solve, and perhaps comprises not a single solution. Become a manufacturer, did Euphronios continue himself to decorate all or a

part of the vases that he delivered to the public? Did he still practise the trade of painter?

Note 2.p.411. Klein. *Meistersignaturen*, p. 139-143.

We have proof that at least once, one of the artists attached to that workshop was authorized to claim the honor of painting, who decorated a vase made by Euphronios. On a cup of the Louvre is read inside, Euphronios epoiesen; on the exterior before the word egrapsen are distinguished no more than the four last letters of the painter's name, IMOS. This painter might have been called Diotimos or Onesimos.³ This second restoration has generally been preferred, and from certain analogies of style, to this hypothetical Onesimos are attributed other cups, that perhaps issued from the kilns of Euphronios.⁴ On several of them, the painting does not present the characters by which it is believed can be recognized the hand of Euphronios. The case of Onesimos is further not an isolated one. Euphronios before all adhered to selling his vessels well. If there were then at Athens some ceramic painters whose signature was first on the markets of Etruria, why would he hesitate to ask them to place it near his own on vases from which he wished to derive a good price?

Note 3.p.411. Klein. *Meistersignaturen*, p. 143. Klein prefers Diotimos.

Note 4.p.411. Hartwig (*Die griechischen Meisterschalen*) has devoted no less than 64 pages and 10 plates to the assumed work of this mysterious collaborator of Euphronios (p.503-562, and Pls. 52-62).

On the other hand, on 6 of the 7 vases of the second category is only the formula, Euphronios epoiesen. Must one conclude from this that for these vases Euphronios was satisfied to give the orders which fixed the form of decoration?¹ This role must be that of most manufacturers; but matters could not pass in entirely the same manner, when a famous painter had undertaken the direction of a workshop. In this case did he always leave to subordinates the task of executing the paintings of vases signed by his name? That is scarcely probable. What is possible is, that sometimes hurried by the work, he may have charged his pupils to paint the figures under his eyes; but he furnished the sketches and perhaps he also traced on the clay polished

by a first passage through the kiln, traced with the point this light sketch, that on signed vases is almost always found, still visible to whoever looks closely beneath the lines of the

Note 1.p.412. On the relations of the potter and the painter, on the two formulas used together, see Pottier. Catalogue, p. 699-705.

If this be so, it will be asked, why did not Euphronios write *epoiesen ka egrapsen*, after the example of some chiefs of workshops of the 6th century? ² Doubtless because he believed it useless thus to make his mark complex. He desired to inform the public by the new formula that he had adopted, that he had established himself as a manufacturer or chief, as we would say. At Athens as beyond the walls, everyone knew that he was a brilliant and innovating painter. No one imagined that to improve his position, he would renounce the art which had made his reputation. Purchasers were not deceived. After they read the verb *epoiesen* on the clay after the name of Euphronios, they did not fail to understand another verb *egrapsen*.

Note 2.p.412. Klein. Meistersignaturen, p. 11-12.

The vases bearing the mark of the workshop of Euphronios as potter are all on cups, and the most beautiful of these belong to the museum of the Louvre.³ On it are seen represented inside Theseus received by Amphitrite, who gives him a crown, and on the exterior are various exploits of Theseus. This vase is dated in a certain measure by even the choice of the subject. After the expulsion of the Pisistratides, the Athenian democracy was in quest of a precursor to give the recollection and prestige of the past, began to seek this in Theseus, who until then had been merely a modest companion of Hercules;¹ but it was especially after Marathon, Salamis and Platea, that the Athenian people personified its own valor and recent prowess in this Theseus, who was believed to be seen to appear on the field of battle of Marathon. At the beginning of his career, Euphronios celebrated Hercules, conqueror of Geryon and victor over Anteus; later the adventures of Theseus supplied the material of the decoration of one of the most beautiful cups. Then at Athens were no images more appreciated than those which recalled the victories obtained by Theseus over the Amazons, who came from the Orient to invade Attica, and over the maleficent monsters that infested the vicinity. In these legendary combats, the

people saw the announcement and the figures of those that he had himself sustained against the horde of barbarians, which Asia had thrown upon Europe. In 457 was celebrated with great splendor a commemorative festival in honor of the hero, whose ashes were transported from Skyros to Athens by Cimon. Soon after was undertaken the erection of a temple in which Theseus was adored as a god. Our cup is perhaps only a few years earlier than that Apotneosis of the son of Egeus.

Note 1.p.413. On the work of the popular imagination, that by degrees made of Theseus the national hero and almost the equal of Hercules, see *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X, p.27-28, and particularly the learned and intelligent Article by Pottier to which we refer in that regard.

This is further not only by the choice of the theme that this cup permits it to be divined that it was not contemporaneous with the first works of Eupronios. Since the moment when the latter illustrated the vases of Cachrylion, the public had become more exacting. It desired then a decoration to be more complex than what had satisfied it previously. In the cups of Epictetos the painting in the bowl was only enclosed by a black fillet. In the cup of Geryon it had only a band of orange red. Here around the field filled by the image was at first a fret, an ornament that with some variations in detail nearly always occupies the same place. Then comes a black fillet and next a row of palmations. The richness of this partly double motive emphasized the importance of the painting for which it served as a frame.

The cup in question ^{is} of exceptional height. The height is nearly 7 ins. It measures 15.4 ins. in diameter without the handles and 19.3 ins. with them. Wide and shallow, the basin presents to the eye a painting comprising 4 figures. At the first glance at this beautiful vase, one takes account of the advantage in perhaps less than a half century, the Athenian potter had accomplished in the sustained effort made to give the cup a decoration that raises the price and more and more its class as an object of great luxury. He began to interest himself in this from the time when the masters of the ancient style, Aessis and Exekias, had derived from the black figure all the advantage and effects which it comprised. Thus it had first to

perfect and to make lighter the form of the cup; these masters applied themselves; but at the same time, they required of the brush to clothe this cup with an ornamentation, which should interest the eyes of the guests and arouse the curiosity of their minds by the paintings that it offered them.

From the beginning of this fabrication, one or two Attic potters had attempted to bring into fashion cups, that recommended themselves to the purchaser only by the elegance of their form and by their lightness as well as by their vivid lustre and the metallic gloss of their black glaze. Such are some cups of Exekias (Figs. 127, 140) and particularly those of Tleson and of Hermogenes (Figs. 143, 144). Sometimes the potter did not appeal to the brush. When he consented to arrange there a part for it, this was only to charge it to trace on the clay a fine palmetum or to place there a single figure of small dimensions, the head of a woman or an animal walking.

Although this affectation of extreme simplicity served by rare professional skill might seem to have had a certain success, the example was not followed. The potters could not resign themselves, if he resigned himself not to utilize it to reflect and fix there the image of life, of surfaces placed at his disposal by the hollow of the cup and its roundness. He had there two distinct fields, which the difference of their shapes predestined to receive paintings of different character. There was first the interior of the bowl, where to give a frame of the painting there sufficed a simple fillet or an ornament like the fret, which the brush extended around the border of the cup. There was also the external or reverse surface; there on the circular band between the edge and the foot of the vase, persons could be grouped in number in a sequence.

The first idea that must present itself, and that actually appeared to the mind of the potter, was to insert in the bowl a figure with such movement, that it should fill in happy fashion the void of the field, and that the curves of its contours should harmonize with the enclosing line of the circle within which it was inscribed. What was first placed there was a single figure. That allowed itself to be more easily adapted to the frame. It required less effort of invention and of accommodation, than would have two joined figures in that place. If under the reign of the black figure are sometimes found

in the hollow of a cup these two figures joined in a common action, this is entirely exceptional (Fig. 145). After the appearance of the red figure with the cup decorated by Nicosthenes, and then by Epictetos and his rivals, the painter still rarely is seen to seek a motive, that permits him to place in this field two persons at a time. What nearly always the masters of the new style place in this field is an isolated person, a runner, dancer, hoplite, archer, athlete, kneeling satyr, Hermes, or a drinker on a couch (Figs. 204, 206, 211, 213, 216, 219, 220, 221, 222, 225, 230, 232). On the contrary, among the examples of the best works of this school that we have presented, we have found to mention but very few of these bottoms of cups, where two persons face each other, a dancer here facing a citharist and there a flutist, elsewhere an ephebe standing before his master of gymnastics, or two young men, one of whom plays the flute (Figs. 208, 209, 231, 237).

On the outsides of the same cups, we have first found real or factitious animals, then files of cavaliers and of runners, (Figs. 141-146, 152), then the images of hoplites that are exercising in the handling of arms or hasten in the palestra (Figs. 206, 207, 212). Elsewhere these are bacchanals (Fig. 227) or nude courtesans lying on a festal couch (Fig. 223). There are also rustic scenes, the representation of the labors of the fields (Fig. 148). Some painters have attempted to decorate the interior of their cups by drawing landscapes there. We have with the bird-nester a view of a forest (Fig. 149). Exekias sketched a marine painting where he showed Bacchus extended in a boat surrounded by dolphins with a sail swelled by the wind (Fig. 139). Nicosthenes did the same, when on the outside of one of his cups he represented a regatta, a contest of four boats with all sails spread and running side by side among dolphins and sea birds (Fig. 170).

As can be seen by this enumeration and by the return to the past, the decoration of the cup up to Euphronios had a character much more descriptive than narrative. When the painter did not employ there to fill the round of the bowl those conventional types, that the Greek artist had borrowed from his oriental predecessors, what he devoted to this purpose were figures that he detached from the scenes presented to his eyes by the

daily life of the city. At the will of his caprice, he had distributed there, what in this century of photography we should call instantaneous views taken in the gymnasiums, on the training field and in the dining halls of persons of pleasure. At the beginning these were the same themes that the painter employed to ornament the exterior with this difference, that since he had more space there, he could group in that zone several persons, instead of showing but a single figure. This sometimes suggested to him the idea of using this more spacious field to place there in view one of the episodes of the old tales or stories of epic poetry, which should furnish the subjects of most paintings by which he decorated his *amporas*, *hydrias* and *crateras*; but he did not take this method freely and once for all. What restrained him at the first was the habit, that he had contracted of arranging there a role that a motive that came from Egypt by the intermediary of the Ionian ornamentist, The pair of large prophylactic eyes that appear on the exterior of this vase with this band in two equal divisions, each of which has but small extent. On one of them Nicosthenes placed a group of three figures, *Aeneas* carrying his father *Anchises* on his back and holding his son *Ascanius* by the hand (Fig. 157); but he could not like *Erygos* and other painters did later, undertake to unroll there the complex painting of the scenes of carnage that stained with blood the last night of *Troy*.

To give his work a freer career, *Epictetos* already knew how to free from the encumbering pair of the two prophylactic eyes, and we have seen that on the cup which he decorated for *Pythodoros*, he represented the murder of *Eusiris* by *Hercules* with numerous accessory persons (Fig. 210). Likewise on one of the cups on which is inscribed the name of the beautiful ephebe *Mennon*, the unknown painter has represented *Hercules*, behind him standing *Athena*, coming to bring to *Eurystheus*, concealed in a jar, the wild boar of *Erymanthea* (Fig. 217); but neither on the cup signed by *Epictetos* nor on that dedicated to *Mennon*, is there the least relation between the painting of one side and that of the other side, no more than between the paintings of the two sides and the painted in the bowl.

With the cup of the museum of Munich (Figs. 242, 243), *Euphronios* has made a step toward the unity of the decoration.

On one side of the exterior is seen Hercules triumphing over Geryon, and on the other side are the companions of the hero driving off the herd, that is the prize of the victory; but what is within the cup is a cavalier that is not connected by near or far with the exploit of Hercules (Fig. 241). It is only that the cup of the Louvre signed by Euphronios as potter (Pls. IX, X; Figs. 246, 247), that the maker of Attic cups attains the end toward which he seems to tend for some time. Here the painter has not given a stroke of the brush, that does not serve to glorify Theseus. Euphronios conceived the decoration of this cup as the representation of a drama, whose various acts were distributed among the fields offered him by the surfaces of the vase. One of the most singular adventures of the national hero, that which led him to the bottom of the sea, is related in the interior of the bowl. On the outside is again Theseus a victor, who is found in several combats with brigands and monsters. This is a novel conception of the principle of this decoration, for this sort of synthesis that makes a way for the most skilful rivals and successors of Euphronios, Hiero, Douris and Erygos.

What this painting represents is an episode of the myth of Theseus, until recently unknown except by some words of Pausanias and of Hygin.¹ But a document discovered in 1896 among the Greek papyruses of Egypt has given us a poetic and brilliant version. The nephew of Simonides, Bacchylides of Geos, had taken as the subject of one of his dithyrambs, that appeared to have been sung at Delos in the festival in which was danced the farandole, which recalled the victory of Theseus over the Minotaur.² It was perhaps the success of this cantata that attracted to this theme the attention of artists. It had never been treated by the painters of the black figure. On the contrary, after the Median wars, here was Euphronios, who in one of his most careful works assigned the place of honor to this adventure in the youth of the hero. A little later Micon, one of the most celebrated painters of the time, represented at in one of the frescos by which he ornamented the cella of the temple of Theseus, and perhaps by this painting were more or less freely inspired the decorators of the two Attic vases, that date from the second half of the 5th century, a cratera

found at Agrigente and another that came from Bologna.¹

Note 1.p.417. Pausanias. I, 17-2. Hygin. Poeticon etc. II, 1.

Note 2.p.417. Bacchylides. XVI. Edit Blass. Teubner).

Note 1.p.418. This is the painting of the cratera of Agrigente now in the National Library, that by its simple and serious arrangement seems must be nearest the fresco of Micon. (De Ridder. Catalogue etc. No. 418. Mon. dell'Ist. Vol. I, Pls. 52-53). There is more fancy and encumberment in the painting of the cratera of Bologna, that must proceed from some more recent painting (Mon. Vol. XII, Pl. 21). The same theme is again found presented also in a different manner on an amphora from Ruvo. (Röm. Mitt. XI, 894, Pl. 8).

The essential data of the myth are well summarized in the explanation given by Pausanias of what he calls the painting that covers the third wall- "When Theseus and the other young people were conducted into Crete, Minos became amorous of Periboe, but as Theseus opposed his passion, Minos was irritated and loaded him with reproaches, and among other things said to him, that he was not the son of Poseidon, and that he could not return a ring that he wore on his finger, if he himself cast it into the sea. In pronouncing these words, Minos is said to have thrown his ring into the sea. It is added that Theseus leaving the sea, brought the ring and a crown of gold." ²

Note 2.p.418. On what was known of this myth before the discovery of the poem of Bacchylides, see the Memoir that De Witte has added to the plates of Sulpis. (Mons. pub.par Assoc. etc. 1872). For a minute description of the cup and of its actual state, see Pottier. Vases antiques, etc. II, p. 155-158.

It is necessary to read the ode of Bacchylides to understand all that the imagination of a poet or artist could infer from that strange tale. There would early have been found the material for several paintings, each of which would have corresponded to one of the successive moments of the action; but the sole fact in this tale, that tempted the painters is the cold plunge of the young hero into the abyss of the sea, and the reception given him by Poseidon and Amphitrite in Their camp palace, surrounded by the Nereids; this is the restoration of the ring and the gift of the crown.

Of all those who have represented this scene, Euphronios appears to be first in date. The group formed by his persons is

very skilfully placed within the frame. At the right and sitting on a seat without back is Amphitrite, whose right hand is extended toward the right hand of Theseus. He stands before the goddess. He has his feet placed, one on the head and the other on the two open hands of Triton, who received him to lead him to his father, when he threw himself into the water. Between Amphitrite and Theseus and dominating both by an entire head is Athena. With the left hand she supports her raised spear and in her right hand is held her favorite bird, the owl. Three dolphins are scattered on the field, showing that the scene occurs in the depth of the liquid element. This indication is in the taste of archaic art, and is not found on the more recent vases on which the same theme is treated. Athena no longer appears there. When he thus attaches the goddess to the steps of Theseus even in the depths of the waves, this is still a tradition of ancient art that Euphronios follows, that which he had invited Athena to stand behind Hercules in combat with Geryon. The faithful protectress of Athens could do no less for the national hero, than she had done for Hercules.¹ (Plates IX, X).

Note 1.p.419. This monument has seemed to us of such high interest, that to allow the reader better to appreciate the style, we have thought there should be represented here this painting, both by the photograph that Pottier has kindly communicated to us, and by the faithful representation that the engraver of J. Sulpis has given of it for the Association des études grecques.

These traces of archaism are not alone betrayed in the composition. The mark is also found in the drawing. See the image of Athena. The torso is presented in front view, as well as the left foot, which slightly projects beyond the border of the tunic. The head is inclined a little and turned to the right, while the left foot extends in the contrary direction, repulsed in that direction by the feet of the seated Amphitrite. To show this foot in its entire development, the painter has not feared to give thus to Athena a position, which the living model could not take without a twisting of the limbs, which would require of them some effort. Former painters had accustomed the eye to this arbitrary mixture in the same figure, of

profile and front views.

Again elsewhere in this group is found this alliance of a very sure knowledge of form and of a freedom that counts on the indulgence of clients accustomed to certain alterations of the image. Thus everywhere the drawing of the foot is properly correct and even of rare elegance, while the rendering of the hands is very unequal. There is a visible awkwardness in the trace of the open hands, of these two hands of Amphitrite and of Theseus, that reach toward each other, perhaps for the transfer of the ring. Too far apart, the fingers seem to be of wood. On the contrary, there is nothing to criticize in the mode of presenting the hands that close to grasp an object, of the two hands of Athena, one holding the owl and the other the spear. In this case the artist felt himself obliged to adapt the organ to those movements of grasping, while for the almost hieratic gesture of the extended hand, he was contented to reproduce a sort of traditional scheme.

It is the same for the drapery. Euphronios in his first work has appeared to us to have treated it with some negligence. Here the artist has applied himself to make felt by two very different traces the difference of the two species of fabrics that compose the vestments of each goddess. One distinguishes at first sight the long linen tunic, half transparent and in contact with the flesh, and the ample linen mantle thrown over the shoulders, which also covers the back and head of Amphitrite. If there is also something a little too regular in the marked symmetry of the zigzags that form the border of theimation, as in the multiplicity of the very close folds of the tunic and in their rigorous parallelism, the lines that trace these folds on Amphitrite and Athena add to the slenderness of those figures. On the image of Athena that is again increased by an helmet with high crest, these lines are only visible below the girdle. Above that for the entire width of the chest the tunic is covered by the egis, that is fringed by serpents and also envelops the shoulders and falls very low on the back. At the middle of this cuirass is a Gorgon's head. There is a happy contrast between the richness of the costumes of these two goddesses and the simplicity of the clothing of Theseus. The latter has his head bare with long hair that a band holds above the brow, and that falls behind on the nape. He is clad

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only in a light and short tunic, that allows his youthful form to be seen under the translucent fabric, and that stops at the middle of the thighs. He wears at his side the sword that slew the Minotaur. On the right leg above the ankle is a cord that appears to be a prophylactic amulet. That is represented in the same place on other vases.

In a higher degree, the merits of the execution are here the same as on the vases signed by Euphronios as painter. The same certainty of hand, perhaps more marvelous in line, where it is most delicate. This is what is especially admired in those curved lines, which are traced with a single stroke of the brush, without hesitation or joining, extending in following all the bends of the torso, from the head to the feet of Amphitrite.

In this painting the artist has made a very adroit use of the palette and instruments at his disposal. He has made use of the most beautiful black glaze to mark the vigor that contours the body, as well as certain details of costumes and of coiffure, while on other parts of the painting for the hair of Amphitrite and for that of Theseus, he has employed this color thinned, that laid by a finer brush tends toward yellowish brown. Amphitrite and Theseus seem to have blond hair. Also by touches of this thinned black are usually indicated the bones and muscles; but he could have space here for these touches only on the figure of Theseus, the only one of these persons whose forms were not entirely concealed under the clothing. Likewise the painter has been very sober in his indications. Scarcely do some very light lines outline the edge of the tibia, the roundness of the calf and the projection of the ankle.

In this delicate body of an adolescent, the muscles cannot have the same importance as in the robust body of a Hercules or of an Anteus. To diversify the appearance of his decoration, Euphronios has also placed there in some places some touches of reddish purple. These touches were added after the passage through the kiln and have almost everywhere disappeared. Some traces of them are seen on the tunic of Theseus and on the buskins of Amphitrite. Also with this violet tone was painted the circle of the large crown which that goddess holds in the left hand.

This painting truly has charm. Before this image is experien-

experienced an impression analogous to that felt before many frescos of the primitive Tuscans, of a Giotto or of Fra Angelico. In the attitude of the three principal persons is a serenity there, a meditation and a touching grace, that arouses to the idea of a sacred colloquy, as the Italians of the Renaissance said. With his modest air and the gracefulness of his members, Theseus is like a statue of youth in its first flower. Concerning that figure and its sober elegance has been recalled the memory of those verses of Sappho, that exhale the freshness of that Lesbian poetry, which every true literate cannot console himself for having almost completely lost.¹ Speaking to a young man, Sappho says to him; "I can best compare thee to a slender and supple twig that rises from the ground."²

Note 1. p. 421. Hartwig. *Meisterschule*, text, p. 483.

Note 2. p. 421. Sappho. Fragment 90, Edit. Bergk.

Again Theseus and his prowess are celebrated by the images on the outside of the cup. There is seen Theseus, conqueror of Skiron, Procrustes, Kerkyon, and of the bull of Marathon. But the painting on this side has been more seriously injured than in the bottom of the cup. With some care has been made tracings reproduced opposite (Figs. 246, 247), which could record only the lines still visible. At many points, the contour is broken. Still one sees enough to take account of all the poses and all the gestures. Everywhere the entirely nude figures are opposed in pairs. The hair of the hero is kept in order by a band, while the brigands over whom he triumphs have both hair and beard long and in disorder. Here Theseus seizes Skiron by the right leg and casts him from the top of a rock in to the sea. There he holds Procrustes by the hair, whom he has wounded in the side, and whose limbs he prepares to cut with his axe. Elsewhere he struggles with Kerkyon, body to body. Finally, in the fourth group he subdues the bull, whose legs and horns he has already bound with cords; he rests his knee on the back of the beast and presses him to the ground.

Everywhere there the designer has known how to put his figures in perspective. Already the Theseus of the bowl has not suffered that conventional deformation, which we have noted with the Hercules of the cup of Geryon and in other figures. He has not as there a head and limbs in profile with a torso

in front view. Turned toward Amphitrite, Theseus indeed shows his right side. Besides, considering the violence and variety of the movements represented on the outside of the cup, there can one particularly appreciate the progress realized by the designer. Foreshortenings are noticed, like that of the bent left leg of Procrustes and of the left foot of Theseus in the struggle with the bull. Seen from behind, are seen the heel and sole of the foot. Thrown forward with marvellous energy, this Theseus shows the entire breadth of his back; there is one of the most beautiful sketches left to us by Greek art.¹ In the figures of the bottom of the cup, the drawing of the eye seen in profile already sensibly tends to approach the appearance that it presents in nature. If the contour of the two eyelids there is yet too elongated, the pupil there is no longer at the middle of the ball, as on archaic vases. It approaches the inner angle.

Note 1. p. 424. One could ask if the painter were not inspired by the metope of the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, where was represented this same exploit of Theseus. Unfortunately we have only the bull of the metope, whose pose strongly resembles that which it has on the vase (Homolle. Fouilles de Delphi. Vol. IV. Pls. 46-47). Nothing was found of the Theseus. Sculpture and cup are further nearly contemporaneous.

This progress in the rendering of the eye is still more marked in a cup known under the name of the cup of Eurystheus because of the place occupied on the outside by this brother of the great Hercules. This cup also bears the inscription Euphronios epoisen, painted on the handle. The decoration has not the unity that characterizes the cup consecrated to the glory of Theseus. Here as on the opposite side are themes borrowed from mythology.

In the bowl, below one of those baskets that are seen on more than one vase, represented on the wall of a festal hall, is an old man seated and a woman standing (Fig. 248). The old man has a bald brow and a nude torso. The lower part of his body is wrapped in the folds of his mantle. One of his hands holds against his shoulder the knotty staff, from which persons of fashion were rarely separated at Athens. The other hand is extended toward the woman, accompanying by a gesture the words add-

addressed to her, whose sense is easily divined. As indicated by the lyre placed against the wall near her, she is a professional musician. During the repast, she has charmed the ears of the guests. Now one of them asks her for a pleasure of another kind, which she is not disposed to refuse. With head inclined toward the speaker, both her hands are engaged in untying the knots of the cord, that holds around her waist her only clothing, an ample and soft tunic. Above the scene is the legend:— *Panastios kalos*.

On the exterior are two distinct themes. At one side is a well known adventure of Hercules, which we have already found on the so-called cup of Memnon. (Fig. 217).¹ Eurystheus is seized by fright at seeing Hercules approach, bearing on his shoulders the ferocious monster, the wild boar of Erymanthea, still alive and snapping his teeth. He has concealed himself in a great jar of clay, from which project only his head and his raised arms waving desperately. Behind him and a prey to the same terror is a woman and an old man, doubtless the father and mother of Eurystheus. The latter is the only person to whom the painter has given his name. Behind Hercules, his bow and quiver are suspended on the branches of a tree.

Note 1.p.425. Ionian ceramics had likewise shown us Hercules bringing to Eurystheus, Cerberus that he had subdued. The cause of the terror of Eurystheus is not the same as that of the Attic painters; but this terror is manifested in the same manner. The artists of Athens have taken from their predecessors the motive of the king cowering in a pithos. (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX, Fig. 256). On an Attic vase with black figures, that represents as here Hercules bearing the wild boar, Eurystheus seized by the same fear as here; but he has not yet gained his refuge; he only places one foot on the edge of the jar in which he is going to conceal himself (Vol. X, Figs. 136, 137).

On the other side is a subject of the same character, but it has not yet been successfully explained. Hermes in his costume of herald of the gods is standing before the horses of a quadriga. On the chariot is a nude ephebe, body leaning forward, pulling on the reins with both hands to restrain the impatience of the horses (Fig. 250).

Here again is a certain mode of preservation, and also its

archaism. For the courtesan of the gallant conversation, the two breasts are in profile on a bust in front view. Elsewhere are inaccuracies, awkwardnesses. The left shoulder of the old man is too low and has the effect of a dislocated shoulder, and the arm attached to it is too long; but with these few faults the drawing here has everywhere that freedom, which already has struck us in the first works of Euphronios, and further in the decoration of this cup as in the cup of the Louvre, there is a boldness which was then a novelty. Thus in the figure of the woman of the group of the vase the two feet are seen in front view and foreshortened. There is further nowhere between the torso and the lower members that discordance by which the archaic painter was not frightened. The draftsman has understood that the side view and the front view exclude each other, and that for a given figure, it is necessary to choose between the two.

With the most decided tone, it has recently been affirmed that the painting of this vase could not be by Euphronios, who decorated the three vases on which he claimed the name of painter.¹ We are assured that the figures were drawn by another painter, whose hand it is claimed is recognized also in the decoration of the cup of the Louvre. On what basis is Euphronios declared incapable of rising to the point of painting attained on the cups in question? Doubtless the painter of the vases of the second group is in advance of that of the vases of the first group. His drawing is freer and more nearly entirely disengaged from the conventions of archaism. He particularizes more and better defines the individuals.

Note 1. p. 428. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Text, p. 110. According to Furtwängler, "all cups signed by Euphronios entirely differ from those signed by Euphronios; they vary both in the conception and in the artist's temperament that they reveal. Not only have we no reason to attribute them to this master as painter, but on the contrary, all urges us to refuse him the paternity of those paintings."

We have stated that the progress from one to the other series of vases on which is read the name of Euphronios; but why does one wish to give the honor to the anonymous painters, whose talents were utilized by Euphronios, rather than to himself?

Euphronios was born at one of those opportune homes where all is cleared and completed. He could then develop himself, enlarge his style and improve his drawing in the course of a career, which perhaps represents forty or fifty years of incessant toil. Why should he be condemned to immobility, when around him at Athens and in the rest of Greece architecture, monumental painting and statuary marched with great strides toward perfection? In these conditions there is no basis for contesting his paternity of the paintings of the second group under the sole pretext that these are superior to those of the first. This is what was not at first understood; then it was believed that there was found in these more recent paintings an execution, not only distinguished by more knowledge and freedom from those paintings on which Euphronios placed his signature as painter. In the decorator of the cup of Theseus and of the cup of Eurystheus, it is claimed are discerned traits by which are revealed an artist's temperament, which is not that of the Euphronios of the cratera of Anteus and of the cup of Geryon;¹ but the hesitations of the idea of the critic prove, that he has no reason to adhere to an opinion, which he has himself abandoned.

Furtwängler began by attributing without hesitation to Euphronios the paintings of the cup of Theseus and he writes: - "The painter Euphronios with this cup stands at the height of his creations. The marvellous power peculiar to him and the life in the heads our publication for the first time makes truly and entirely recognized," etc. (*Die Griechische Vasenmalerei*, text, p. 30). On reaching Pl. 23 in this publication, he retreats without even warning the reader, and he affirms that the painting of the cup of Eurystheus is the work of an anonymous artist, but superiorly endowed, "of whom we have already learned in Pl. V (I.e., the cup of the Louvre) to know an excellent work." (Text, p. 110). A year or two later, he again reconsiders this assertion and restores to Euphronios the painter the decoration of this same cup (Text of the 2nd series, p. 177-173).

What suffices to prove how much of that kind are subject to caution; is that a certain other refined connoisseur is of an entirely opposite opinion.² He has studied in the originals several hundreds of Attic vases of the severe style, and he does not hesitate to credit the brush of Euphronios with these

paintings, to which the other assures that Euphronios had only a single right, the right of property conferred on every chief of a workshop by the fact, that a work was executed under his direction. We further do not content ourselves with having acted on this contradiction of judgments. It can be shown that there is nothing in the paintings of the second group, which does not accord with the idea, that by the works of his youth, Euphronios must already have given to his contemporaries his talent and the tendencies that he obeyed.

Note 2.p.429. Hartwig does not doubt for an instant, that the paintings of the cup of Theseus and those of the cup of Eurystheus are the work of the brush of Euphronios (*Metasterechen. Text. p. 447, 448, 481-494*).

What it is first proper to consider as the principle of the composition. Now we find there incontestable analogies from one group to the other. On four of five of the vases on which we have read the signature of Euphronios, the subject of the principal painting is a combat, the fight of the heroic conqueror of monsters against the giants, enemies of men and of gods against brigands that infest the roads, and against the wild beasts that ravage the country. In whatever fashion he signs, Euphronios seems to please himself by representing these duels, that furnish his virtuosity with the occasion to show the virile body in action, in one of those efforts in which are stressed all the energy of the machine. On the cup of Eurysthenes is no combat in the proper sense of the word. Hercules has triumphed over his adversary; but the gesture of Hercules and those that terror dictates to the king of Argos are as violent as those to which the battle scenes give rise. To these momentary scenes Euphronios everywhere opposed a scene of tranquil character, made to rest the mind of the spectator. On that cup of the Louvre, whose decoration is a true Theseld in images, he has found means to obtain an analogous effect by the choice of the theme, that he has adopted from the painting of the vase. Nothing is more calm and collected than the attitude of the young Theseus and of the two goddesses that receive him. Further, what is opposed to the tragic scenes taken from the old myths are genre scenes, here a cavalier marching in a parade dress, there a concert of music, or indeed the dialogue of an

impatient old man and a complaisant courtesan.

It is not alone by the choice of subjects and by the distribution of them in the field, that these vases resemble each other. Euphronios at all times of his career seems to take pleasure in inserting in his paintings, motives of dead nature between the figures. Those give to the scene represented a more frank appearance of reality. This is the service rendered on the cup of Eurystheus as on the cratera of Anteus by the arms of Hercules suspended on the trunk of a tree. They inform us that the scene of the action is not an enclosed place, but is in the country. Behind the pithos in which Eurysthenes conceals himself, another tree confirms this indication. When after the exploits of Hercules, Euphronios desired to celebrate those of Theseus, he again employed the same artifice. Between these groups, each of which recalls a feat of valor of Theseus, he has planted a tree that bears on its branches the sword and cchlams of the hero. On the cup of Geryon, a tree with branches widely extended represents the forests through which the companions of Hercules drive the herd. In the painting of the feast of the courtesans, a basket hung on a nail recalls the variety of the furniture that ornaments the rich dining halls.

If one studies the quality of the drawing according to the general arrangement of the decoration, he reaches the same conclusions. Doubtless in this respect, there are sensible differences between the cup of Geryon and that of Eurystheus. In the two paintings of the latter, we see heads with very individual features, the head of the old man in good fortune and that of the father of Eurystheus. Nothing similar on the cup of Geryon; but have we not already seen the painter attempt to the notation of character on the cratera of the Louvre in the heads of Hercules and of Anteus, as the art critics say? As he knows more, he dares more. What he has done for men, he also does for animals. The horses of the quadriga of the cup of Eurystheus are distinguished from the horse represented on the cup of Geryon by a tapering head, by a finer neck and shoulder and by freer sides. This is because these animals are not of the same race. There is in one place the war horse, who must be strong at even the cost of some heaviness, and at the other, the racing horse in which ^{all} is sacrificed to swiftness.

If one enters into details of the rendering, singular analogies

which seem to prove the persistence of habits that the artist had contracted in his first attempts. By traces entirely similar are indicated on the vases of both series on nude adults the extensor muscles of the thigh, the kneecap, the roundness of a very strong calf and the relief of the ankle bone. Everywhere, both on the ancient vases as on those most recent, the feet are very careful and elegant in drawing, and the hands, at least if those most open, are equally awkward.

Where the difference is apparent is in the drapery. In the vases signed by egrapsen, the drapery is treated in a rather abrupt manner. On the contrary, on the cup of Theseus, the brush is applied with evident pleasure to render the abundance of the narrow folds of a light linen tunic. This is that Euphronios has not ceased to learn, while not ceasing to produce. To cause him to make appreciated the part that a skilful interpreter could derive from the drapery, it would have sufficed by an example given to him by some one of his rivals; but thenceforth paying more attention to the fabric than in the past, his hand also ⁱⁿ places has remained faithful to old habits. Compare the bottom of the tunic of Erytheia on the cup of Geryon to the same part of the tunic of a woman on the cup of Eurystheus. These are the same arrangements of folds, the same projections of the lower border of the robe.

Euphronios had followed the movement of contemporaneous art. When he opened his workshop, he could not feel any embarrassment in conforming to the taste of the day in his fabrication, a taste that was more entirely that of the time when he had painted his figure. To launch the new work, he must adhere to sending it first to the markets of Etruria as vases, which by the richness and style of their decoration could rival those sent to their overseas patrons by the best employed potters of Ceramicos. The surest means that his shop could use from the first was to refer only to himself for the execution of the images by which he ornamented the cups, that had to sustain the competition of those signed by Macron, Douris and Brygos.

On the other hand, one cannot mistake the importance of the information supplied by the vases already cited, on which is read beside the name of the painter Onesimos or Plotimos. It is proved that Euphronios has not failed to resort to the art-

brushes of collaborators that he employed to decorate his wares, just as he had ^{been} employed by Cachrylion. This was doubtless at the end of some time, when he had created for himself a great course of business, that to suffice for the demands, he thus ensured himself of services of other ceramic painters. He sometimes inscribed his name beside theirs. More frequently he passed his name in silence, as he had omitted to sign as painter more than one of the vases on which he had formerly executed paintings for various potters.

Vases that received their certificate of origin from Euphronios, chief of a workshop, then formed two categories, one being that of vases on which ~~to~~ his epiclesen he had the right to add the verb egrapsen, the other being that of vases on which as chief, he had imposed their form and the theme of their decoration, but leaving to one of his subordinates the care of executing the paintings. That the principle of this distinction cannot be doubted is justified, but where are produced the diversities of opinions is, when it is necessary to decide in which of these two classes it is proper to place certain cups in question. There is only one means of making this division, which is to study on each piece that is to be classified the character of the style of the composition of the decoration. By this method we have thought ourselves able to recognize the touch and the taste of Euphronios in the cups signed by him as potter. Proceeding similarly, one reaches the contrary conclusion for two other cups on which is read the same formula.

There is first the cup of the museum of Perugia on which is placed the scene of the adventure of Troilos surprised at the fountain by Achilles, a theme already found on the Francois vase and also elsewhere.¹ In the hollow of the basin, Achilles is represented as standing and holding by the hair the young Troilos, on whose head will fall his sword.¹ On the exterior is the vain flight of Troilos before Achilles. On the other side are Trojans, who put on their arms to go to the aid of Troilos.²

Note 1.p.432. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Pl. 198, p. 404, 501, 526.

Note 1.p.433. *Hartwig. Meisterschalen*. Pl. 59, 1.

Note 2.p.433. The same. Pl. 58.

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Note 1.p.432. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Plg. 198, p. 404, 501, 526.

Note 1.p.433. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Pl. 58, 1.

Note 2.p.433. The same. Pl. 58.

The same impression has been made on all who have studied this cup: the decoration was not executed by Euphronios.³ In all paintings made by Euphronios is a certain rhythm more easily felt than defined. Here the composition is disconnected and the lines are opposed. The drawing also has much less precision than with Euphronios. There is found none or scarcely any of those secondary traits, that accent so clearly on the cup of Geryon or the cratera of Anteus, the relief of the muscles or the play of the bones beneath the skin. Nothing on the thighs or calves. Alone are quite awkwardly indicated the joint of the knee and the dry projection of the tibia.

Note 3.p.433. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*. p. 531. Furtwängler. 50 th Programme of Winckelmann Fest. p.131, note 25; Berl. Phil. Woch. 1894. p.141.

It has been proposed to attribute all this decoration to the painter whose mutilated signature appears on another product of the workshop of Euphronios.⁴ What gives some probability to this conjecture besides certain analogies of drawing is, that on the cup of Perugia as on that of the Louvre is read the same name of kalos, that of Lycos. Thus by more or less specious approximations, one comes to that of Onesimos that we are not even certain of calling by his true name. We shall not discuss this series of hypotheses. It suffices in this respect to mention a curious fact. On this vase for the first time on one of the heads, that of Achilles inside the cup, the eye is found correctly represented in profile (Fig. 251).

Note 4.p.433. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*. p. 536-537.

Note 5.p.433. This is here the first borrowing that we have made from the plates of that beautiful work. Here is the complete title (see text). 1893. By more than one reference to the text of this work, we have already shown our estimate of the accomplished ceramograph, Dr. Hartwig; but we wish to state how grateful we are to him, and also to the publisher Reimer, now the owner of the *Meisterschalen*, for the liberality with which he has permitted us to use at pleasure the plates of the atlas and the numerous drawings by the author inserted in his text. The choice of the vases reproduced in the atlas and text has been made with much taste. The execution of the drawings was entrusted to skilful and faithful artists. Nearly all the drawings have been allowed to appear in the collection only

after an accurate comparison made by Hartwig himself with the original and the copies presented to him.

It has been agreed to place the same judgment on a cup, whose fragments are found in the museum at Berlin.¹ It belongs to a series of vases whose decoration is executed in line on a white coating, and which in the course of this history must be the object of a special study. The drawing of Euphronios is recognized neither in the figures of the interior of the bowl, nor in the red figures of the exterior. In all that we know of the work signed by Euphronios, this is the sole example of use made of this procedure in the workshop directed by him. When to follow the fashion, he wished to offer his patrons vases of this sort, the aged master could not risk himself to apply methods of work to which he was not accustomed. The letters *OMED* seen on the field just below the signature of Euphronios, are perhaps the remains of a painter's name like Diomedes, of a painter versed in these technics, whose assistance Euphronios ensured for this kind of products.

Note 1. p. 434. Hartwig. *Metatetrachalen*. Pls. LI, LII. Text, p. 484-494. *Furtwängler*. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894. p. 141.

If one could believe with good reason, not to comprise in the painter that was Euphronios, the vases with polychrome decoration on a white ground, the question would be more delicate for two cups with red figures on which is read his name, one of which belongs to our Cabinet of Antiques and the other to the museum of Berlin.² On one was represented the adventure of Dolon; on the other are recognized scenes of the taking of Troy. The latter seems to us could be classed with some probability among the works of the youth of Euphronios;³ but the fragments remaining from these two vases agree poorly with the conclusions made. We shall content ourselves with citing also for record of cups, that Euphronios also signed as potter and which appear to present only a moderate interest. In the bowl is a young flutist standing before a nude man of riper age, leaning on a knotty staff. On the outside are eleven persons in various attitudes, who leave a banquet. The two figures in the bowl are best in drawing. Those of the exterior are common in pose and execution.¹ To judge of the merit and originality of Euphronios, it is much better to adhere to the three vases that he has sig-

signed as painter, and to the two cups that we are permitted to add to them as authentic works of his brush, a state of preservation lending itself to the detailed study of the composition and style.

Note 2.p.434. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p.140. Nos. 5, 6.

Note 3.p.434. See above, p. 410.

Note 1.p.435. Collection Van Branteghem. Catalogue des mon. antiq. etc. 1892. The description is by Pröhner. The signature is painted in red letters within the bowl and has the form; Euphronios epoiesen.

Like other ceramic painters, Euphronios could not fail to be inspired by models offered to him by the statuary and painters, that the cities called to decorate by reliefs and frescoes the walls and entablatures of edifices such as their porticos and temples; but if there exist some remains of the sculptures to which these decorators of clay could owe more than one useful suggestion, all monumental paintings have perished in which these artists must have found the material of more frequent and direct borrowings. We are then compelled to judge Euphronios as if he owed the qualities that distinguish him to himself, his natural gifts and his personal efforts.

What has first struck us in his work is the art with which he composes, both by the choice of subjects, when he arranges a piquant contrast between the two paintings of the interior and exterior of the vases, and that in each of these paintings he arranges to group his persons in the happiest manner, to join them closely to each other, and subject all of them to the laws of a certain rhythm that regulates their movements and gestures. Now this is not a common merit like that of a wise arrangement, where all the figures and attitudes concurred in the general effect; among the vases of this time, even among those of most careful work, there are more than one --- we have given several examples, --- where the theme is presented awkwardly, where unity is wanting. In the same order of ideas, there is noted the persistence with which Euphronios applies himself to define the scene of the action by inserting in his paintings accessories, that have at the same time the advantage of filling the background.

With Euphronios the execution is no inferior to the conception. More vividly than any of his predecessors, he has felt

the beauty of the nude body of woman as well as of man, and he has first rendered it with an intelligent and moved sincerity, everywhere that there has not intervened some tradition of archaism, to vitiate the translation offered to him. There are certain figures by him without exaggeration, that can be said to approach the marbles, which are in the number of the best works produced by sculpture in the first half of the 5th century.¹ Thus has been compared the flutist of the psycter (Fig. 239) to the admirable relief, that represents the same subject on one side of the Ludovisi throne (Fig. 252). It is the same pose, except that the flutist of the throne with the right leg crossed over the left leg has something more voluntary and more complex, than the careless abandon of the members in the metopara of the psycter, than their lax stretching. To render the movement that he had chosen, the sculptor required more knowledge and skill than was demanded from the painter by the part that he had taken. Further, the modeling of the body is scarcely indicated by Euparionios, while in the relief it is already strongly felt, so that one divines there all the suppleness of young and firm flesh. I believe the marble later than the vase. It is a more advanced art. It was the same for the youthful and charming Theseus of the cup of the Louvre; It has been almost believed that this prototype has ^{been} found in one of those metopes of the treasury of the Athenians recently found at Delphi, in that one where Theseus is seen clothed in a light and short tunic as on the vase, standing before Athena.³ There for the adolescent, the body has yet no sex, so to speak; but with a Hercules or Anteus, now precise and compact is the drawing, what vigor in the lines by which the painter has known how to characterize the qualities peculiar to the virile body, that of an athlete or soldier! In his desire to render visible to the eye the strength of the muscular masses and of the bony framework, this painter sometimes risks exceeding moderation, but even where this defect tends to become marked, one is inclined to excuse it, this evidences so much effort, that the artist has imposed on himself to omit nothing essential, and to transcribe faithfully all inflexions of the living form. In those of his vases that we believe most recent, he has surpassed himself. When he took it in hand, he finally knew how to

derive from the drapery the most beautiful effects that it allowed. At the same time, he has exerted himself and has frequently succeeded in placing his figures in perspective, in no longer showing them as deformed, but such as they were really seen by the spectator. If he does not yet apply this mode of truthful presentation to the eyes of his profiles, already in certain foreshortenings, such as those of the cups of Theseus and of Eurystheus, he attained a true mastery.

Note 1.p.438. Pottler. Catalogue, p. 928, 941. Lechat. La sculpture antique avant Phidias. p.415-416, 419.

Note 2.p.438. Antike Denkmäler. Vol. II, Pl. 7. On the source and meaning of this relief, see Petersen. Röm.Mitt. Vol. VII, 1892, p. 32.

Note 3.p.438. Homolle. Fouilles de Delphi. Vol. IV. Pl.38.

This form by which he is charmed not only has material for Euphronios, a material whose beautiful lines he admires, and happy proportions in the noblest organic types that nature has created. He aspires to make this form expressive, to make it reveal a permanent or temporary state of the soul. His predecessors, the archaic painters, were satisfied in giving to be divined by the attitudes and movements of the body, what were in general emotions that animated the persons in their paintings, for example if there were joy or sorrow. That no longer sufficed for Euphronios. Doubtless to attain the expression, he always counted on the action that he gave to his figures, a movement that he applied himself to make more and more correct and living, more and more magnificent; but his ambition went farther. He seeks the means of defining better yet the originality of the character and the peculiarity of the feeling. He found this means in certain variations, certain refinements of the tracing of the lines of the face and of its enclosure. He does not cast his heads in the same mould, so to speak. Thus by the boldness, the wrinkles on the brow, the size of the hooked nose, the dropping of the lips and chin, he accents the deformities of age in the father of Eurystheus (Fig. 249). What is violent and savage in Anteus subdued by Hercules, as in the brigand overthrown by Theseus, he marks by the disorder of the hair and the tangled beard. Speech seems to spirt from the mouth that softly opens, like that of the old man who solicits the courtesan (Fig. 248). Elsewhere, where the lips curl so as to

allow the teeth to be seen to their roots on Anteus, one feels a spasm of choking, the effort of the jaws that separate in the attempt to send to the lungs a last gulp of air (Pl. VIII). In that image the eye speaks a language no less clear than the mouth. The profile that is displaced as if to conceal itself under the upper lid betrays the terror and anguish of approaching death.

We have adhered to studying and judging Euphronios only by the pieces on which is read his signature; but these are certainly not the only ones among Attic vases of the severe style, that have come down to us or that left his workshop, which are more or less entitled to represent his taste and style. One should never forget, that potters and painters have inscribed their names only on a small number of those supplied to their patrons. Etruscan tombs have furnished us with many vases in which are recognized by their fabrication, products of Athenian manufacture. Is it not natural to suppose that among all these anonymous works, there is more than one that received its decoration from the hands of the painter, whose vogue is attested by even the insults cast on him by those of his rivals, who claim to have surpassed him?

Ceramographs then have reason to seek in the multitude of vases with red figures of the severe style, the pieces that for plausible reasons they believe themselves authorized to credit to Euphronios, but that is an investigation which must be conducted with singular prudence. What is before all important when this inquiry is undertaken, is to determine in what degree a certain anonymous painting resembles the signed paintings, either by the entirety of the interpretation given to the form, or by certain peculiarities in rendering a certain part of the body. Other data can also be taken into consideration. Those are the names of the kaloi. On the three vases that Euphronios signed as painter, we have read the name of Leagros. If we find this name on an anepigraphic vase, which at first sight seems to recall the work of Euphronios, this identity of dedication warns us that there is reason to push this comparison farther. Also sometimes should be taken into account the peculiarity of the type and that of the ornament. In certain cases, where all these indications agree, one could make very probable the proposed attribution; but these presumptions are

never equivalent to certainty. A certain learned man, a fine connoisseur in the matter of vases claims to find in an anonymous painting the execution of Euphronios; but another that has no less experience and taste recognizes there the hand of Euthymides.¹

Note 1.p.439. We could cite more than one vase of this time that Hartwig and Furtwängler have each described separately, without agreeing on the name of the painter, which is proper to give the honor of it.

We cannot think of enumerating here the vases in which it has been desired to see works of Euphronios, of his youth or of his maturity. Conjecture has had fine sport in that way. If one believes the critics who has studied with the greatest care the taste and ceramics of this time, concerning the three vases of Euphronios that he signed with egrapsen, one should group 17 cups and an amphora, whose paintings would be by the same master.¹ One would have to extend in the same proportion the list of vases for which the honor should be given to Euphronios as chief of industry.² Should one accept but a small number of these attributions, there will again be reason for each one of them, to indicate bases that justify the Hypotheses, a necessity that would entail minute and wearisome discussions. Our taste must remain more simple. To cause to be understood the interest of these compositions, and what beautiful works he chances to meet with on his way, by whoever makes them, it suffices to mention some of the vases in regard to which it has appeared most nearly right to pronounce the name of Euphronios.

Note 1.p.440. Hartwig. *Meterschalen*. Chaps.VII,VIII.

Note 2.p.440. The same. Chap. XVIII.

If ever, placed before an anepigraphic vase, the archaeologist has had a reason to supply the absent signature, this is indeed the case for a crater of the museum of Arezzo, that has long been known, but whose paintings have but very recently been reproduced with a fidelity permitting the appreciation of the style and beauty.³ By its form, it is near the crater of Anteus; but its decoration presents a different arrangement (Fig. 253). On the lower band is seen Hercules and Telamon sustaining by themselves the assault of an entire army of Amazons. (Fig. 254). This painting extends entirely around the vase. It is the same for a theme, the representation of a *komos*, that

the painter has placed on the upper band. The figures there are of the smallest dimensions, and consequently are in very great number; they present quite varied attitudes (Fig. 255).

Note 3. p. 440. Furtwängler and Reichhold. *Grlechlache Vasenmalerei*. 2nd series. Pls. 81, 82; Text, p. 1-14.

Euphronios of the signed vases is recalled by these pictures. One cannot prevent himself there from being struck by the resemblance at first sight, when he compares the cratera to the cup on which Hercules is in combat with Geryon (Fig. 242). Compare the principal painting on the two vases. From the cratera to the cup, the composition offers curious analogies, in spite of the difference of the subjects. On both vases, Hercules has the same movement and the same weapons divided in the same manner between both arms, the same costume. The artist has amused himself by varying from one vase to the other, the lion's skin, which on one image encloses the bust, and on the other is thrown in front on the left arm, serving as a shield. Here he conceals and there he shows the sword; but with the slight details, it is indeed the same figure. The painter has had in both the same vision of Hercules scorning the number of his enemies and truly invincible. The agreement does not stop there. The group of the three Amazons facing the hero recalls that of the three bodies of Geryon. In the painting of the combat against Geryon, the dog Orthros lies on the ground between Hercules and the assailants. Here a wounded and dying Amazon occupies the same place. On the left is another Amazon felled by Telamon, who corresponds on the cratera to the father Eurytion of the cup. On observing the two paintings, there is an impression of the same general plan, which the painter has known how to skillfully adapt to the difference of the subjects.

If after the general arrangement the execution be considered, the line indeed has here the qualities of boldness and certainty, that we have found in all the works of Euphronios; but it is especially with the cratera of Hercules and Anteus that the approximation exists. On the two vases, these are exactly the same motives that serve as the frame for the painting. One of these borders is made of horizontal palmations of six leaves; the other is a double row of vertical palmations and lotus buds the whole connected by a lattice of flexible bands. Certain details of the rendering present the same very peculiar character

on both vases. Here around the eyes of Hercules and of Tecamon is the same indication of the eyelashes as on the other crater. The swellings of the flesh of the abdomen are represented on Hercules, conqueror of the Amazons as on Anteus strangled by Hercules, with the same correctness not exempt from exaggeration. On the two wounded Amazons, the terror of the agony is marked as on the Anteus by the displacement of the pupil, raised beneath the upper eyelid.¹

Note 1. p. 442. We cannot enlarge here on all the striking coincidences in the details of the drawing; there will be found in Purling's a more complete statement. (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. II series. p. 12-13).

This seeking for expression by the inversion of the eye is not found on the cup of Munich, where the movements alone are expressive, and that alone suffices to cause it to be supposed that this is the oldest of the two vases. Besides, everything confirms this hypothesis. The drawing has here more amplitude. With the same firmness it is coarser. Compare in the two paintings the arms and thighs of Hercules. I should even incline to believe the crater of Arezzo later than the crater of Paris, and rather compare it to the vases which Euphronios signed as potter. Doubtless one also finds here in many figures the survival of archaic conventions. The torso is seen in front view for Hercules, while the head and legs appear in profile; but here is another figure, the Amazon at the right in tights with black bands, who like Theseus before Amphitrite on the cup of the Louvre frankly presents her side. One of the legs of the Amazon prostrated at the feet of Hercules is drawn shortened. Finally this progress of the brush is also better marked in the little frieze, in the diversity of these persons and in the singular freedom of their movements. We find again there those heads of bald old men with pointed skulls, projecting chins, which we have indicated on the cup of Eurystheus. (Fig. 249).

If we have emphasized this vase, this is not only because it is one of the most beautiful works left to us from the art of this time. It is particularly because this study gives us material to show in a topical example, at the cost of some comparisons and some observations, that ceramographs could allow themselves to assign sometimes to one or to another painter.

known by vases signed by his name, other vases that bear no signature. It is a case like that, where the hypothesis of this kind attains a probability almost equivalent to certainty. It then permits one to form a more just idea of the diverse forms taken by the activity of an artist and of the influence that he can exercise over his contemporaries.¹

Note 1. p. 444. Furtwängler (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. II series, p. 177) agrees with Hartwig (*Meisterschalen*, p. 103-104) in proclaiming that the cup represented by the latter in his Pl. VIII is certainly the work of Euphronios. As for the cup of Pls. XV, 2, and XVI, Hartwig attributes it to Euphronios on indications that seem to have a real value (Text, p. 136137). Furtwängler also places without hesitation to the credit of Euphronios some other vases: - 1, a beautiful chatera of Berlin (No. 2180) badly published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, Pl. 4; 2, the interior of the cup published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1855, Pl. 10; 3, the Bourguignon cup (Hartwig, Pl. XIV); 4, the cup published in *Jour Hell. Studies*, Vol. X, Pl. I. As for the other paintings that Hartwig believes himself able to attribute to Euphronios, and of which he refers some to the first and the others to the second part of the career of the artist, the list of them would be too long to find a place here. Several of these attributions have been contested and in fact seem very contested.

If we have given to Euphronios such a large place in this history, if we have described all the works on which in one way or another he has enforced his rights, and have represented most of them, this is less for the special beauty of these works than for the light that they cast on the evolution of Attic art, on the rapid progress made on the eve and the morrow of the Median wars. Euphronios held to nature of the arrangements that a professional training received in the best workshops had happily developed; they could in other circumstances have pushed him to take rank near the painters who ornamented by their frescos the edifices of the Athens of Themistocles and of Cimon raised from its ruins; but he was perhaps first the child of one of those families, as we have in several duly attested examples, where from father to son they applied themselves to the trades of plastic clay. He did not then think of rising above that modest condition of a decorator of clay, he

which among us is confined to that of the workmen; he limited his ambition to become a painter at the wage for another, the chief of one of the workshops, that carried highest and farthest the fame of Athenian fabrication; but even in this role of the second plane, he no less concurred very efficiently in the emancipation of drawing and the conquests of art. If there were ceramic painters who, to trace the images which their brushes scattered over the vases, contented themselves by transferring patterns that passed from hand to hand, or rather took from some fresco groups that they fitted to the space at their disposal, the best endowed of these artists understood their task otherwise. They doubtless made more than one borrowing from a monumental painting, particularly for the representation of the traditional myths, and they gave thus to their patrons the pleasure of finding on the rounded sides of a cup or cratera the faithful reflections of celebrated works; but for all those scenes and banquets and of Bacchic dances, military marches, exercises of the palestra and religious processions, which also made a part of their ordinary repertory, they referred only to themselves, to their eyes charmed by these spectacles which they daily witnessed, to their fingers that slowly handled the dry point and the brush, to their memory filled by beautiful forms lovingly caressed by the eye of the connoisseur, with beautiful movements seized on the wing by rapid observation or registered by sketches taken from nature. The habits of truthful and realistic transcription made their effect felt even in the execution of paintings, where the primary idea of the composition and its general arrangement had been suggested by some work of a contemporaneous master, of an Eumares of Athens or a Cimon of Cleonai, as they would later be by the great pages of true or legendary history of a Micon or of a Polgynotos. This idea of that arrangement, as Euphronios and a Douris could have received and held from others; but the character and very personal accent of their drawing belongs to themselves. These are in fact original artists.

Euphronios again merited for another reason to retain us longer than any of his rivals. It cannot be doubted that he lived and labored for many years. That his work so varied, that the development and constant progress which it shows, the historical

passes gradually from the first attempts in painting red figures made by Nicosthenes and Andokides to the vases on which is recognized the influence of the style of Polygnotos, vases that precede so little those on which he will believe is felt the effect of the models that will furnish the sculpture of Phidias. By the disappearance of all monumental painting and that almost as complete of the statuary of the transition masters, such as Critios and Nesiotes, Haghias and Calamis, the work of a ceramic painter such as Euphronios is perhaps what best permits us to appreciate the rapidity of the movement, which led Athenian art in less than a half century from the slightly affected elegancies of archaic art of its last restraints to the easy nobility and the sovereign liberty of adult art, an art which attained perfection within the limits in which it was enclosed.

4. Onesimos and Euthymides.

Among Attic ceramic painters of the severe style from whom we possess some signed works, there are two which one is obliged to place in the sequence and the immediate vicinity of Euphronios. One is the painter which he allowed to inscribe on one of the vases from his workshop that name of which we read only the four letters imos on the bare clay at that place. We shall provisionally call him Onesimos, until new finds come to determine our uncertainties on this subject.¹ The other one of these contemporaries of Euphronios is that Euthymides, who by the boasting that we have cited gave to Euphronios such a proud defiance. It is proper to speak of the collaborator of Euphronios before judging the work of the presumptuous artist, who posed as a rival of the master painter.

Note 1. p. 446. There has also been proposed for the mutilated signature the name of Diotomos. Hartwig explains the reasons which make least probable the restoration of Onesimos. (Meisterschalen. p. 503-504).

The mystery in which this name is concealed appears to have excited the curiosity of archaeologists and has quite particularly interested them in this masked decorator. In emulation, they are compelled to recover and restore the unknown work of Onesimos, and in their desire to forget nothing, they have given him very large measure. One of them proposes to credit to him 19 vases, all cups, and to scarcely refuse to arrange his

supposed works in chronological order and to attempt to follow the development of his execution and his talent.² Another goes further. While being in accord with the first promoter of this undertaking to attribute to Onesimos several cups in question, he desires to recognize in him the principal collaborator of Brygos, the artist that under the supervision and perhaps from the sketches of the chief of the workshop, executed the most beautiful of the cups on which that maker placed his signature.

Note 2. p. 448. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*, p. 562. Nine of the cups indorsed by Hartwig for this name are represented in his Plates LIV-LXII.

Note 3. p. 448. E. Pottier. *Catalogue*, part 3. 1906. p. 1001-1005. *Monuments et memoires*. Fondation E. Piot. Vol. XVI. 1909. p. 132-136).

As confessed even by those who have suggested them, all these attributions of unsigned vases to Onesimos have only the character of hypotheses, that do not all present the same degree of probability. We cannot undertake to describe and criticize them here. A minute discussion would be unnecessary and also with many illustrations, perhaps without this effort having as a result the bringing to light some monument of the first order. This may then be spared, and few examples suffice to show that among the anonymous cups dating from these times, there are indeed some that by the themes of their paintings and by the style of drawing of the figures strongly resemble the cup on which were placed together the names of the maker Euphronios and that of a painter otherwise unknown.

In the bottom of this cup is seen a young cavalier covered by the Thessalian petasos. Clothed in the fine woollen tunic and chlamys, that compose the costume of the ephebes, he holds in the right hand his two javelins. The youthfulness of his forms contrasts with the robust appearance of the horse, that he manages without effort, and which with head thrown up and well opened nostrils proudly advances with the short and restrained parade step (Fig. 256). Behind the cavalier and opposite the inscription that is the mark of the workshop of Euphronios are the words: - kalos Erothemis. This is a homage rendered to the beauty of Erothemis, perhaps the young man represented by the painting. In the segment of the circle cut off by the line

traced beneath the foot of the horse is read the name of Lycos.

The paintings on the outside show with what care the Athenian ephebes were instructed in the rules of equitation, and by what exercises they learned to form a part of their mounts.¹ The scene occurs in the riding school. Two fluted columns with Doric capitals, on one of which is read the name of Lycos, indicate an enclosed space surrounded by porticos. In the field is reproduced the inscription kalos Erothemis. At one side the artist has represented one of the episodes of the lesson. A man pulls by one rein a restive horse and uses the other rein to chastise him. This person wears the costume of a chevalier, the cap of fox skin with the paws and tail of the animal falling behind, the chlamys and the boots with tops folded down. It is doubtless necessary to recognize there the squire charged with the initiation of the ephebes. In the nude young man behind the horse who recedes with gestures of fright, we see one of the ephebes making their apprenticeship. In one hand he holds a switch and in the other are two javelins. He prepared to mount, when the horse had the caprice that required the intervention of the master (Fig. 257). The rest of the field is occupied by four young cavaliers, that wear the same clothing as the cavalier in the bowl. With chlamys floating in the wind, elegant and supple, javelins in hand, they advance in file, keeping their horses at the same gait (Fig. 257 bis). They aim to obtain from their mounts that regular trot which Xenophon admires in a troop of cavalry, "when one hears only a noise of cadenced steps, a collective breathing and neighing." Over one of these cavaliers that holds his javelin raised is read, followed by the verb egrapsen, the four letters IMOS by which the hypothetical Onesimos has the honor of appearing in the list of the ceramic painters of Athens.

Note 1.p.448. On these exercises and on the pleasure that ceramic painters took in representing them, see Collignon. Cavalier Athenien etc. Attic cup in museum of the Louvre (Monuments grecs publies, etc. 1885-1888, p.1-23).

Note 1.p.449. Xenophon. Traite sur l'equitation. VI, 13-15.

This cup of the Louvre has been compared to a cup at Rome (Collection Castellani), whose decoration in the entirety of the conception sensibly recalls that of the cup from the workshop of Euphronios.² Here also is the image of a chevalier

the bowl. On the exterior are also horses and ephebes, those sons of the best families of the city that obeyed the orders of the hipparchos; but here we no longer see them as on the other cup executing what we term a repeat around the riding school on a sanded track in the annex of some suburban gymnasium. Their professional training is finished; they have performed their military service. The cavaliers have dismounted. They remain standing beside their unbridled horses. They mount guard before a building represented in brief by an Ionic column. What informs us that they are on a campaign, or at least on patrol, is that they no longer have heads and arms bare. To protect themselves from the storms which they must brave, the light chlamys raised by the breeze at the gallop of the horse would not have sufficed them. They are all wrapped in very ample mantles enclosing their bodies. These mantles fall stiffly without folds and must be made of some thick felt fabric, similar to the cape now worn by Greek shepherds. The top of this vestment forms a collar that falls on the shoulders and protects them. The very long skirts of the fabric cover the thighs. On the feet are laced boots which rise to the calf.

Note 2, p. 449. Hartwig. Metatarschalen. Pl. LIV.

By the theme of the decoration of this exterior, a third cup without the name of the painter or kalos is distinguished from the two cups just described; but by certain characteristic traits it is still very closely connected to these two cups. In the bottom of the bowl is seen the cavalier on the march, equipped and armed as on the Castellani cup (Fig. 256), but what is found on the exterior of the vase is a theme, which is one of the commonplaces of ceramic painting, the departure of the warrior for the battle and his return after the campaign. The principal person is no longer the cavalier but the hoplite, defined on both sides by his helmet held in his hand or placed on the head, and by the cuirass enclosing his waist (Fig. 259) in the scene of the return to his home; but as well known, when the hoplite departed on an expedition, he was usually accompanied by a mounted squire, who held at his orders behind the field of battle the horse on which the foot soldier had loaded his arms during the march, and which he used in case of defeat to escape captivity. We find this squire here on foot near his

master's horse in his campaign equipment, covered by a fox skin cap, draped in a great mantle with collar and shod with high gaiters.

What resemblance there is between these cups is seen by the images, which we have given of two of them and by the description presented by a third. It is at first that accessory, a Doric or Ionic column that figures, once doubled, in the field of the extensors of the three cups. It is the costume, one might almost say, the uniform of the cavalier ordered on service, this costume, all whose parts reappear from one cup to another, is here for the master of the riding school and that is that of the dismounted cavaliers. It is the warm fur cap, the alopekis, the mantle of felted wool, the gaiters that protect all that part of the legs that the mantle leaves uncovered. There is also for what we would term the fatigue uniform the hat with upturned brim, doubtless a straw hat; on one cup it covers one of the cavaliers, who for the time are on foot, and in the two others, the cavalier in the bowl (Figs. 256, 258). Finally, all these cavaliers have as arms those short javelins of cornel wood, whose use Xenophon recommends when strong in his experience, he traced for the Athenian cavalry the programme that it must follow to maintain its old representation. He believed them preferable to the long spear used by other cavaliers.

Note 1.p.451. Xenophon. *Traité de l'équitation*. XII, 12, 13.

Here is finally a trait common to the three cups. The painter that executed them seemed to devote a very particular interest to the horse. He indicated it by the happy effort that he imposed on himself to faithfully render the forms and movements. On the signed cup (Fig. 256) the cavalier guides his mount at a limited trot, that exhibits the beautiful gait. In the anonymous cup on the contrary (Fig. 258), the cavalier with tight reins assembles and stops his horse with the four legs well planted on the ground under the eyes of the spectator; but there is especially on the exterior of this cup what gives rise to interesting observations (Fig. 259). In the scene of the departure, the squire has placed his hand on the head of the animal as if to arrange the hair of the foretop; he gives a last glance at the equipment. As for the horse, he seems impatient to start. Above the firm and stiff front limbs, the chest and

head extend forward as if to ask the signal to march. In the scene of the return the attitudes are very different. The squire there has seized with both hands the head of his mount to carefully examine his eye, mouth and nostrils. This care is necessary, for the horse certainly shares the fatigue that is divined in the post of his master, who is seated on a stool and also supports his right arm by a javelin held upright before him. This fatigue of the horse is betrayed by the movement of one of his feet, the right hind foot, which rests on the ground only by the point of the shoe. It is felt that the animal fears to place it flat on the ground as a point of support. This is because it has been hurt by a long march on one of the stony roads, so many of which are in Greece. Greek horses were not shod, and it often happened that a pointed pebble injured and tore the hoof.

Between the three cups that we have just studied, we have indicated in the composition a spirit by which it is animated, analogies that it seems to us difficult to contest. Further, in all three are found nearly the same execution and very free drawing. This drawing is less expressive and vigorous than that of the paintings that Euphronios signed as painter; but it is more disengaged from archaic conventions. We believe that without running great risk of mistakes, two of the anonymous cups, those that we have described, may be attributed to the painter that signed with Euphronios the cup of the Louvre, to Onesimos if it be desired to retain that name.

As for the other cups that it has been desired to place as the work of Onesimos for one of the alleged reasons, whatever ingenuity they manifest, they do not seem of a kind. I do not say to carry conviction, but even to make probable the attributions that are risked and multiplied. As for the proposition made to seek in that Onesimos the painter, that for the account and under the direction of Brygos executed the paintings of the most beautiful vases on which is read the signature of that maker, it appears to us as still less justified.¹ Whether this is or is not the effect of the difference of the themes, we find no relationship between the execution of the paintings of the cup signed by Onesimos or that of the two other cups, which we think could be given to Onesimos, and the style of a vase like that under the name of Brygos, on which is represented the

taking of Troy. If Onesimos lived long, it cannot be denied; that he could extend his style and place in the rendering of the movements an energy and fire, in his compositions something pathetic of which no trace is found in his signed work, nor in the works that we believe there is reason to attribute to him their paternity; but in crediting to him that evolution, one is in the domain of pure conjecture, of such hazardous conjectures that the history of art, it seems to me must not make an opinion, and from which it can derive no benefit.

Note 1. p. 454. In a long note (*Monuments et memoirs*, vol. XVI, p. 133), Pottier enumerates resemblances, that he believes are found between the cup of the taking of Troy and what we call the cups of Onesimos; but so that the comparisons that he establishes for this purpose may have some value, he must commence by showing that Hartwig had good reasons to attribute to Onesimos the cups to which he himself refers. Now he omits that demonstration and accepts the attributions proposed by Hartwig with a confidence, that surprises me on the part of a critic usually so prudent and certain. As for the resemblances that he believes are discerned between the cup signed by Onesimos and the celebrated cup of Brygos, they appear to me very slight and of little importance. One could find in other cups of that time the traits which he has brought to the support of his opinion. F. Hauser has already criticized and proposed to set aside the hypothesis of Pottier. (*Berl. Phil. Koch*. 1907, p. 293-294), in regard to the book of Ducati on Brygos.

Meeting on our way a painter, who has merited that his name should appear on a vase, which would represent to the foreigner one of the most famous workshops of the ceramics of Athens, we could not fail to ask ourselves what part this painter had taken in the movement and the progress of the arts of clay at about the beginning of the 5th century. We believe that this part would be desired to be too grand and too beautiful.² One does not take his part too frankly to place a name on some of the more admirable paintings, left to us by the decorators of Attic vases. Refined connoisseurs have undertaken to supplement by ingenious hypotheses the silence of the monuments, and have done honor to Onesimos for true masterpieces. We have tried to resist that temptation, but it has seemed to us that the hand of this collaborator of Euphronios is recognized in the records

decoration of two other cups, and due to these complementary attributions, which do not seem to us to lead to doubt, we have been able to mark and define the place that it is proper to assign to Onesimos in any state of the course, among the ceramic painters in the work of whom, we follow the evolution of monumental painting, by the reflection that from Cimon of Cleones to Polygnotos and Zeuxis, this throws on the surfaces of amphoras and of mugs, on the fragile and imperishable clay.

Note 2.p.454. The original qualities that distinguish the drawing of Brygos, we shall find something in that of the cups attributed to Onesimos, which represents the combats of the Lapithes and the Centaurs (Hartwig, *Metasterschalen*, Pl. IX), but this is one of those for which this attribution seems least justified. Hartwig gives only very weak reasons to support this hypothesis.

For having placed his talent at the service of the celebrated chief of a workshop, Onesimos has a right to appear in this history even as we have introduced him; but for an entirely different motive, this is also where there should take rank in the series of the best artists of the time another contemporaneous painter, Euthymides, son of Holios. Before the patronage disputed then by so many skilful makers, he poses boldly as the rival of Euphronios by the defiance that he utters against him, and which we have already had occasion to cite.

Note 1.p.455. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p.378; X, p.391.

By him are known five vases on which his name is followed by the verb *egrapsen*.² On two others is also read this name, but without the addition that would give it the value of a signature.³ It appears there only as one of the actors of a scene of the game of *cottabus*, or otherwise among the names of unknown persons to whom is addressed a collective salutation. Finally, there exist several vases whose decoration has been attributed to the brush of Euthymides, not without probability, on the faith of analogies that seem to present it with the signed works.⁴ Whatever specious reasons may exist for increasing thus by conjecture the list of monuments, that represent Euthymides in our museums, we shall remain faithful to the method that we have believed should be followed so far. We shall judge Euthymides only by the paintings of which he is declared the author.

Now if there be one piece that fulfils this condition, it is indeed the amphora of which that artist boasted in a burst of professional pride, as a masterpiece to which Euphronios could oppose nothing with the same merit. By the obliging chance that has preserved to us this vase with its proud inscription, we are able to decide if Euthymides did not create some illusion, when he thus proclaimed his own superiority.

Note 2.p.455. Klein. *Meistersignaturen*. p.193-198, nos. 1,2, 3,4,7.

Note 3.p.455. The same. 5 and 6. This salutation may be the homage of another painter, a comrade of the workshop. There are the resemblances that he believes are observed, Hartwig attributes to Phintias the amphora on which is represented the game of cottabus. (*Meisterschalen*, p. 194.

Note 4.p.455. Furtwängler. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. p. 33, Plates 92, 103.

On one side of the amphora is a warrior of juvenile appearance, seen in front view, who is occupied in putting on and buckling his cuirass. At his right is a bald old man leaning on his staff. At the left is a woman who tenders to the ephebe his spear and shield. Besides the signature of the master on the field are these three words near the persons; Hektor, Priamos, Hecuba (Fig. 260). On the other side of the vase are three nude men crowned with ivy, who dance with the chlamys thrown over the shoulder (Fig. 261). One of them is called Komarkos, the chief of the komos, the two others bear fanciful names. The drawing is broader and less affected than in the paintings of Andokides. The figures have more breadth here. Here is visible an effort to characterize the persons and diversify the attitudes by the indication of wrinkles and baldness, the age of Priam is well defined. The presentation of the face in the figure of the ephebe is a novelty; but the artist has not succeeded in giving a really satisfactory solution of the problem that he proposed. Above and below this torso, which is developed thus to its entire length, he has shown in profile the head and one of the legs. Likewise in the three drunken figures on the other side, there is one view of a back that leaves much to be desired. In the legs of the ephebe and the bodies of the nude persons, the details of the joints and of the muscles are indicated with sufficient precision by the lines of dilute color.

On another amphora on which Euthymides has even inscribed his name and that of his father, there is seen to reappear at the right the same warrior arming himself (Fig. 262); but this time the painter has not sought to recall the memories of the Ionic epic poems. He calls his soldier Thorakion, "the cuirass;" he places him between two archers dressed in Phrygian costume. On the back are three figures, but the painter takes his theme from the exercises of the palestra. Before a *pediotrite* that is armed with a forked stick are two *ephebes*, one of whom (*Thaulos*) prepares to cast the discus, while the other (*Pentaklos*) with hands extended seems prepared to wrestle. The execution presents inequalities as on the other amphora. The two archers are very slender in their motley tights. As for the nudes in athletes, they are but feebly modeled. On the other hand, there is correctness in the movement of the disk thrower, whose torso viewed from the back is presented in three-quarter view.

Euthymides appears to have had a very marked taste for this sort of subject. On a *psycter* where his signature is twice repeated, he has placed on one side Theseus in combat with the brigand Kerkyon, and on the other side are two nude *ephebes* that clean with the strigil their members covered with dust.¹ Before each of them is one of those noes that served to move the sand that formed the soil of the palestra. There again the figure of one of the athletes offers one of those three-quarter views which pleased the painter. The head has not followed the movement of the bust; it remains in profile. Finally, on a *hydria* on which is read the first three letters of the name Euthymides before the verb *egrapsen*, there are seen lying on couches two young men, one playing the flute and the other sounding the castanets.²

Note 1. p. 458. *Annali*. 1870. Tav. de aggiunta, O, P.

Note 2. p. 458. *Arch. Zeit.* 1874. Pl. IX. We recall only from memory a fragment of a plate on which is seen with the signature, a bent warrior who holds his helmet in his hand (*Schöne. Museo Bocchi. Pl. IV, 2.*).

Such as we know it, the work of Euthymides does not justify the claims that he has naively confided to us. Euthymides is more archaic than Euphronios. He remains attached to types that

Were preferred by the masters of the black figure, to the anphora, Hydria and psycter. He painted no cups. The subjects that he treats rarely comprise more than two or three figures. He does not even seek to relieve the commonplace by diversifying the attitudes. He repeats the same scene twice without introducing any change than that of the names and of some details. His paintings are always a little void; he seems to have trouble to fill the large fields at his disposal. He is doubtless a skilful draftsman, and one feels in his paintings the desire that he experiences, to free himself from the old conventions. Perhaps he even knows how to give to his draperies more suppleness than did Euphronios in his first works; but in spite of these real qualities of execution, what prevents him from equaling that rival whose success annoyed him is, that unlike him, he did not risk interpreting the myths, which placed the hero in combats with giants and monsters.

He dared little and invented little. His drawing that nearly equals that of the first works of Euphronios, never conquered the freedom that we admire in the last paintings of that master. None of the works signed by Euthymides, for the power displayed in them, could be placed on the same level as the cratera of Hercules and Anteus; none of them could rival in ingenious grace the cup of Theseus and Amphitrite.¹

Note 1. p. 459. Furtwängler invented Euthymides. He did not approve the writings of Klein, which attempted to place Euphronios without a peer. In hatred of Klein, he took a dislike to Euphronios and could not restrain himself from exalting Euthymides at his expense (Berl. Phil. Koch, 1894, p. 113); but he could not do this without some appearance of reason, except by crediting Euthymides with vases whose attribution to that master will always remain conjectural, such as vases on which are represented the abduction of Corona by Theseus and the murder of Egeus by Orestes (griechische Vasenmalerei. Pl. 33, 72. The judgment of Pottier entirely accords with our own (Catalogue, p. 230).

5. Phintias.

He was a contemporary of young Euphronios and of Euthymides, a painter who with singular carelessness sometimes wrote his name Phintias, sometimes Philtias and once even Phitras. What

establishes this synchronism is not only the resemblance of the styles, but is also the indication derived from the name kalos. Phintias once applauds a megacles to whom the same name is rendered by Euthymides (Fig. 266). What also concurs in fixing the date of Phintias is the predilection, that he shows for those great vases which Andokides loved to decorate; he retained for them the curvature given to them by the potters of the 6th century. If there are three cups by him, the other pieces that he signed are an amphora of very great height, a hydria, a stamnos and a lecythe.¹ Finally, here is what completes the proof that one is far from paintings with black figures in the work of Phintias; on the cup on which are represented Hercules and Alkyoneus (Fig. 263), it is not by lines of diluted color but by incised lines, that the artist has indicated inside the contour some details of the muscles.² These incisions not being made in the black glaze, the engraved lines are scarcely visible on the clay. The artist has perceived this and in other paintings that must be later than this, he has used for the purpose diluted black, already very skilfully employed near him by Euthymides.

Note 1. p. 480. Klein. Meistersignaturen. p. 191-193. Klein then knew only four vases signed by Phintias. Now are counted as many as seven.

Note 2. p. 480. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Pl. 32. Text, p. 168-170. In our Fig. 263, these incised lines are represented by dotted lines.

This cup bears the signatures of the painter Phintias and of the potter Deinades. In the interior is a running Silenus who holds in his right hand a drinking horn. On the outside and between palmations that pass under the handles are two distinct subjects. At one side is the giant Alkyoneus lying asleep. Before him is Hercules preparing to strike him with his club. Behind him is Hermes who has aided the hero to surprise him in his sleep (Fig. 263). On the other side is the dispute concerning the fatidical tripod of Delphi. Hercules and Apollo face each other and pull the bronze article with the strength of their arms. The execution is very careful; it is carried very far in details. The figures are of correct proportions and well posed; but in most of them the painter, like all his contemporaries

does not scruple to mix front and profile views. Yet it is divined by certain indications, that he aspires to a more correct representation of the reality-. The torsos of Apollo and of Hercules are very correctly presented in three quarter view. The point which is charged to model the body has acquitted itself of its task very sparingly but with much certainty.

Still the general appearance remains impressed by a certain archaism. The satyr has retained that entirely conventional attitude, which sculpture at its beginning had adopted to indicate to the eyes the rapidity of the running, one of the legs being bent to touch the knee to the ground and the other making a right angle with the bust.¹ This is again a procedure familiar to archaic Greek art as to the art of all the primitive methods taken by the painter to give Alkyoneus a stature at least thrice that of Hercules and Hermes. More advanced, Euphronios endeavored in his painting of Hercules and Anteus to distinguish the giant from the hero, not by a difference in height, but by a difference of features and of character. Finally, the costume in which Hercules and Hermes are clothed here is what they usually wear on vases of the 6th century.

Note 1. p. 462. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII, p. 305; Plgs. 124, 125.

This theme of carrying off the tripod has been resumed by Phintias, modifying the arrangement of the group, to decorate one side of an amphora with panels.² From the paintings of the cup to those of the amphora is a sensible advance. There are still found here some traces of the habits and taste that prevailed during the preceding period, but the new spirit has yet placed its mark. On Apollo and Hercules at least one leg follows the movement of the torso and appears in front view. The two persons are well placed in a very natural fashion. The other painting represents Dionysos holding in one hand a cantharus from which hangs a bunch of ivy and in the other hand¹⁸ a vine branch loaded by bunches of grapes; he stands between two couples, each composed of a satyr and a Menad (Fig. 264). There again the painter has tried to arouse the attention of the spectator by traits not offered by the traditional models. At the left of the god is a satyr, with his arm passed around the waist of a bacchante. His broad face is presented in front view. The latter with the wrinkles in his forehead and heavy eyebrows,

great nose and large mouth opening between thick lips, his mustache fitting a pointed beard, seems to be copied from the masks decorating the chorus that took part in the Bacchic festivals. In the right hand group appears the same type, better characterized in profile. It is understood why the painter has called this person Simades, the flat nosed. Simades and his companion dance toward Dionysos. The satyr has a double flute in one hand, in the other being the case that serves to cover the instrument. The Menad presses against him. She has the thyrsus lying on her shoulder, a very projecting throat and a stiff neck. Her head is half turned backward; there is divined the swoon of the sacred delirium. What emphasizes again this note is the little panther which has leaped on the breast of the Bacchante. The hind paws are placed on the stem of the thyrsus, and the front paws are laid on the shoulders of the young woman. The composition has movement and originality. Much better than the work signed by Euthymides, it shows an effort that we have mentioned for Euphronios, like him, Phintias desires to make his painting expressive.

Note 2. p. 482. Griechische Vasenmalerei. 2 nd series. Pl. 31. Text. p. 167-171.

Between the works of the two artists there are further relations so visible, that it might be supposed that they worked with each other in the same workshop.¹ Certain traces employed by Phintias for the internal modeling of the body are scarcely found except with him and with Euphronios. Both indicate the relief of the calf in entirely the same fashion, by two little concentric curves. For the drapery, Phintias is no more skilful than Euphronios in his first works. The same cold regularity, the same dryness. Close at top, the fabric of the female clothing presents below a series of folds and dovetail ends that retain a very conventional character. The hands and fingers closed on objects grasped are very correct in drawing, and the feet aim at elegance and affect the same length as in the paintings of Euphronios.

Note 1. p. 483. Griechische Vasenmalerei. 2 nd series. p. 169-171

Especially by the curious theme is recommended a cup of the museum of Baltimore (Fig. 265). The vase has suffered a great fracture; but this has spared the interesting portion of the image and the signature, in spite of the loss of some letters,

but is read with certainty. Clothed only in a mantle thrown over his shoulders, a young man leans over, supported by his staff, toward the wares of a potter representing a cratera and an amphora. He holds a purse in his hand. By his gesture he is bargaining for one of those pieces. A seat placed behind the purchaser indicates the interior of a wareroom at the location of the scene. The execution is quiet and firm, and the same qualities are found on a cup of the museum of Athens discovered at Tanagra.¹ The painter has represented in the interior of the vase a young helmeted warrior with one knee on the ground, who has the left arm passed through the strap of his shield, and is placing his helmet on his head. Beside him is his spear stuck in the ground. What is here peculiar in the signature, the Phintias has exceptionally used there is in the verbs *epoiesen* and *egrapsen*.¹

Note 1.p.464. Hartwig. *Metierschalen*. Pl. XVII, 3.

Note 1.p.465. It is likewise *epoiesen* that is read on a little lecythe in form of a shell of the museum of Athens. No figures; all there is in the fanciful form given to the clay. *Epimeris*. 1885. Pls. 9-10.

The list of the works signed by Phintias is completed by the mention of two other of two other monuments, a hydria and a stannos. We have only fragments of the latter, which do not even permit the attempt to restore the whole;² but the hydria is in excellent preservation. On the shoulder are two men, nude to the girdle, lying on the couches of the feast.³ One of them is bearded and the other is beardless. The first brandishes his cup in the air. He is a player of *cottabus*. The second lazily passes his fingers over the strings of a lyre. On the body are four figures, three nude ephebes and an old man fully draped in his himation. One has under his eyes a gymnasium scene. The old man is the *pediotribe*. To wash themselves after the exercises, the young men went to obtain water at a fountain. One of them leaves his hydria to fill under the jet from a beautiful lion's mask (Fig. 266). The hydrias of the two others are still empty. One bears his jar on his shoulder, the other holds it in both hands before him. This vase must be one of the works on which the talent of the painter has reached its full maturity. Some inaccuracies will still be noted there. A forced movement is that of the right arm, that passes behind the head to

a burden on the opposite shoulder; but there are entire figures, like that of the young man leaning toward the fountain, that are better. The designer has very skilfully drawn these figures, presented in three quarter view. He has traced the contour with rare mastery, and his known how to place exactly all the light lines, that round the body and limbs. He has also gone even beyond measure in places, thus the brush has made the muscular masses of the abdomen more apparent than they are in reality.

Note 2. p. 465. Jour. Hell. Studies. 1891. p. 368-371. Plates XXII & XXIII.

Note 3. p. 465. The same. p. 368-368. Pls. XX-XXI. Brit. Museum.

The excavations have their chances, being more favorable to this artist than to some other, only yielding for the latter works of the second order, while for the former, they bring to light the best pieces. New discoveries from the day to the morrow may compel us to revise our judgments, in spite of the bravado of Euthymides, we should not be inclined to see in him the painter who merits to take rank immediately after Euphronios in the group of the successors of Andokides and of Epictetos. Phintias seems to us to have more right to that honor. In the best of his works, his drawing has the breadth and certainty of that of Euphronios; but inside his cups, he only inserts one figure in the fashion of Epictetos, and most frequently he places no images on the outside. He has attempted but once to decorate this exterior, and the effort made there was not crowned by a very brilliant success. On one side, he has the colossal figure of Alkyneus to fill the field; but on the other, Hercules and Apollo dispute the tripod, leaving a void space around them, that the painter has tried to conceal by projecting into that space a prolongation of the group of palmations placed beneath the handles. No more than Euthymides, Phintias has not felt the force of attempting those grand compositions with themes taken from a myth, bringing into the scene numerous persons engaged in conflicts, whose chromatic character led Euphronios to try to render by the trace of the eye and the mouth the expression of suffering and anguish of the heart. Neither Euthymides nor Phintias has appeared to have such high ambitions. In the painting that represents Hercules preparing to slay the sleeping Alkyneus (Fig. 263), Phintias has recently

certainly not equaled the unknown painter that treated the same subject in the style of the ancient technics, doubtless when the red figure had already triumphed over its predecessor (Fig. 184).¹ In the painting with black figures Alkyoneus sleeps more profoundly than with Phintias. Sleep has extended his limbs more. To look at the image, one better understands that the giant will be surprised, that he is plunged in torpor which will take from him the means of defending himself. The Hercules of the anonymous vase has more spirit and a prouder bearing than that of Phintias.

Note 1. p. 486. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 281-283.

Considering everything, Phintias would appear to us in the small number of his works, that have come to us as an artist gifted with initiative, who hastens to profit by examples given him by his rivals, that seeks and invents. He commenced by using the incised line to indicate the internal modeling; but he very soon understood that this procedure was not in the spirit of the new technics; soon for that purpose he employed sometimes the line in relief, as to draw the contour of the left arm and right leg of Alkyoneus (Fig. 263), and sometimes as everywhere else light touches of diluted black, which bring out in relief better than an incision made with the point on the red ground of the clay. Phintias varied his subjects. From themes borrowed from the myths, like the murder of Alkyoneus, the dispute about the tripod and the celebration of the bacchanals, he passes to themes of another kind, those suggested to him by the spectacles offered to him at Athens by everyday life, the bargainings before the warerooms of *Ceramikos*, and the accessories that fill the field. His drawing is careful; he has corrections, and in the rendering of certain aspects of the body, he has advanced beyond that of Epictetos and his pupils. What is still lacking to Phintias is to know how to establish, either on the large sides of amphoras and hydrias, or on the exteriors of cups, great compositions in which numerous figures are grouped around a central personage.

6. Olto.

What Phintias did not attempt, Olto tried with success, after the example of Euphronios, in paintings in which more persons take part in the action, than are comprised in the most

complex scenes that Euphronios has reproduced on the vases he has signed.

We have two cups by Olto on which he has placed his signature as painter beside that of the potter Euxitheos; but there is every reason to think that other paintings are also due to the brush of Olto.¹ The epöiseu of Euxitheos is found alone on an amphora and a cratera. Now between the decoration of these two vases and that of the cups on which the two names appear together, there is such an analogy of execution, that one cannot hesitate to recognize there also the hand of Olto. Olto was the ordinary collaborator of the maker Euxitheos. In every way the cups signed by Olto suffice to prove that he had not feared to attack mythological subjects. If he was faithful to the tradition of Epiktetos, and for the interiors of his cups he still adhered to an isolated figure, he decorated the exteriors by figures that he grouped in such numbers as required by the dimensions of the field. On a cup found at Corneto, which is one of the largest that we have, there is a chariot with four horses harnessed to it and as many as thirteen persons. (Fig. 267).¹ On the outside of the cup of Berlin, which is smaller are counted nine.²

Note 1. p. 489. *Annali*. 1875. p. 254-267. *Monumenti*. Vol. X, Pls. 23-24.

Note 2. p. 489. *Furtwängler*. *Beschreibung*. No. 2284.

From the Iliad was taken the theme of the decoration of the last vase. There is seen on one side Ajax and Eneas, each flanked by a companion of his race, who dispute the body of Patroclus, on the other side being Achilles who extends a hand to aged Nestor in presence of Iris, Phoenix and Antilochus. The composition has more amplitude and unity in the cup of Corneto. In the bowl is a young helmeted warrior wrapped in the skin of a panther, who hastens to the enemy. Around him is the inscription:—Euxitheos epöiseu (Fig. 268).

On the exterior is represented the assembly of the gods, who are seated on their thrones and see Dionysos mounting his chariot to leave Olympus (Figs. 269, 270).³ The god has his ordinary followers. Around him are Menads playing with a fawn and a panther. A satyr blows the double flute. Another with body half concealed by the horses of the quadriga, holds on high a lyre

and strikes its strings. The whole gives the impression of a reflective and already knowing art. The handles divide the painting in two parts, between which is a sensible difference in character, without this being carried to too marked a contrast. What dominates in the scene of the assembly of the gods is the expression of a sort of religious meditation; but though these august personages are seated, they are not immovable. They turn their heads aside. Their arms and hands move. Thus they manifest the interest which they take in the words exchanged and in the spectacle presented to their sight. Likewise, if in the preparations for departure made by Dionysos and his followers, all the figures are standing and on the march, the movements there have nothing of the anger, which they affect in certain paintings of bacchanals. In each of the two scenes, the painter has placed that order that we have attempted to define in regard to the paintings of Euphronios, and which we have termed rhythm. The groups formed by the secondary persons are balanced at the right and left of Zeus here, and there of Dionysos, both placed at the centre of the painting; but these groups correspond without symmetry so established being too rigorously exact. Thus in Olympus, the painter has taken care to intersect by a standing and nude figure the series of seated and clothed figures; Ganymede stands before the king of the gods. Around him on each side are three deities, two female and one male; but at one side is seated Hermes between two goddesses, while at the other the figure of Ares closes the series. Likewise two Menads and two satyrs represent the thiasos of Bacchus; but there the artist has even better diversified the arrangement of his figures. Behind the god, satyr and Menad march close together and almost side by side; before him they are separated by the entire length of the horses. The bacchant who has taken the head of the procession is isolated. This taste for variety betrays itself even in the details of less importance. Not content with giving the immortals poses and attributes varying from one figure to another, Clistos has not given to all the same seats. Some of these seats have backs and the others have none. There are solids that resemble simple blocks of wood. On the throne of Hestia is inscribed the name of the painter.

Note 3.p.489. Heydemann assumes that the painter had in view the journey of Dionysos undertaken to bring Hephaistos to Olympus.

so that he would consent to free Hera, whom he had chained to an iron seat (*Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 151-152). This explains the absence of Hera, who is replaced by Hestia in that assembly of the gods, seated opposite Zeus (*Annali*. 1875. p. 262-264). The conjecture is ingenious and offers great probability.

If by the skill and ingenuity shown by these arrangements, this cup did not seem unworthy to be compared to that on which Euphronios painted Hercules driving off the herd of Geryon, the drawing of Oltos also recalls that of the first works of Euphronios. The same conventions in many figures in which are confused the profile and front views; but other figures, those of Canymede and of the satyr flutist are well presented in three quarter or profile views. No foreshortening. The trace of the contour is correct and free; but the brush has not attempted to indicate here the muscles with the same precision and detail as with Euphronios.

Oltos was perhaps of all contemporary painters the one, that best seized the importance and interest of the examples given by Euphronios. What the latter suggested to one that knew how to look and understand, one forms an idea by the cup of Oltos. By the effect that was imposed thus on intelligent imitators, the workshops of Ceramicos saw rapidly rise the average value of the products, which they supplied to their patrons continually increased.

7. Hiero and Macron.

If there were in the first quarter of the 5th century a workshop, which took an active part in the development of Attic painting, it was that of Hiero. He seems to have been one of the most fertile manufacturers then at Athens. Already in 1887 there were known as many as 24 vases, cups and cotyles, that bore his signature, almost always painted or incised on the handle. (Fig. 271). And since then this number has exceeded 30. One of these vases bears the name of the painter Macron, at the same time as that of the proprietor of the workshop, Hiero. By this vase with a double mark it is proper to commence the study of the pieces that issued from the kilns of Hiero. To this unique piece of its kind have been compared the vases on which Hiero is named alone, and by the comparison so made, men have been led to ask themselves if Macron was not the ordinary col-

collaborator of Hiero, the chief of his workshop of painting. In that employment and for the account of Hiero, Macron decorated with his own hand or caused to be decorated by workmen, who labored under his orders, hundreds of vases that offered themselves to the purchaser under the simple guarantee of the shop; but at long intervals the master painter took some new subject or a means of rejuvenating some common theme by a novel arrangement. He then interested himself particularly in his work; he executed it with even more care than he was accustomed to give, and satisfied with the result obtained, he then departed from that anonymity with which he was contented for current works.

Note 1.p.473. Klein. *Metatersignaturen*. p. 162-173. In 1900, Pollak published a cup and a cratera signed by Hiero. What the signature of the last vase has in particular is, that Hiero added to his name that of his father, which is believed to read Medon, though several letters are quite effaced (*Zwei Vasen aus der Werkstatt Hierons*. 1900). In any case the mention made of the patronimic would give reason to regard Hiero as a citizen of Athens like Euthymides, who also indicates on his vases the name of his father. Hartwig has added five vases to Klein's list. Pollak has also brought two. This would then be 31 vases that should now be placed to the credit of Hiero, except errors. It is understood that Macron had held to give himself the honor of the skyphos, which he signed with Hieron. It has been asked if this vase was the only one of Hieron's vases in whose execution Macron had collaborated.¹ However that may be, the decoration here comprises two paintings, two episodes of the history of Helen (Figs. 272, 273).

Note 1.p.475. Furtwängler (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. 2nd series. Text. P. 130). "I believe that Macron was quite certainly the painter of not only this, but of all vases remaining to us designated by the inscription of Hiero, owner of the workshop." Hartwig hesitates, he is struck by resemblances, but also by differences, and he puts this dilemma; all vases signed by Hiero were decorated by Macron, or not a single one was decorated by Macron, except the one that bears the signature of that artist. (*Metaterschalen*, p. 301-303). He even seems inclined to the last solution, so much does the skyphos of the Spinelli collection appear superior to all other vases on which Hiero has placed

his mark.

In her life for whom died so many heroes, the painter has chosen two scenes, one of which is a preface to the other, as an epilogue to that marvellous history, the abduction of Helen by Paris at Sparta, and the retaking of Helen by Menelaus in the last night of Troy.¹ Already this contrast of itself speaks to the imagination, and what completes the interest is the art with which were composed the two scenes. In both, the attitude given to Helen, the presence of Aphrodite at her side and the imperious gesture of the goddess attests that as Homer states in a celebrated episode of the Iliad, Helen is not responsible for her fault, that she had always been a plaything in the hands of the powerful and capricious deity.² As if to render his idea even more apparent in the painting of the seduction, the artist has caused Eros, the winged infant son of Aphrodite, to fly between Paris and Helen, whom his mother sends to trouble the souls of men by the emotion of desire.

Note 1. p. 476. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Pl. 85. 2nd series. Text. p. 125-131.

Note 2. p. 476. Iliad. III. 390-447.

What concurs in giving the impression of acts performed under the power of the will of a deity is the appearance presented by this scene of the departure of the queen (Fig. 272). Nothing here suggests the idea of Violence or even of a clandestine flight. Helen slowly advances with head modestly bent. The ample veil of a married woman is thrown over her peplos, which falls to her feet. It covers her head and shoulders. Paris or rather Alexandros (that is the name that he bears here) is a beautiful young warrior covered by a helmet and clothed in a very short tunic and a long floating chlamys. With the spear in his right hand, he holds Helen with the other hand by the wrist of the right arm, as if to guide her steps. Before Paris and with bared head is Eneas, the companion of his journey to Sparta. Behind Helen are two female figures, Aphrodite, the inspirer of her fault, and Peitho, "persuasion," that has become an accomplice. Aphrodite extends both arms forward over the head of Helen. She appears both to protect the young woman and to push her toward her seducer. As for Peitho, with a careless gesture her raised right hand presents a flower. Her task is finished. Her insidious discourse decided Helen to betray her

vows. Finally in the rear plane is seen standing beneath a handle, a person of less height than the other actors in the scene, showing him to be an infant. This is the only one of all these figures that does not have his name written near him. It is believed that there is recognized a son, that according to certain traditions Helen had by Menelaus, and whom in her flight she abandoned at Sparta. What seems to confirm this interpretation is the pose that the painter has given to that figure. It seems to express astonishment and sorrow.

On the other side is a counterpart of this painting, and there also in an entirely personal fashion has the painter treated a theme, that was early one of the commonplaces of painting on clay (Fig. 273). One would have expected to see Helen flee before the spouse that she had outraged, or at least turn aside her head in confusion. On the contrary with head raised, she looks Menelaus in the face, although he is fully armed and has his hand on the hilt of his sword. It is Menelaus that has the bowed head, appearing hesitating and embarrassed. It is divined that he will not have the courage to strike. This is not alone because he is dazzled by the beauty of Helen, that beauty which the years have not affected. It is also that behind Helen he perceives Aphrodite, whose arms extend to cover her favorite and victim. Aphrodite now brings Helen to Menelaus as she had formerly cast her into the couch of Paris. Helen knows herself in the power of those imperious hands, now helpful. It is she that allows her to face the danger so bravely. Later, Menelaus will be represented as allowing his sword to fall to the ground when he sees Helen again. Macron only presents the result of this meeting.

To the central group the painter has added three other persons. At the right is seated the aged Priam with bald head and sceptre in hand, on a seat covered by rich tapestry. On the left stands another old man with white beard, leaning on a long staff, his white hair enclosed by a little band. This is Chryses, whose daughter Chryseis is here to interfere; but it is believed that it is understood why Macron has chosen these figures for the purpose of filling the field. By his presence alone, Priam informs the spectator that the scene occurs in Troy. As for Chryses, he is that priest of Apollo who came at

the beginning of the Iliad to demand from Agamemnon his daughter Chryseis as servant of the god. According to a tradition attested by the paintings on several vases, to shelter herself from the first violence of the Greeks, Helen took refuge in the temple of Apollo, one of the protecting deities of Troy. This version of the myth that recalls by allusion the place assigned in this painting to the priest and priestess of the god.

From the Cypriote songs appear to have been taken, according to the peculiarities that characterize it here, the theme of the abduction of Helen. As for that of the meeting of Helen and Menelaus, it came from the little Iliad, that very popular poem which inspired the artists who desired to represent the episodes of the Ilio Persis or Destruction of Troy. Did Macron himself not draw from these sources, from which the borrowing had been made by some painter of contemporary history, whose paintings furnished the ceramic painter with the principal elements of the decoration by which he ornamented the goblet? The double composition that we have reproduced shows such ingenuity, that one cannot help asking if we do not have there a reduction of some fresco of a celebrated artist. However that may be, it is indeed to Macron that is to be given the honor of the merits of the execution. That is most careful; it attests a skill and rare certainty of the brush. Doubtless the designer again uses here too freely the facilities given him by archaic conventions, but he lessens the faults by the amplitude of the clothing, which makes less apparent what is arbitrary. Further, one feels in him by many details the desire to free himself from them. Thus one of Eneas' legs, one of Menelaus and one of Helen's in the second painting are represented in three quarter view. The left foot of Chryseis is shown foreshortened in front view.

The heads are shown in profile, and the painter has made no effort to distinguish them from each other by the trace of the profiles; but these have a real nobility. There is noted a certain heaviness of the chin, which seems a common trait of all heads on the vases of Hiero. The only variety comprised in that uniformity of faces is caused by the baldness of Priam, the whiteness of the beard and hair of Chryses. On the whole, the movements are very different and very expressive, at least in the persons of the drama. When Helen follows Paris in the

modest attitude of a new spouse, that the mystery of the nuptial couch both attracts and worries; but when the fortune of war has brought her into the presence of Menelaus, victor and menacing, her bust and her brow rise with an air of defiance. At the same time, with her left arm, as if better to disclose the marvel of her beauty to the angry eyes fixed on her, she removes and casts behind her the wide mantle, which entirely envelops her. This grand gesture completes the expression of the feeling that explains the intrepidity of the young woman. No less expressive is the gesture of Aphrodite repeated from the other painting. To the secondary persons, rather spectators than actors in both scenes, Macron has given very calm poses, sometimes even hieratic, like those of the two women whose fingers hold the present of a flower. This contrast is justified by a reason of taste and has a happy effect.

Paintings like these, where the figures are clothed, scarcely cause the painter to exhibit his anatomical knowledge. The only nudes there are the thighs and legs of Paris and Eneas. Macron has placed less emphasis on them than Euphronios would have done; but he shows himself superior to the latter at least to Euphronios commencing, in the arrangement of the drapery. He contrasts with the broad folds of the mantle the fine and close folds of the undergarment, that here no longer seems to be the long Ionian tunic falling straight, but the peplos of the statues of the Parthenon with the two thicknesses of fabric arranged there, in one part on the chest, where is reversed outside an entire fold of the fabric, and in another part on the abdomen by the aid of a cirt that supports, raised and pendant outside, a part of the bottom of the robe. The image accents this arrangement very clearly in the costume of these women. It indicates even the band that plays the part of a girdle. The floating ends are visible.

This care for elegant precision is nowhere more marked than in the rendering of the hair. For the men, the parallelism of the horizontal locks on the top of the head is represented by light lines, that the brush has multiplied there with rare delicacy. For the women, these are little black rounds, dotted at their centres by a white point, which represents the abundance of the curls by which the brow is enclosed. The hands and feet are in correct drawing; but in the latter the painter has very

frequently neglected to separate the toes, a care always taken by Euphronios.

By their qualities of composition and execution, the vase paintings of Macron appear to merit being placed nearly on the same line as those of the vase that Euphronios signed as potter. Euphronios himself never traced an image in correctness and vigor of line as superior to the figure of the lion at rest, which decorates the shield of Æneas (Fig. 272). With one paw raised, the tongue hanging from the open jaws, the mane elevated, the wild beast gathers himself forward, as if ready to spring on his prey.

It is just the rare value of this work, which disposes us to reject the hypothesis according to which one should credit to Macron the decoration of all or nearly all the vases that bear the mark of Hiero. Doubtless of some of those vases the fabrication presents visible analogies to that of our skyphos, yet without even having its finish and discreet grace;¹ But certain other vases from the workshop of Hiero only offer a distant resemblance to the paintings of Macron, which might be from even the taste of the chief of the industry. It is hardly probable that a workshop which produced so much had only employed a single decorator.

Note 1. p. 480. This is the case for the cup of Munich with 2 Bacchic scenes reproduced by Furtwängler and Reichhold, Pl. 46. If there be a product of the workshop of Hiero on which one would be tempted to find the work of the brush of Macron, this is indeed the one. Same quality of drawing. As few interior details on the nudes. On the figures of women are the same harmony of the drapery and the same arrangement of the peplos, the same doubling of the fabric on the chest and the abdomen; but the folds of this fabric are less close and fine on the cup than on the skyphos, and the rendering of the hair is more sum-

If we are not mistaken, what permits us to affirm that the painter of this beautiful vase was not the only one that worked for the chief of the industry, whose work we are studying, a truly curious fact, which somehow has not been made the subject of controversy aroused between ceramographs on the subject of Macron and the part taken by him in the decoration of the vase that Hiero signed as potter. There has come to us with only the

signature of Hiero another vase, a cup that like the skyphos of the Spinelli collection also represents the abduction of Helen by Paris.² Now both by the manner in which the painter understood the subject and by the entire character of the execution, this second vase singularly differs from that on which is read the name of Macron. The painting of the abduction, unlike that traced by Macron, is the work of an artist nourished by the idea of Homer, knew how to give a clear and vivid expression of it in form, who knew how to recall by the manner in which he groups and poses the actors in the scene, that Helen was not her own master, not even when she left Sparta to follow Paris, or when on the day after the duel between Paris and Menelaus under the walls of Troy, when Aphrodite found her all moved again by having perceived afar her first spouse, but no less rejected her by angry words to the arms of that weak Paris, whom she had seen conquered and humiliated under her own eyes. In the painting of the vase of Berlin, nothing remains of the conception of the poet, of what had made of his Helen an imperishable figure, an ideal image. Here Aphrodite and Eros do not intervene. One is present only at a common the clandestine departure of an adulterous spouse, Paris carries off Helen almost by force, grasping her right wrist. Behind him is his accomplice, doubtless Enean, who has no difficulty in repulsing two women and two old men, who by their gestures and astonishment and indignation show the efforts which they make to retain the fugitive.

The attitudes are correct and the draperies have that easy amplitude almost always given to them by the painters employed by Hiero; but nowhere, neither in the lines of the profiles of the faces, in the arrangement of the hair, or of the fabrics, nor especially in the movements, is the grace that Macron has diffused in his two paintings. There is nothing of that intense expression which he knew how to place in the scene where Helen faces the vengeance of Menelaus. The painter of the cup could scarcely be Macron. He was a less intelligent and less skilful artist.

Whether Hiero did or did not employ other painters than Macron, as we believe that he did, here is what is incontestable; the numerous vases that bear his mark on the handle have certain characteristics, both of the subjects and of the fabrication.

This is doubtless that the chief, as we should say, strong in the success of his enterprise, held his collaborators closely and required them to follow docilely the programme that he traced for them. He had a visible predilection for Bacchic scenes. The vases on which they are represented form nearly a third of his works. He was also pleased by love scenes. There are for him numbers of groups of men and women, men and ephebes, as well as isolated figures of ephebes, playing the lyre or flute, or holding a hare, an erotic emblem; but he was never inspired by the exercises of the palestra. As for the epic myths, he rarely attempted to employ them; one can cite only five or six vases on which he took from them the materials of his painting.

Among those vases of Hiero on which the painter has sought in epic poetry the theme of his decoration, perhaps the most interesting after the skyphos that Macron signed, is another skyphos that belongs to the Louvre. There is seen on one side the abduction of Briseis by Agamemnon, who is accompanied by Talthybos and Diomede (Fig. 274), and on the other side is the embassy to Achilles, whose anger the Greeks desire to appease. (Fig. 275).

The two scenes are well composed. In that which is like the first act of the drama, Agamemnon is the principal person. He has put on his cuirass; he has the sword at his side and holds his spear in his right hand. It is felt that he has decided to employ violence if Achilles refuses to give up the captive, and dares to resist the chief of the army. He draws Briseis to him, whom he encloses in his right arm. One feels that the young girl by her entire pose yields to the compulsion and only departs with regret. Her feet seem to detach themselves from the soil with difficulty. With the left hand, she brings before her face to conceal herself a fold of her mantle, that has already served to cover her brow and cheeks. Talthybos has one hand as if he took the gods to witness the sacred character of his mission, is present at the abduction with the indifferent air of a man fulfilling a professional duty. On the contrary, Diomede takes a lively part in this act of force. Having come there to take her at need, an aid of Agamemnon, he turns to the right as if to see if at the last moment, Achilles or some one of his companions will not attempt to tear Briseis from the s

arms that draw her. One has already left the tent of the hero; another walks on the shore. This is indicated by the olive tree that closes the field. The moment is propitious for a surprise, for a bold stroke.

There is in the painting on the other side of the vase a still wiser and more expressive art. All concurs there to give the impression of the power and persistence of the wrath that has decided Achilles to remain shut within his camp, while the Achaeans perish in thousands under the walls of Troy, and are even driven to their vessels which the flames threaten to devour. Suspended on the wall of his tent, the helmet and sword of the hero announce his abdication, the course which he has taken to remain away from the combats; but what makes particularly understood the depth of the resentment which the conciliatory embassy will try to appease is the figure of Achilles. It forms the centre of the painting. Seated on a low seat without back, Achilles is clothed in a great mantle that entirely envelops him and even conceals his unaccustomed action. Rigid in his sorrow, he does not lift his eyes to Ulysses who faces him. Ulysses stands erect with his hands crossed on the two spears that serve as a support. With bent head, he leans toward Achilles as if better to cause to reach his ears and mind the insinuating and mild words that will dispose him to forgive. As for Ajax and Phoenix, one standing behind Ulysses and the other behind Achilles, they are only there as witnesses of the interview, as guarantees of the execution of the agreement to be concluded. Their pose shows the anxious attention with which they follow the pleading of Ulysses. Leaning on their staves, they incline themselves not to lose a single word of their advocate.

It has been thought that one could ask if this vase was not decorated by Macron, like that on which is represented the abduction of Helen. It is first noted that the two vases have the same form and that the figures have the same height,¹ but all that can be concluded from this is, that both vases were turned by the same workman. For one to believe it right to suppose here also the intervention of Macron in the absence of his signature, it would be necessary that the execution of the painting should offer on both vases such striking resemblances,

that one could avoid recognizing the work of the same hand. Now this is not the case. The analogies mentioned have little importance, and we are far more struck by the differences. On the vase signed by Macron there is a grace in the air of the head, an elegance in the nudes and an ease and lightness in the draperies, that we do not find here. To speak only of the arrangement of the fabrics, the mantle forms on the shoulder of Ulysses a heavy pouch, that is poorly explained.

Note 1. p. 483. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 981.

What can be said is that in the two paintings are the same marks of reflection, the same harmony of the composition; but for these merits, that are very real, why not give Hiero credit? He chose the subjects and verbally or rather by sketches that he distributed, he indicated to the decorators on his wages, how each scene must be treated, how should be grouped and posed the actors who played a part in it.

We find these qualities on all the vases that bear the signature of Hiero. There is the same ingenious and knowing arrangement offered to us by a third skyphos, whose decoration was inspired by Eleusis (Fig. 276). There is seen Triptolemus seated on his chariot drawn by two serpents, ready to undertake across the world those races that fertilize the earth. The Eleusinian hero has the head covered with myrtle, the hair divided into little curled locks that fall on his shoulders. He holds a metal phiale toward Pheropatta (Persiphone), with scenes decorated by raised ornaments. In the other hand he raises a bunch of ears of grain, a symbol of his sacred ministry. Pheropatta pours out for him with the right hand the wine of departure, contained in an oenocoe, that can be regarded as of silver, like the cup from which the hero drinks. In the left, she holds a torch, an attribute that designates her as sovereign of the infernal world. Behind the chariot stands Demeter with her head encircled by a turreted crown. She presents with one hand those heads of grain, that the hierophant with a solemn gesture, toward the end of the ceremony, showed to the mystes that had been admitted to the higher degree of initiation.¹ The torch shown in her other hand recalls the torch with which the initiated were armed in the course of the nocturnal watch of the mysteries. It is again a memory of these ceremonies that must be seen in the richness of the mantle in which the goddess is

draped. This himation is divided in bands separated by large borders and decorated by little figures painted in black, which must either imitate metal overlays or rather embroideries. These are winged genii flying in the air, dolphins swimming in the midst of the waves, birds, chariots drawn at a gallop. By this image one has an idea of the appearance of the sumptuous fabrics charged with ornaments, in which were clothedⁱⁿ the sacred festival the women that represented the goddess, tissues that for their decoration required the best work of the daughters of families attached to the sanctuary, the Ceryces and Eumolpides, just as the virgin arrephores did for the peplos by which was clothed the statue of Athena on the Acropolis.

Note 1.p.486. Philosophoumen.. V, 115. On the plausible explanation that can be given to this exhibition and this gesture, see Paul Foucart. Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mysteres d'Eleusis (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, Vol. 35. 1895).

The scene of the departure of Triptolemus is completed by the figure of a woman, who stands behind Paeropatta and makes with the right hand a gesture of salutation, while with the left hand, a gesture familiar to the elegant Greeks, she raises the falling folds of her talar tunic. She has her name written beside her. This is Eleusis, the heroine who personifies the sacred city. The principal effort of the painter has been devoted to the group of four persons, that could not fail to interest the piety of the Athenians and arouse the curiosity of foreigners, among whom very few had not heard of the famous mysteries that Attica celebrated.

To fill the rest of the field, the artist was at less cost of imagination. He had placed there, some seated like Eumolpos and Poseidon, others standing and on the march like Zeus, Dionysos and Amphitrite, personages not connected in any common action, only one of whom, Eumolpos, played a part in the Eleusinian myth. These five figures must have been borrowed by the painter from the sketch cartoons at the disposal of the workshop; they are less careful than those of Triptolemus and of the goddesses that enclose him. It seems to us useless to reproduce

It is by this sort of filling that the skyphos of London is a little inferior to the two other vases of the same form that

that we have studied; but at least by one of its paintings, if it cannot rival the skyphos decorated by Macron, it places itself beside the cup of the Louvre. Men boast of the fineness of the work on that, by which are indicated the plates of the cuirass of Agamemnon, and also the variety that places in the view of the painting several heads on which the color, that served for painting the hair has been sufficiently diluted to take a blond tone;¹ but the skyphos that glorifies Triptolemos is no less happily enlivened by a polychromy of skilful discretion. The flames of the torches and the stems of the grain are detached in reddish violet on the black ground. As for the heads of grain, those heads to which the rite of the mysteries attached great importance, by some touches of white rise from the layer of dark glaze.²

Note 1.p.488. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 982-983.

Note 2.p.488. See the colored plate of Monumenti (Vol. IX, Pl. 43), that has been reproduced in Rayet-Collignon. Histoire de la ceramique grecque. Pl. IX.

What proves the favor that this skyphos enjoyed on the markets of Italy is not only the fact, that we find them in numbers in the tombs of Etruria and Sampania;³ it is also the trouble taken by the foreign owners of these Attic vessels to preserve them from total destruction for one of these vases damaged by some accident.

Note 3.p.488. Klein cites a fourth skyphos on which were represented Bacchic scenes (Metastarsignaturen, p. 172).

Even in antiquity the skyphos of the Louvre was repaired with care. We have shown on our drawing the heads of the rivets by which are fixed the clasps of bronze, seen to extend inside the cup on the clay.⁴ This vase further met with misfortunes. Pieces were lacking when it was found. In the same drawing we have indicated by a special tint the repainting that a very skilful painter must have made, when to restore the whole, he brought together the fragments which the excavation had furnished.

Note 4.p.488. On the method of these antique repairs, see Pottier. Catalogue, p. 809-810.

What must have contributed much to the success that made the prosperity of the workshop of Hiero is, that there a wise and thoughtful art in the choice of themes and the grouping of the

images which decorate the vases from this workshop. The principle of the composition of the paintings is too constantly the same for one to hesitate in seeing there the application of a rule that the master potter himself drew, the effect of the very wise and refined taste with which he prepared the execution of all the works destined to bear his mark. He no longer allows that sort of carelessness with which for a long time the decorator permitted himself to place near each other on the two sides of a vase on inside and outside of a cup, figures not connected by any bond. This no longer suited Hiero. He desired that all the figures which concurred in decorating the clay of a vase should be connected together by the more or less slender thread of an action continued from one painting to another, as are linked together the successive acts of a drama. If this be not a tale of epic poetry, which supplied the subject of the painting, he desired that at least the figures thus brought together should arouse the same feeling, and leave in the mind of the spectator the same impressions. The decoration of each vase thus had its unity.

This desire manifested for thus attaining unity of theme, we have seen emphasized by the arrangements of the skyphos of Hiero that we have described and represented; we shall find it on another skyphos to which we have so far only made a rapid allusion. That one of the paintings meant represents Helen who fled from Sparta, hurried away by Paris; but here as on the vase decorated by Macron, this painting has for pendant another painting, that is like a preface to the myth of Helen, the announcement and anticipated explanation of the tragic adventures in which the cruel and capricious goddess, Aphrodite, will not cease to involve the woman that would be entirely the slave and favorite.

The prologue of a drama with Macron is the abduction of Helen by Paris. The anonymous painter that on another vase of Hiero has also shown Helen leaving her spouse and her son to follow a seducer, has obeyed the same idea as Macron; but he has gone farther back in that story to that clearing in the forests of Mt. Ida where the three goddesses, Athena, Hera and Aphrodite, dispute the prize of beauty before the shepherd Paris. Paris decides in favor of Aphrodite, and to mark her gratitude, to her

judge, she will make him the lover of the most beautiful of women.
 Note 1.p.489. Furtwängler. Beschreibung. No. 2291.

If when he represented the meeting of Menelaus and Helen, the anonymous painter made no effort to give the myth a personal and original interpretation, on the contrary he has known how to present more charm than did his predecessors, in the scene of the appearance of the goddesses before the young Trojan. (Fig. 277).¹ Paris is indeed a shepherd. His goats leap around the rock on which he is seated; but this is not one of those rustic herdsmen, who knows no instrument other than the rural flute made of a reed gathered in the neighboring marsh.

Note 1.p.490. On a vase of Berlin (2310), Paris is represented as nude, like some herdsmen. He has his dog near him (Annali. 1883. Pl. E). On a vase of Munich with black figures, he has behind him his herd of oxen, led by a dog with tongue out. The spear held in his hand does not suffice to show a son of the king in him (Gerhard. Auserlesene Vasenbilder. Pl. 170).

What aids him in beguiling the long hours of solitude is the lyre, the instrument dear to princes and heroes. He has a fillet around his brow, and the profile is very pure. In the tunic in which he is clothed, the narrow folds of the fabric accentuate the fineness of the cloth. One divines in this person by his costume the entire attitude of the son of a noble race, who to flee the heat of the plain during summer has gone with the herds of the king his father to seek the coolness of the great forests of Ida.

In a short tunic and with the chlamys over his shoulder, Hermes stands before Paris. He is covered by the petasus and his feet are winged. With the gesture of an orator, he explains to the shepherd in what trial, he is made arbiter by the three goddesses that he presents to him. Athena first advances with an elegant helmet on her head, a flower in her right hand, in the left being a light spear that she rests on her shoulder. On the egis is not the Gorgon's head, but all around is a border of serpents. Other serpents are coiled around the wrists of Athena and serve as bracelets. In her severity, the bearing of the goddess does not lack a certain grace. Then comes the queen of Olympus, Hera, clothed in a long talar tunic and draped in a large shawl. Nothing more simple than this clothing;

but the attitude is proud. With a high head, the goddess extends the right arm and places the hand on a grand sceptre surrounded by a palmation. As for Aphrodite, like her rivals, she is clothed in the tunic and himation. She is distinguished from them only by the veil that she wears in the manner of young girls. This veil conceals the hair and ears; it falls on the nape and on the back. When the painters and sculptors of the Hellenistic age represented this scene, they would show Aphrodite uncovering before the young judge to seduce him, all the radiant beauty of her nude flesh; but that is an idea which could not occur to any artist of the first years of the 5th century. To thus unclothe a goddess would have appeared to him and to his public as a lack of taste and perhaps a sacrilege. The painter has taken another method to inform the spectator that Aphrodite possessed an irresistible charm, that would ensure her the victory. He causes four young loves to flow around her. One of them brings a bracelet, another a necklace, the third a flowering branch. The offering of the fourth has disappeared in a fracture.

In the interior of the same cup the artist has placed a conversation between a bearded man and an ephebe that holds a loveret by a cord. These same hares are known to us by the vases, on which they are very frequently represented in subjects of this sort, and were among the number of presents voluntarily made to the wife or child that was loved. Thus by the image in the bowl when the cup was held, one was informed that like other works from the same workshop, this was entirely devoted to celebrating the imperious power of beauty, culpable desires and murders that it produced in the hearts of men.

This method of composition, the same desire to connect together the different parts of the decoration, are found on a cup of the old Van Branteghem collection. Inside is a young woman who seizes the neck and arm of an ephebe, that she appears to wish to lead away (Fig. 278). Although no legend gives the names of these persons, men have not hesitated to recognize Eos carrying off Tithonos. The great wings attached to her shoulders were given to this goddess by the painters on vases where the name is inscribed beside the figure.¹ In the youth of slender form that she draws toward her lips is divined the lover, to whom she will be forced to preserve an eternal youth by

feeding him only on agbrosia. On the outside is a painting also lacking the inscriptions, but which it appears easy to interpret (Fig. 279). From the gestures made by all the persons that succeed each other in the file. These gestures are those of surprise and sorrow. These men of mature age, this old man and that woman are the near relatives of Tithonos, who are astonished and affected by seeing the caprice of Eos take from them the beautiful youth, that she will carry into Ethiopia. One of the men turns toward the young woman who is in despair. He seems to console her, to explain to her that the fate of Tithonos, the favorite of a goddess, is rather worthy of envy.

Note 1. p. 493. Baumelster. Denkmäler. Vol. I, p. 39, 208; II, p. 48, 325.

In the works of Hiero, the count is quickly made of vases on which the traditional myths have furnished the theme of the decoration.¹ The number is much greater of cups on which are represented either the talks of lovers or bacchanals. There is what this workshop usually sent to its correspondents in Etruscan cities; but even on those pieces of current fabrication, Hiero endeavored to use this knowledge of composition, this connection of the different paintings that we have mentioned on the works, that have seemed to us to do this master most honor. Here is a cup found at Vulci and now possessed by the museum of Berlin. Dionysos is standing and before him is a Silenus playing the double flute; in the field is a great vine loaded with grapes. On the outside the painter has represented a dance of Bacchantes around the altar of Dionysos (Fig. 280). The statue of the god is a sort of limit of stone or wood, of the kind of those xoana that passed for images fallen from heaven, and which were the objects of the most devoted homage. The xoanon has a head conformed to the archaic type that the artists of the 5th century still attributed to the god. The hair is long and the tresses are carefully curled, formed by it and falling on the nape of the neck and shoulders. The beard is also long and is cut to a point. Around the head is a crown of ivy. The body is clothed in rich vestments. The long and fine tunic descends to the feet, forming a multitude of parallel folds. A rich himation is placed over it like a shawl. It is decorated around the bottom by an embroidered border, and its surface is sown with little subjects, such as dolphins

black. Behind the shoulders of the god start branches diverging in all directions, to which are attached honeycombs. Before the xnanon is a rectangular altar decorated by a pediment for which a palmatum serves as acroteria. The tympanum is ornamented by a little figure that seems to be overlaid on the ground.

Note 1.p.494. In this order of subjects, to cite again a cup on which are represented the dispute of Ulysses and Dionede, who desired to remove the Palladium, then inside is Theseus in presence of his mother Aethra, ready to seize the paternal sword concealed beneath the stone (Klein, No. 15). Of two vases described by Pollak, one is a cup on which is represented the adventure of Telephes, wounded in Mysia by Achilles in a first attempt to disembark on the coast of Asia, who is healed of that wound at Argos by applying the rust taken from the spear that made the wound, according to the direction of the oracle. (Pollak. Pls. I, II). The other vase is a cantharus on which are represented scenes from the gigantomachy. Dionysos and Poseidon are there the champions of Olympus (Pla.IV,V).

Behind the statue of the god a woman plays the double flute. Opposite him and before the altar is a woman who seems to admire some object placed on the altar. In her entire attitude is something like a transport of faith and prayer. Nine other Bacchantes succeed each other on the circumference of the cup. They dance with orgiastic steps; several of them shake thruses. All have the strangest costumes. It is composed of two fine tunics, one of which falls to the height of the ankles, and the other is shorter and full and tucked up so as to form below the girdle a swelled mass, that is swayed by the excited movement of the dance. Under these two fabrics is distinguished the line of the haunch and leg. Over the shoulders and the torso is thrown a very short diploidion, that does not even descend to the girdle. The hair attracts no less attention. Like the Aphrodite of the painting by Macron, the flute player has sort of embroidered scarf wrapped around the head, and that is ornamented behind by a sort of tassel. The hair of the other Bacchante forms a thick mass around the cheeks and on the nape, from which are detached long and slender ringlets, that seem to have been curled with the iron. We have reproduced here only half the painting, that where the presence of the god and the altar gives the meaning of the scene; but this fragment

suffices to make understood how this painter has placed there diversity in the arrangements and variety and passionate excitement in the movements.¹ This painting represents the celebration of the festival of the Leneans, where the Athenian women adored an idol of Bacchus made of the trunk of a tree, decorated by a mask and rich draperies.²

Note 1. p. 498. As interesting examples of Hiero's cups of this series, there may be cited also those represented in *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 48, and in *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 32. In the first are Menads in combat with ithophallic satyrs, whose violent attacks they repulse as they best can. In the second are more of these contests. Three Menads dance with Enthusiasm, shaking the thyrsus in one hand and serpents in the other. A fourth receives with good grace the advances of a satyr. Among these demons, that play the flute and the lyre, while one of them lifts a panther by the tail, to diversify his painting, the painter has placed a majestic bearded Dionysos, who marches with cantharus in hand beside his mule.

Note 2. p. 498. This was recently demonstrated by A. Frickhaus in an interesting dissertation, in which by the aid of texts and particularly by the paintings on vases, he established the character of these festivals and described their rites (*Lebenswesen*. 72 and *Program der Winkelmannsfeste*).

On others of his works likewise dedicated to the god that pours out drunkenness, there are no more Bacchantes celebrating their mysteries shown by the painter. From the sacred precincts he brings the actors into the city, where at the end of the banquets the comos excited to the same passionate dances, the same infatuation, the same display of sensual ardor. For example, this is the case for a cup of the old Castellani collection. Inside the bowl is a bearded Dionysos running. He holds in one hand a thyrsus and in the other a cornucopia. On the exterior are two paintings separated by a palm-branch placed beneath the handle, each comprising four persons (Fig. 231). In that reproduced by us is seen a flute player between an ephebe crowned with myrtle and an adult man whose left hand holds a rhyton. Then is a half bald old man with his brow enclosed by a band of ivy. All these persons are dancing and their movements are very correct; but there is some monotony in their poses. All extend both arms on which rest the widely displayed hystia-

The nude bodies of the men are detached from the ground of the fabric, while the flutist is dressed in a talar tunic over which is cast a short diploidon to cover the chest. This is the sole difference that the painter has made between the persons of the two sexes in this painting, in which he has made no effort to diversify the attitudes.³

Note 3.p.498. The same four persons reappear in the same attitudes in the painting on the other half of the outside.

One is nearer the reality with the cup on which are represented amorous conversations; but in the paintings where this is the theme, the variety is still less than in those on which are represented either Dionysiac orgies or dances, where on leaving the banquets, the flutists accelerating the measure by degrees, hurry off the guests in their steps in a sort of farandole. To fill the outside of the cup, the painter was not put to the trouble of invention.

Spectators leaning on their staves are present at the exchanges of amorous words. Seducers offer to those whose favors they desire to enjoy, a full purse or a tame hare. This sort of scenes are represented here by half the exterior of the cup of this series (Fig. 282). At the middle of the field a nude ephebe turns toward a young woman to whom he seems to make a declaration, which he accompanies with a great gesture of the right arm. The latter is seated on a stool and appears disposed to receive the request addressed to her. With both hands she tenders her adorer a crown that she will place on his brow.

Behind the young man is a female musician, who is not using her instrument at the moment. With raised arms she shakes her two flutes in the air as in sport. On the right and left of this group and against the palmations placed under the handles are two ephebes crowned with leaves and resting on their staves. The great mantle in which they are draped leaves the torso nude. They prepare to take their part in the pleasures promised by these easy beauties. One of them holds a purse in his hand and the other has a flower.

Note 1.p.498. On another cup by the same master and of the same series is a mirror that the courtesan presents in both hands, as if to invite the bearded man, who approaches her, to look at himself in it. She seems to show a movement of recoil.

Did the painter desire to indicate that the young woman shared the graybeard for being so amorous, rallying him about his age? I do not know; but one would be tempted to give a meaning to this gesture, especially when he notes behind the seat of the one holding the mirror a beautiful ephebe placed there, perhaps as a mocking witness of this scene. (Hartwig. Meisterachalen. Text. Fig. 40). This cup is not signed, but both by the design of the frame enclosing the internal medallion and by many details of the images, it offers too striking resemblance to the cup of London reproduced here, for one to hesitate to attribute it to the workshop of Hiero, as Hartwig did.

In the same surroundings we are led to place the painting of the interior of the bowl (Fig. 283). The ephebe is seated on a seat covered by a cushion, its feet terminating in lion's paws. He plays the double flute. Before him is a female dancer, whose form appears beneath the transparent tissue, with clothing similar to that worn by all the women of Hieron. One arm is extended and the other is raised over the head, and she beats the castanets which thus join with the flute to regulate her steps. The body rests on the right foot placed on the ground. The left leg is bent and has thrown up the drapery, with a bold movement throwing the foot to the rear.

By more than one example, has been seen the character of the scenes that Hiero loved to represent in the decoration of the cups, which he sent in full ships to his patrons overseas. In these conditions, he would not have to seek very far for pretexts to show the body of a woman without those veils in which musicians and courtesans half wrapped themselves only better to arouse desire, in the course of the feast and in the foolish dances in which it ended. As for the Bacchanals, the comos or the amorous dialogues, these occasions offered themselves for painting this nudity. Yet Hiero abstained from profiting by those opportunities. To our surprise, we do not find in all that has remained to us of his work a single one of those images of female nudity, that we already found in Euphronios (Fig. 239), and which will reappear even more numerous still in Douris and Brygos. The women in his paintings are always clothed from head to feet. He sometimes scarcely indicates the lines of the body under the transparent and light tissue of the tunic.

(Figs. 273, 280, 283).

This singular course has already been noted but without being explained. It cannot be attributed to a feeling of reserve and of modesty. Ithyphallic satyrs abound in the paintings of Hieron. The desired explanation it will perhaps not be necessary to seek far for. Some one in that workshop attempted to obtain from drapery effects that had not yet been secured by any contemporary ceramists. This is particularly proved by the beautiful vase, which was decorated for Hiero by the painter Macron. (Figs. 272, 273). In the peplos and in the mantle, the arrangement of the fabrics have there both an amplitude and an elegance that we have found neither with Euphronios nor even with Oltos, who is much more advanced in that respect (Figs. 269, 270). This innovation was appreciated. The decorators attached to that workshop then had instructions to remain faithful to the procedures in fabrication, which had contributed to the success of the products of the workshop. Some applied them with a skill that they had profited well by the examples of Macron. That is observed in the paintings of the mission of Triptolemos (Fig. 276), of the judgment of Paris (Fig. 277), of the abduction of Tithonios (Fig. 278), and particularly of the worship rendered to the xnanon of Bacchus (Fig. 280). In the last painting the brush has shown itself very skilful in making the puffed fabrics obey the movements of the body. This art of disposing and arranging the waves and folds of the fabric for the pleasure of the eye, Hiero also cared for in the interpretation of the masculine costume. See Paris and Eneas on the vase signed by Macron (Fig. 272). In the arrangement of their tunics with light folds and in that of their wide mantles, there is the same discreet coquetry as in the costume of the women. The same care in rendering pieces of armor, helmets, shields and the emblems that ornament them (Fig. 273). In the same spirit that the brush has lavished ornaments on the himation of the Dionysos of the Bacchanals (Fig. 280).

This preoccupation with the aspect of the entirety and the details of the costume has certainly contributed to divert the master Hiero from a careful study of the nude, and the staff of painters that he had under his orders. It caused him to reject the representation of female nudity, and this must be most

inclined him only to treat with a certain indifference virile nudity. He could not give a large place to this nudity in his paintings. All compelled him to it, the constant tradition of his art and especially even the customs of the people for whom he worked. Entire nudity was the rule for the young men in the gymnasium, and the habit of it was so well fixed, that the eyes of the entire assembled nation found it there in the athletes in the great games of Greece. Hiero has thus made his men nude in many of his paintings; but its academics are only correct. (Figs. 278, 281). If the painter there avoided certain faults in drawing that we found in Euphronios, if he usually took care to unite in the same figure the profile and front views, he does not place in the rendering of the flesh that firm accent, which the brush of Euphronios laid there with so much decision. His figures are a little empty. He traces their contours with sure accuracy; but inside these outlines, he does not make felt the appearance under the skin of the principal pieces of the bony framework, neither the projection of the muscular cords attached to those parts, nor the play of the joints. Thus he makes but a weak use of this diluted black, which several of his rivals so freely employed to model the trunk and members. If he uses it, this is particularly to give to the hair of certain ephebes and of women a reduced tone tending to blond.

As there has caused to be noted, the examples of Euphronios do not appear to have had a great influence on Hiero.¹ All that he seems to have borrowed from the contemporary master, for some secondary parts of the image was the idea of a new mode of presentation. Thus when like Euphronios, he attempted to show a front view foreshortened, the feet and legs of certain persons; but this is there only a detail. Further, the two artists do not have the same temperament. Hiero has no taste for tragic subjects, for the mortal combats that give reason for violent movements, where the muscles are strained and twisted with the effort, and where deformation of the features also makes more apparent the expression, that is produced by all the convulsed flesh. There is found with Hiero neither lips that open, as for the Anteus of Euphronios, to allow the passage of panting breath, nor the eye reversed in the swoon of strangulation. He does not seek to animate the faces. For his

nothing but the gesture is expressive. In spite of the vivacity of the combat, there is coldness in the two paintings that Hiero has made of the myth of the gigantomachy.¹

Note 1.p.501. Hartwig. *Meisterschaleu*. Text. p.303-306.

Note 1.p.502. Pollak. *Zwei Vasen*. Pls. IV, V.

What Hiero loved to represent, like Oltos with whom he has real affinities, are long series of figures that march in procession, or when they are agitated, seem to do so to divert themselves, docile to the rhythm of music. He appeared to be moderately interested in the nude, while he took pleasure in rendering the grace and majesty of drapery. He does not disrobe the woman. As for the body of the man, he thinks nothing of showing it occupied in those exercises of the palestra in which were displayed in beauty all the suppleness and the vigor of the torso and its members. In all his work there is neither inside nor outside of his cups, a single one of the scenes which all other ceramic painters of the time loved to derive from the spectacles offered to them by the labors of the gymnasium and the public games of the city.

In brief, Hiero seems to have been a very intelligent chief of industry, who knew how to ensure for himself a fruitful vogue by making himself the recognized painter of elegant life. Originality was lacking to him; but he knew how to manage the assistance of skilful decorators. Those under his direction executed paintings, that recommended themselves by an ingenious and clear composition, by the connection that the master knew how to place between the different scenes, that he divided between the various fields of his vase. Under these conditions, what he offered most willingly to his fellow citizens and to the rich and voluptuous Etruscans, were paintings in which everything spoke to them of the pleasures of the table and the joys of love.

Hiero appears to have lived and labored a long time. In the layer of rubbish produced by the conflagrations on the Acropolis, have been gathered several handles of cups on which his name is engraved.² On the other hand, on many vases signed by him, the fabrication is very free. Here is a fact that merits attention. On two vases of Hiero, one of which is the most beautiful on which he has placed his signature, Hiero introduced

figures of child loves flying in space, an image unknown to archaic painting (Figs. 272, 277). Now the ceramists of Athens lavished this image of Eros on elegant vases with gilding, which is agreed to regard as little earlier or later than the year 500. When there is seen to appear in the work of Hiero a type, which soon afterwards will be much in fashion, it may be concluded that the activity of his workshop was prolonged very late, even to the middle of the century. However the eye is not yet drawn freely in profile on any vase of Hiero. This master still adheres to a convention, from which Douris and Ergoteles knew how to free themselves. There is also reason to note that Hiero does not employ the sigma with four branches either in his signature or in his legends.

Note 2.p.502. Studniczka. Jahrb. 1887. p.164. See B. Gräf. (Jahrb. 1893. Arch. Anz. p.18). He mentions Hiero among the painters of the severe style, whose works have left traces in the rubbish created by the conflagration.

One cannot pass to the credit of Hiero any progress of art, nor any monument of the first order; but he has sustained with persistent success the high reputation of Athenian fabrication. By the skill with which he has flattered the tastes of his public, he has perhaps enlarged the circle of that foreign patronage, which made the fortune of Attic ceramists.

8. Sosias and Peithinos.

A cup that came from Vulci and is possessed by the museum of Berlin makes known the name of the chief of a workshop, Sosias, who judging by the talent of the painters employed must have been one of the principal competitors of Hiero after the second Median war.¹ There is also in that gallery a little circular plate that bears the same signature, Sosias epoiesen, traced with a brush, and that in the single figure which decorates it, shows the same qualities of fabrication.²

Note 1.p.503. Furtwängler. Beschreibung, etc. No. 2273. The cup of Sosias was published incorrectly after 1830 in Vol. I of Monumenti. A much better reproduction of it was given in Antike Denkmäler. Vol. I, Pls. 9-10; but a drawing still more faithful was furnished by Reichhold in Pl. 123 of Griechische Vasenmalerei.

Note 2.p.503. Beschreibung. No. 2315.

The painting in the bowl of the cup is a most interesting picture, to which it is proper to accord very particular attention, and to reserve a place of honor in this history of Athenian ceramics. It marks there a date, and if as often done by our potters and also sometimes our artisans, the Greek potters never thought to indicate beside their signatures the number of the year when they finished and placed on sale a certain vase.

According to the legends painted on the field, this painting represents Achilles occupied in dressing the wound that a Trojan arrow made in the left arm of Patroclus (Fig. 284). There is nowhere mention in the *Iliad* of a wound received by Patroclus and dressed by Achilles; but in the painting that ornaments the outside of the cup, it is thought is recognized the image of that assembly of the gods, that council held in Olympus, which Homer makes a scene at the beginning of the fourth canto of his poem. Now in this same canto, we see Menelaus wounded by the arrow of Pandaros and dressed by Machaon.¹ If it be admitted, that for the more important of the paintings that decorate his cup, Sosias was inspired by that fourth canto, can it not be thought that this is the memorial of another of the episodes of the same rhapsody, which suggested the idea of the group which is represented in the interior of the cup? Only in view of the sale, he took the liberty of changing the names of the heroes of the adventure.² Patrocles and Achilles had more prestige than Menelaus and Machaon. This art of medicine that Achilles had learned from the master of his youth, the Centaur Chiron;³ could Achilles employ it better than in relieving the suffering of the friend so dear to him? Perhaps it is more simple to explain thus this painting than to resort to the hypothesis of a lost tale of those Cypriote songs, in which were related the first combats offered by the Greeks under the walls of Troy.

Note 1.p.504. *Iliad*. IV. 193-220.

Note 2.p.504. The conjecture is by Hauser in the commentary given by him on Pl. 123 of *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, a commentary from which we also borrow elsewhere.

Note 3.p.504. *Iliad*. XI. 831.

In this painting, Patroclus is represented as the older of the two friends. He has a short black beard, while Achilles is

beardless. The indication of this difference in age shows that if the poet had no copy of the Iliad open on his table, yet the Homeric poetry was familiar to him.⁴

Note A.p.504. Iliad. XI. 785. This is what Plato likewise understood. (Banquet., p. 180, A).

The two figures that compose this painting are close together, on a field whose narrowness imposes on them attitudes and crossing of members, that the eyes of the spectator have some difficulty in finding at the first moment; but as soon as one examines the group a little more closely, all is found in its place, and in spite of the apparent complication of the lines, the movements are all very simple and very correct there. No one cannot explain by even the data of the theme, by the position that must be taken and the success of the bandaging, the patient and his physician. At most will be found at one or two points some inaccuracies, especially where the brush wished to dare too much.

With these slight defects, the drawing of the entire image is better than correct. It has freedom and boldness. It is even singularly expressive, which was always found with Euphronios. The painter has known how by very simple means to render apparent in the figure of Patrocles the pain that he felt, his wound and the operation of dressing it. Patroclus turns his head away so as not to see the wound in his arm. His mouth is open to allow his groans to escape; but to arrest their passage the hero shuts his teeth. Under the pain of the suffering, all the lines of his face are contracted. A horizontal wrinkle in the flesh continues the movement of that mouth that elongates. The same spasm presses the lower jaw against the upper jaw and compresses the bottom. This is indicated by a fold more marked, whose curve descends from the outer edge of the eye to the junction of the lips. The internal anguish is betrayed even in the upper part of the face. A wrinkle that is not the effect of age extends across the entire forehead.

The figure of Achilles is no less well studied and treated than that of Patrocles. Preoccupied in causing a friend to suffer as little as possible, Achilles does not speak. He has his lips shut close. It would be said that he holds his breath, that he scarcely dares to breathe, till he has put in order

everything; but especially his hands by their action express the anxious and tender attention with which he performs his task. His right hand pulls the end of the band coiled around the arm of Patroclus. ~~It~~ is occupied in fitting it well, while his left hand carefully holds the other end of the bandage and is ready to wind it around the injured member. The wounded one himself, who feels his pain lessened by the touch of this light and helpful hand, aids in the work to hasten it. With the thumb of the right hand, Patroclus holds in place on the upper arm the part of the bandage already placed on the wound.

Here everything in the expression of the faces, in the arrangement of these arms and hands, is marvellously calculated to give the impression of something seen. One would be tempted to believe that the painter found himself the witness of a scene of this kind, either after a battle or a combat, or at least that before taking his brush, he caused the group to be posed by his comrades of the workshop. All details of the image concur in producing the image desired. The arrow that tore the skin lies there on the ground, and its point seems bent by the blow that it gave or by the effort of pulling it out of the flesh. Patroclus has not had time to remove his cuirass; but it has been unbuckled on the shoulder so as to free the wounded arm. The warrior has on his head only the cap worn under the helmet to prevent contact of the metal with his head; thus he is more at ease. As for Achilles, he has hastened at the first news of the accident. He is still in his cuirass and has the helmet on his head. Nothing is more natural than his attitude. His left knee rests on the ground and the leg is bent backward to guarantee the balance of the body by the toes of the foot, flattened and strongly pressing on the earth. The right knee is raised and seems to support the arm of Patroclus, while Achilles rests his elbow on his firmly held thigh, better to ensure the use of his right arm. It truly appears that the artist must have had recourse to the living model, to arrange and harmonize all these movements. There is found for mention but one fault in drawing in the entire composition. This is in the rendering of the right leg of Patroclus bent twice. The knee is bent too far outward, too far from the vertical torso. Its joint is indeed in an insufficient way, and there is indecision

in the lines by which the brush would represent the lower part of the member folded against the thigh, which thus serves as ground. The painter has wished in attempting here a foreshortening which he has visibly been embarrassed. Still he has made proof of the skill in the presentation of a part of this member itself. He has shown the top of the foot in front view of its entire length from the ankle to the toes.

Where the skill of the painter is manifested even better than in all these arrangements is in the drawing of the eye. We have seen so far all ceramic painters, both those of the red and of the black figure, persist in inserting in a profile an eye uniformly open in its entire length, just as it appears in a head in front view. Only once have we found a profile in which the eye is fully open, where the iris appears to be pushed against the apex of this angle. This single example of true perspective was found on a cup from the workshop of Euphronios (Fig. 251), and besides even there the image yet leaves something to be desired. Elsewhere, what we could state in even the images where the art seemed to be advanced, was a vague tendency to approach correct drawing;¹ but how difficult it is to renounce habits once adopted! Neither in the most beautiful works of the painter Douris, nor in those of the painters who worked for the potter Erygos do we find a head, on which in the representation of the eye is a trace of antique convention so well effaced as on both heads of the Achilles and Patroclus of Sosias, or rather of the anonymous painter that executed this painting for him.¹

Note 1.p.507. The experiments of the brush that tried to correct this error are followed in a way year by year in the comparative table borrowed from Pottier (Fig. 201).

Note 1.p.508. Doubtless struck by what is exceptional here, Reichhold desired to furnish with his pencil always so scrupulous and accurate, had not exaggerated the correction of the drawing of the eye. Thus he has placed the photograph of the bottom of the cup in the photograph in which his drawing appears. If we have reproduced this drawing rather than the photograph, this is because the latter is not so clear as the drawing, as always occurs in such a case. It reproduces with pitiless fidelity by the scratches and stains on the clay, thus it confuses all lines.

On the contrary, in the painting developed on the entire exterior of the cup, the painter adhered to the ancient mode of presentation for the drawing of the eye (Fig. 285). The eye is seen in front view in all these profiles. The transparent cornea is at the middle or nearly at the middle of the almond circumscribed by the eyelids. This is not all that is surprising in this painting, and there seems to betray a different hand from the one to whom is due the painting in the bowl. If the poses are easy, especially of the seated persons, there is in the rendering of the drapery a very marked stamp of archaism. The folds all fall along the body and form the borders of the animation and exhibit zigzags of monotonous regularity. At their lower extremity these shawls terminate in narrow and dry points.

In its entirety, the composition appears slightly encountered. The divine personages are crowded against each other and seem placed by chance. In one half of the painting it has suffered much.² The upper part of the bodies of the two most important personages, Hera and Zeus, has disappeared. Other figures have only the head or legs. In the part of the decoration best preserved and that we alone reproduce, there are seen first three Horai from left to right. The first holds low a vine branch. The second raises in the air a branch loaded by pomegranates and the third presents a phiale. Then come Hestia and Amphitrite seated beside each other. Both have phiales in their hands. Behind this group is Hermes carrying a sheep; he holds the ram against his breast and not on his shoulders as usual. Space is lacking to insert the animal between the neck of the god and the edge of the cup. The one following Hermes is a personage in whom at first was thought to be recognized Apollo by the lyre, one side of which is held in the left hand; but near her head is written the name of Artemis. It is difficult not to believe here in a mistake of the painter of the letters. The lyre is not the attribute of Artemis, and besides in all the other figures designated as goddesses by their legends, the rounds of the breasts are accented beneath the transparent drapery. Nothing is similar here; no indication of sex. To complete this series are two figures that painters are accustomed to bring together, Hercules and Athena. Hercules has the club and the lion's skin. Athena wears neither the helmet nor the aegis. See

is recognized only by her spear and the affectionate pose of her arm, that she passes around the waist of her protege. Finally, under the handle is the bust of a woman with raised hand. As supposed, it is perhaps Selena, the moon that we see appear also, as if mixed in the life of the immortals, on a pediment of the Parthenon.

Note 2.p.508. Gerhard has presented in his *Trinkschalen* a restoration of the whole of the painting, in which a very large part is given to conjecture. It is found reduced in *Gesam. Akad. Abh. Pl. XV.*

From the day when this cup was first studied, it has sometimes been admitted that this painting on the exterior represented the entrance of Hercules into Olympus, at the moment when after the funeral pile of Oeta, he was introduced there by his protectress Athena.¹ The theme is well known, but it seems to us very doubtful that the painter had this thought. As frequently done, when the ceramists treat this subject, they arrange to place Hercules by himself. They place him before the throne of Zeus, escorted by the goddess, who aided him in all his labors and perils, and Zeus extends to his son the cup into which has been poured the beverage that confers immortality.² All around are gods and goddesses, witnesses of this solemn admission to the honors of Olympus, they being designated by their names or attributes, and seem to wish a welcome to the new guest of the celestial dwellings. Sometimes the painter has given only a sort of abridgement of the scene. Thus on an amphora is seen Hercules between a Nike who extends a palm to him and Zeus armed with the thunderbolt;³ but Hercules is always brought to Zeus, who can alone confer on him the privilege of seating himself among the gods.

Note 1.p.510. This idea did not occur to the mind of the first editor, C. Lenormant. (*Annali.* 1830. p.232-238). He saw there only a reunion of the cosmic deities. Gerhard says that this painting represents the entrance of Athena and Hercules into the circle of the twelve gods (*Herakles und Athene einzug, etc.*) which is not very clear. (*Gesam. akad. Abth. Vol. I, t.351, concerning Pl. XV*). In publishing a beautiful drawing of the two parts of the cup in *Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. I, Pls. 9-10, Preller does not define the subject of the exterior; but Welcker

applied himself to demonstrate that the true subject of the painting was the introduction of Hercules into Olympus (Alte Denkmäler, III, p. 413-427). He was followed by Furtwängler in his catalogue (Beschreibung, No. 2278).

Note 2.p.510. British Museum Catalogue. Vol. III, 2, 282.

Here is nothing similar. Nothing in this painting calls attention to Hercules, who is confused with the crowd of deities. Between Zeus and him are a dozen interposed personages. This is because Hercules long since took a seat in Olympus. He is there as if at home, if we may be allowed the expression. At most it can be stated that there is a discreet allusion to the reception which Hercules received in the palace of his father, a recalling of the ceremony. We have found this allusion in the exclamation that the painter causes the hero to make, the two words "dear Zeus" are painted on the clay before the head of Hercules. It seems thus that the memory of the myth of the apotheosis of Hercules was present to the mind of the artist, when he undertook to decorate the outside of the cup entrusted to him by Sosias. He seems to have hesitated between two themes; but that for which he decided appears to us to have been rather a different theme, on which was also often exercised the brushes of the ceramists. They took a visible pleasure in representing this august assembly of immortals described by Homer, when he interrupts the story of the battles fought under the walls of Troy to cause his hearers to be present at the deliberations of the gods, who under the presidency of Zeus discuss in Olympus the issue that their sovereign must give to the combats of ephemeral mortals. This was the occasion for the painter to represent in the same frame all the divinities dear to the Greek imagination, to attempt to define each one by their attitudes and attributes with sufficient clearness, that the spectator could recognize and name them at first sight.

Note 1.p.511. It appears that some of this hesitation passed into the mind of Hauser, to judge of him by the interesting commentary on the cup of Sosias given by him. He admits that the painting on the outside represents the introduction of Hercules into Olympus, and at the same time says that the painter must have thought of the assembly of the gods described in the 4th canto of the Iliad, and that by this memory is explained

the choice of the subject represented inside the bowl.

Whatever interpretation is given to this painting, one must be struck by the peculiarities that distinguish the painting inside the cup. All differs from the interior to ^{the} exterior, composition as in execution. Within the bowl the painter has made a very skilful use of the field offered to his brush. He has enclosed two figures, whose poses he has so calculated that no void separates them, and that all space at command is filled. There is no less skill and certainty in the flexure of all these members, that intermingle to concur in the work of relief and healing.

On the contrary, for the outside painting the painter seems to have traced no plan and to have followed no order. He has ranged them in a file in the band to be decorated, the images of the Olympian deities, such as they were presented to him by the models that were passed from hand to hand in the workshops of ceramicos. This explains both the errors and the embarrassment that we experience in determining the real subject of the painting. Further in the two paintings there are not the same habits and procedures in drawing. One cannot insist too strongly that in the two parts, the eye is not rendered in the same manner. Likewise also in the figure of Patroclus, whose bust is shown in front view, the painter has tried to present the lower members in connection with the torso; but in the assembly of the gods, here is Hermes, whose chest presents itself to the eyes in its entire breadth; then there are both legs in profile. Finally, in this painting the drawing of the hands and feet is less careful than for Achilles and Patroclus.

These differences being given, one could almost say these contrasts, it has been believed it could be admitted, that the two paintings were not by the same hand; but a refined connoisseur has recently declared this hypothesis to be unacceptable.¹ I do not see why one should refuse to admit, that sometimes this division was imposed on the chief of the workshop. A painter might fall ill or die when he had done only half the work. For a question of salary, he might quarrel with the chief before having completed his entire task, and thus compel the latter to seek another collaborator to finish the decoration of the vase. Beside ancient industry also knew strikes. Maspero

has told the story of a strike, that broke out in the workyards of Thebes under the Ramessides.

Note 1. p. 512. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*. p. 245. On the contrary, duc de Luynes in 1830 was inclined to believe, that there was there the work of two different hands (*Annali*. Vol. III, p. 243), and De Witte in 1878 was still of the same opinion (*Gazette Arch.* IV, p. 143).

Whatever reason that one can imagine to explain this anomaly, we incline for our own part to think that two different artists lent their aid to Sosias for the execution of the paintings on the cup that he signed. As for divining the names of these artists, this can only be a matter of more or less specious. In reference to the group of Achilles and of Patroclus, Euphronios has been mentioned.² What would give some probability to that conjecture is a fact that we have already mentioned. The only vase that previously offered us a nearly correct drawing of the eye seen in profile was a cup from the workshop of Euphronios. Also in the tracing of these two figures there is a decision that the brush and also a tendency to seek foreshortenings, that recall the style of Euphronios. However that may be, to this painter of the group of Achilles and Patroclus it is proper to attribute also the image that decorates the only other work that has preserved to us the signature of Sosias. (Fig. 286). This is a very small circular plate supported by a foot. There is seen a nude satyr with a long tail and horse's ears, crouching and represented in front view with both hands resting on the knees. The head is turned to the right and the eyes looking upward, he seems to view something in the air, or rather a woman standing beside him.

Note 2. p. 512. Hauser, at the end of his explanation of Pl. 123 of *Griechische Vasenmalerei*.

What is particularly curious in this figure is the drawing of the legs, the lower part of which below the knee is projected in profile on the fleshy masses of the thighs. Thus is presented in the great cup the right leg of Patroclus; but here the modeling has more precision than the same part of the body of Patroclus. The calf with its roundness rises from the ground, and from the knee to ankle a very firm line accents the direction and projection of the tibia. The feet are without indications of details and are very correctly shown in front view. The

There are in all parts nearly the same mode of repetition with slight variations, a motive that we have not yet found elsewhere on vases that we have reproduced. Admitting that the two vases left the same workshop, what we are asked to suppose here, and what such a close resemblance almost permits us to affirm. The painter of the satyr is no other than that of Patroclus and Achilles, whether he is called Euphronios or was satisfied to ignore his name.

If in regard to the group of Achilles and Patroclus, some have thought it possible to think of Euphronios, another name has been pronounced with all reserves on the subject of the painting of the outside of the cup of the potter Sosias. There has been believed to be a certain resemblance between this painting and that of the exterior of another cup signed by the painter Peithinos, on which is only this signature without any indication of the name of the manufacturer.¹

Note 1. p. 514. Hartwig. *Metastarchalen*. Pls. 24-25, p. 231-239.

On the inside of this cup are two closely connected figures, as on the cup of Sosias. Here is the contest of Thetis and of Peleus, where the successive metamorphoses of the goddess are recalled as usual by the presence of the serpent coiled around the arms of the contestants and of the lion that leaps at their sides (Fig. 287).

On the exterior, the composition is divided in two series by the handles. For these is the skin of the lion at one side and a dog at the other. In the two fields thus separated, at one side are three pairs of young men and young women; at the other are four pairs of adult men or of ephebes or youths. At the end of the last compartment is an isolated person, a young man that leans on his staff with head bowed and eyes cast down, seeming plunged in deep thought. Have we in this solitary a repulsed lover, who envies the happiness enjoyed by his more favored companions? Or are we present at the meditation of a philosopher, who as will be done a century later by the guests of the Banquet of Plato, prepares beautiful discourses on love? Love is represented here under two different forms; it is known what Greek customs allowed, what a systematic alteration of instinct they tolerated or even approved. The artist has emphasized here these perversions of a natural instinct in a curious fashion;

passion seems most vivid in the painting where the woman is absent. There the lovers are close together and lips seek lips. In the other part of the painting the lovers are at a respectful distance, he with his eyes fixed on his companion, who offers him a flower with a graceful gesture (Fig. 288). On the field are scattered numerous inscriptions that completely define the erotic character of the painting, near the young woman is "she is beautiful;" near the young man is kalos and the admiring exclamation "yes the child is beautiful."

Both paintings of this vase, in the bowl and outside, have a very peculiar character. What is first needed is the ingenious care of the details, a care that we find again many centuries later, in the paintings of Van Eyck and of Ghirlandajo. This preoccupation makes itself felt everywhere. By tress after tress or by curl after curl is the hair represented. The band enclosing the brow of Thetis is decorated by a fret. Against each woman's cheek on the exterior is an ear pendant so clearly drawn, that in spite of its smallness the jewel might be made after it. The folds of the under garment are of extreme fineness and little crosses are scattered all over the fabric. As for the sandals with which the men are shod, their straps are indicated separately, and the knots are distinguished which fasten them about the ankles. This affectation of elegance is again found in the drawing of the feet, elongated beyond measure, and in that of the hands, whose slender fingers are curved backward at their ends. One is surprised to see the almost pattern-like appearance that the painter has given to the hands of Thetis and of Peleus grasping each other. Everywhere else is felt a sort of affectation, also marked in a very complex arrangement of the drapery. There it is not in the freedom of the fall of the fabric, that the painter has sought the effect which he desired to obtain. He has demanded it from regular symmetry of the repeated zigzags described by the borders of theimation, and from the dovetail points in which the tunics terminate at the bottom. By this character of their costume the female figures of Peithinos recall the Kores of the Acropolis of Athens, and what renders the resemblance more striking is, that two of them make the gesture familiar to those statues; entirely occupied as she may be in struggling against Peleus,

Thetis lifts with the left hand a part of her tunic, and one of the women on the exterior does the same with the right hand.

At first sight that is cast on the paintings of Peithinos, one believes himself in presence of an archaic work. The gestures of the persons, the arrangement of the fabric, the care for the adjustment, all concurs in giving that impression; but this is an archaism out of season, an archaism more desired than sincere, that one is easily convinced by studying the quality of the drawing. This does not indicate it by the innovations and boldnesses of which Euphronios has given an example. He has not attempted foreshortenings; but the entire contours have a perfect accuracy, either when in places the body appears uncovered, or even where it is covered by the dress, it can be followed in its entire development by the transparency arbitrarily given to the fabric. If the light lines that Peithinos has traced on the thighs and legs of the ephebes seem to have been with some negligence, firmer lines accent with rare certainty the roundness of a shoulder, the projection of the pectoral muscles, and the cross on a back that indicates the place of the backbone. Where the mastery of the designer is still better marked is on the natural and varied poses. The there is the same in the seven groups that divide the field; but there is not one of these groups in which the attitude of the two persons thus brought together by love and desire is the exact repetition of that of the adjoining group. Each of these attitudes represent one of the shades by which can be colored the feeling that it is desired to express. Peithinos then appears to us in the sole work by which one can judge him, as an ingenious and inventive mind, as an artist that knew how to draw like any of his contemporaries. If he has allowed his execution to retain something of the appearance that characterizes that of the preceding age, this is not from inexperience. By aging thus the features of his painting, he has perhaps believed that he gave it more charm and grace.

Peithinos does not seem to have suffered the influence of Euphronios. By his entire style, he rather makes one think of Oltos and of Macron. In any case, we believe that one would do badly to ask if he were not the author of the painting which decorates the exterior of the cup signed by the potter Sosias.

If the drapery is treated in nearly the same fashion in both paintings, we do not find with Sosias that precious execution even to minutia, which distinguishes the work of Peithinos. The painter of Sosias does not give so much length to the feet, and does not fit them with sandals; as for the fingers of the hand he does not stretch them in the same manner or bend back the ends. To feel the difference in the two modes, it suffices to compare the panther's skin, that for Peithinos extends beneath one of the handles (Fig. 289) with that which for Sosias is cast as a covering over five of the seats on which are enthroned the deities (Fig. 290). Peithinos has tried to render everything, even in this accessory, the contractions of the muscles of the face, the thick tufts of the mane, the spots on the skin, the strength of the claws. With Sosias all this is but vaguely indicated. Finally, there is in the decoration of the vase of Peithinos an art of composition vainly sought in the confused and overloaded painting of the assembly of the gods. If one does not wish to allow Peithinos to figure in the history of ceramic painting only by reason of the single cup on which he has inscribed his name, perhaps it would be a better basis for increasing his work to assign to him another cup, unfortunately very incomplete, on which are represented the same pairs of ephebes and youths. There is read the same name of kalos Athenedotos as on the signed cup.¹ In spite of certain differences, the analogies in arrangement and style are sufficiently apparent for this attribution not to lack probability.

Note 1.p.517. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*. p. 242-243.

Note 1.p.518. The same. *Pl.* XXVI, p. 251-260.

Note 2.p.518. The attribution to Peithinos of the cup reproduced on *Pl.* 22 of Hartwig appears to me less justified.

9. Smicros.

To complete this enumeration, it remains to mention a last painter Smicros, whose work and name were revealed only a few years since, when there was described, indicated and reproduced a stamnos of the museum of Brussels, on which was read above the principal painting that decorated it, the signature Smicros egrapsen.¹ of the two paintings that decorate the vase, one represents the preparation for a banquet, and the other is the banquet itself.² From the subject itself, the latter is the

most important. There the painter has placed with his signature most of the persons and inscriptions.

Note 1.p.519. C. Gaspar. Le peintre ceramist Smicros, with regard to an unpublished vase of the museum of Brussels (monuments Piot, Vol. IX, p. 15-41, Pls. II-III).

Note 2.p.519. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 375, Fig. 186. We have given here a new image of this painting, which in the preceding volume was not reproduced with sufficient accuracy.

The scene of the feast is a happy composition; its symmetry does not exclude variety (Fig. 291). There are three couches with richly decorated legs. Those of the bolster end in a double Ionic volute. Before the couches are low tables from which hang garlands of flowers, and bear delicacies served for the dessert. On each of these beds half lies or rather sits with upright torso, legs extended before him and horizontal, holding a cup in his hand. His loins are supported by a cushion, his bust is nude and the lower part of his body is wrapped in the folds of the himation. Near each guest is a young woman clothed in the Ionian tunic, whose light tissu allows the relief of her breasts to be perceived. Below the girdle, the thighs and legs are concealed by the thickness of the shawl. Of these three women, two are seated on the front of the bed of the ephebe with whom the hold company. The one of the left group, while appearing to converse with her neighbor, ties a fillet around his hair. The one at the right leans toward her lover, one of whose arms encircles her waist, and offers him her lips. That of the middle group stands at the foot of the couch. Her companion with one arm above his head, which is thrown backward, seems to listen with delight to the playing on the instrument.

There is evident what diversity the painter has placed in the attitudes; but he does not execute as well as he composes. There is a singular mixture of talent and inexperience. The gestures are all expressive. That of the woman who binds her brow and raises both arms has grace. That of the guest charmed by the flutist well renders the ecstasy into which he is plunged by the music. As much can be said concerning the third group, of the embrace that precedes the kiss; but faults in drawing abound. Several shoulders are too high. There unskillfulness

is most apparent is in the right group. We note there the confusion that did not all belong to the bad restorations that have spoiled this part of the painting. There are a right arm of the young man and a left arm of the woman, which the eye does not connect without trouble to the torsos to which they belong. The painter is perplexed by the too complicated movement that he has attempted to represent. We have stated elsewhere what other sort of interest this curious painting offers, and what light it appears to cast on the condition and habits of painters of vases.¹

Note 1. p. 520. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 373-374.

The painting of the rear side is more simple (Fig. 292). At the middle and placed on a raised support is a large *deinos*, in which two slaves prepare to mix wine and water. Crowned with laurel, they have for sole clothing a sort of drawers around their loins. The one at the right makes an effort to lift an amphora from the ground. With raised head he seems to observe the movements of his companion, who advances at the other side of the *deinos* while making a sign to him with his hand and bearing an amphora on the left shoulder. On the ground are two *oenochoes* that serve to draw the wine diluted with water and to pour it into the large cups of the guests. The names of the two slaves, *Evarchos* and *Evelthon*, are inscribed on the field, and at each side of the *deinos* is read the name of a favorite, *Antias kalos* and *Evalkides kalos*. If the hands and feet are treated with some negligence there, the attitudes and gestures are perfectly natural. Nothing is better rendered than the movement of the slave that bends forward and stiffens his arm to be able to lift from the ground the heavy amphora filled with liquid. In all his members is felt the effort prepared for.

There is known another vase of the same form, also signed by *Smicros egrapsen*.¹ This *stamnos* represents on one side *Athena* intervening in the combat between *Ajax* and *Hector*, on the other being a combat of two warriors that dispute for the body of a wounded warrior. In the last painting the persons are nude. In the other, they are clothed in the short tunic and the cuirass. The surface of the vase has suffered so that few interior details are distinguished; but the persons are well arranged and have a correct movement. The style does not fail to recall that

of Euphronios the painter, without having his accent. There is found twice repeated and accompanied by the epithet kalos, this name of Pnēidiades, borne on the stannos of Brussels by one of the guests of the feast.¹

Note 1.p.521. Föhner. Catalogue de la collection Van Branteghem. 1892, I, 438. The drawings of these plates appear to us to have been executed in a too summary fashion to have any interest in reproducing them here.

Note 1.p.522. On the great cratera with volutes in the museum of Arezzo, which is one of the important works of the ceramics of this time, is read the name of a favorite, Phylliades, whom it has been desired to identify with that of Phidias, assuming an error of the writer. Starting from this identity, which appears doubtful, and to increase the property of Smikros, Gaspar has proposed to attribute to him this anepigraphic vase; but the paintings of the cratera seem very superior in composition and style to this which Smikros has signed.

The name of Smikros is read on an amphora of the Louvre.² It appears there in a cursive inscription conceived thus: - Smikroī inai. The brush forgot a letter, the r. Different interpretations have been proposed for this brief and enigmatic legend: - "The vase appears to be by Smikros," or by understanding ei, "the vase indeed seems to be by Smikros," or again with an implied question: - "What does Smikros think of it?" Whatever translation is proposed, this inscription recalls the challenge given by Euthymides to Euphronios. There is heard the cry of a painter after completing his work, who refers to Smikros and boasts of having equaled him or solicits his approval. In any case, this text is evidence of the importance of the part then played by Smikros in the little world of Ceramics.

Note 2.p.522. Hall 3, 107. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 345-347.

At what time had Smikros attained this position? The qualities and defects of his execution permit a reply to this question. His drawing is broader than that of Epictetos and his group; but his insufficient training as an artist is betrayed by the embarrassment that he experiences when he tries to render complex movements, as in one of the groups of the feast. For a stronger reason he did not attempt foreshortenings. Various small details inform us of the bonds by which Smikros was con-

connected to the traditions not yet abolished, when he began as an apprentice. Such as the use made of applied retouches. Those are reddish purple on various accessories, white on the image of fruits. Such again is the procedure by which the painter uses the incised line to limit on the black ground the contour of coiffures. Finally, one of the cups with guests is figured in black, and in black also is detached the scroll of palmatiums, that forms the lower border of the painting.

Thus one is led to class Smicros among the painters, who worked in the last years of the 6th and the first years of the 5th centuries, and saw their activity arrested, if not forever, at least interrupted by the invasions of 480 and 479. Among the offerings then destroyed by the Persians, appears to have been a vase that Smicros had dedicated to Athena as the first fruits of the product of his art. Under the foot of a cup very carefully made, collected in the layer of rubbish created by the conflagration, is read this scratched inscription: Smicros anethekon te Athenea.¹

Note 1. p. 523. C.I.A. IV, p. 197. The name of Smicros is also found in a diatich engraved on marble, that states the connection of a statuette, a text found in the same excavations (C.I.A. IV, p. 91); but nothing here indicates to us that the Smicros in question had anything to do with the arts of clay. The name does not appear to have been rare.

According to these indications, there must be seen in Smicros a contemporary of Euphronios, perhaps a little older than him. Without equaling that master or even Macron or Peithinos, he had his marked place in the series of artists, who form the transition from the group of Epictetos, that of the first decorators who abandoned the black figure, to the two men in whose hands the new technics completely displayed all its resources. Douris, the most fertile painter of that epoch, and Eryxos, of the workshop from which came the more recent vases termed of the severe style.

10. Douris.

We possess more than thirty vases on which is read, always written Doris, the name of a very well known man, Douris. If this name appears there under a form different from that presented in the printed texts, this is because the Attic alphabet

of the 6th and beginning of the 5th centuries used only the letter o to represent both the sounds of short o and of long o as well as the diphthong ou.²

Note 2.p.523. Klein in 1887 enumerated 24 vases by Douris (Metastersignaturen, p. 150-161). Without claiming to be complete, I could now add 6 to that list.

Douris was a painter. He always inscribes the verb egrapsen after his name. Once he exceptionally has added to that formula: Doris epoisen.¹ Why this addition? On some fine day, after the example of Euphronios, did he wish to take the chance of the great profits that the industry of the painted vase reserved for whoever knew how to succeed in it? This is scarcely probable. If he had opened a workshop, according to all probability we should have had other vases on which he would have placed his shop mark. This exception may be explained otherwise. Douris usually decorated cups. This vase of which he declared himself the author by a twofold title is a canthara. Attacking a type less familiar to him, perhaps he held to giving the canthara himself a curvature that pleased him, so as not to show himself below his reputation in that attempt. The painting that he placed on it is one of his good works.

Note 1.p.524. Klein. No. 22.

In the work of Douris, cups dominate by far. There are counted 23 cups, a canthara, a psykter and 4 lecythes. The lecythes were found at Eretria in Euboea and at Gela in Sicily.² They present one peculiarity. The signature is reduced to its simplest expression. Not egrapsen but only the word Doris either written across a band at the top of the painting or on the bottom of the rimination of an isolated person, that decorates one side of the lecythe. When the first of these lecythes was mentioned, men rejected the idea of attributing them to the celebrated painter of cups,³ but there was no way to persist in that negation. In the legends of these lecythes are found two forms of letters peculiar to Douris and found in all his signatures, the delta whose lower branch is replaced by a point and the phi, whose ring has a tail like the Latin capital.

Note 2.p.524. Ephemeris. 1886, p. 41-42, Pl. IV; 1907, p. 218-238, Pl. X. P. Orsi. Due vasi Gelesi (Doris and Peithinos) in Simbole litterarie. 1911, p. 73-84).

Note 3.p.524. Klein. p.150.

On each of these lecythes, on that sold in Sicily as well as on those in greater number, that very near Attica had been acquired by the Athenian colonists of Eretria, there is only one figure. Here this is a Nike brandishing two torches (Fig. 293). There it is a musician that who holds her lyre in both hands. (Fig. 294). The kilns of Douris must have supplied in great quantities and at low prices these little vases, which among the Greeks of Hellas as well as among those of the Greek colonies of the West, had a role to play in the funerary rites and held a great place in the furniture of the tomb. What of most interest have been given of most interest by the cemeteries of Gela, at least those dating from the 5th century, is the rich series of lecythes with red figures on a black ground.¹ The name of Douris is read on but one of these vases; but several others might because of their style be attributed to him without improbability. To restrict ourselves to this of these lecythes that bear the mark of our potter, we shall always find in these articles of current fabrication the careful execution and taste that distinguished all the products of a workshop directed by one of the best masters then in ceramics. One will note that on the lecythe reproduced opposite (Fig. 294), the eye is very near to having its correct drawing in the profile.

Note 1. p. 525. P. Orsi. Gela, scavi del 1900-1905, p. 534, Pls. 11-15, 17-19, 24, 36, 33.

Douris must have been of the number of painters, who worked before the second Median war. This was not proved by his signature read on a fragment, when in 1882 was cleared the space between the southeast angle of the Parthenon and the modern museum.¹ The rubbish destroyed by these excavations formed a terrace composed of remains of all sorts from the construction of the Parthenon of Pericles. Yet there is scarcely found in the lapidary texts and scratches other than the most ancient form of the sign of three branches, remains of monuments later than the departure of the Persians might be found mixed with that mass of materials. What is more significant are the inferences that can be derived from the names of potters. One of the cups signed by Douris was made by Cleophrades; now on a fragment of a cup is read both the names of Cleophrades and of Amasis, who painted vases with black figures.² Three vases dec-

decorated by Douris were made by Python; now Python was one of the chiefs of workshops that employed Epictetos. This would also indicate that Douris had commenced to produce from the time when the examples given by Epictetos were generally followed, as with about half the cups of Douris still have only a single figure in the interior of the vase. The same result is reached in another way. Taking the names of kaloi inscribed on the vases signed by Douris, it is stated that he must have been nearly contemporary with Euphronios. Both celebrate the beautiful Panaetios.³ On the other hand, in those of his vases appearing most recent, his drawing is freer and less subject to archaic conventions than that of Euphronios, who has more power and originality. Without improbability, one might conjecture that Douris was ten or fifteen years younger than Euphronios. He would have commenced a little later and have continued to produce until a later time in the 5th century. His oldest paintings dated from a time when Euphronios had already attained his mastery.¹

Note 1. p. 528. On these excavations, see Ephemeris. 1883, p. 33; 1884, p. 150; 1885, p. 53-58. A fragment of a cup with the name of Hippodamas was found in the Persian rubbish (Studniczka. Jahrb. 1887, p. 164). Now this name of kalos is found with Douris as with Hiero.

Note 2. p. 528. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Text. p. 284.

Note 3. p. 528. Klein. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften, p. 108-107.

Note 1. p. 527. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. p. 201.

If we have such a great number of vases from Douris, this is because he produced much; he worked rapidly. When one has that habit, he risks abusing his facility sometimes. The work of Douris is very unequal. As pieces of the first order, one finds there more than one piece on which the theme is commonplace and the execution is very summary. This difference is already apparent between the paintings which seem to belong to the same period in the life of the painter; but it is even more frankly emphasized between the works that appear to date from the youth of the painter, and those which the quality of their execution allows their reference to the last years of his life. If the evidence of authentic signatures were not undeniable, could one ever think of attributing to a single artist paintings so

dissimilar as this interior of a cup, where is represented an athlete preparing to throw the discus (Fig. 295), and on the outside of another this Bacchic thias from which we detach some silhouettes of satyrs? (Figs. 296, 297). On the one hand is an elegant and cold drawing, to which cannot be even accorded the merit of a perfect correctness. On the other, a bold brush that is not frightened by the rarest and most violent movements, like that of the acrobat satyr with both hands placed on the ground, head down and legs in the air, preparing to wet his lips in a large cup placed before him on the ground. Here nearly everything, head, bust and members are well seen at the same angle. When there is space, the torsos are effaced and turn, modeled by lines more or less firm according as they mark the relief and the play of the muscular masses, or they merely serve to recall what they permit to be divined of the internal framework. Without parading minute details, the anatomical science is very precise and very certain. Under whatever aspect the form presents itself, in all those leaping persons that hoist themselves around and fall in all directions, Douris has experienced no embarrassment in transcribing what his eye perceived; for the satyr holding himself upright on one foot and leaning toward the cup, see the foreshortening of the right leg bent backward. In these heads of satyrs with their bushy hair, flat noses, great round eyes, wide fan-shaped beards, their entire appearance is rather bestial and also malicious, with an amusing seeking for character. The painter who drew these figures has nothing more to learn. He interprets nature with free and faithful ease.

The starting point for Douris was the still timid art of Epictetos. Douris no less arrived near the end of his career at producing works, which rivaled the best of those which the workshop of Brygos has left to us. Like Euphronios, he must have had a long life, which he well employed.

Douris is pleased to represent virile nudity, but he always clothes his persons of the other sex. There is by him but a single image of a nude woman (Fig. 298). This image further has neither the slightly massive solidity and lively movements that Brygos introduces in his banquet scenes. It is only correct. The head alone has a certain charm.

Many anonymous vases have been attributed to Douris with more or less probability; but if faithful to the principle that we have adopted, one adheres to the signed vases, he finds himself before 80 paintings, which can be divided into three distinct groups.

1. Mystical or heroic subjects, adventures of gods and heroes.
2. Warlike subjects, scenes of arming and of combats.
3. Subjects of familiar life, banquets, conversations, exercises in the palestra.¹

Note 1.p.530. This is the calculation made and classification proposed by E. Pottier in the book with such assured erudition and so agreeable to read, that he has published under the title: *Douris et les peintres de vases grecs*.

In the first group are found specimens of what has been termed the two manners of Douris. It is divined that a youthful work of the painter is a beautiful cup of the Louvre.² We are first informed by even the form of the vase. That was shaped by the potter Calliades, with its short and stumpy foot, thick walls, deep bowl and short handles, approaching the models that Nicosthenes and Pamphalos had realized from the 6th century. (Fig. 299). Later the cups decorated by Douris had a different curvature, lighter handles, a flatter bowl borne on a more slender foot, thinned at the middle (Fig. 300). This would not also suffice to date the cup, for a cup from the workshop of Brygos exceptionally presents an example of this type; but other indications confirm here this first impression. To judge Douris by the whole of his work, he had no taste for the painted letter, he did not seek a means of crowding the decoration like so many of his rivals. On nearly all his vases his signature, the name of the potter, and frequently one or two names of kaloi, alone exist. On the contrary, on the cup of the Louvre, there is a real luxury of legends. In the painting within the bowl, these fill the voids, and on the exterior each person has near him his name inscribed in the field. Then the cup was executed before Douris decided to be systematically more sober in writing than any of his contemporaries.

Note 2.p.530. Louvre. Hall 3, 115. This beautiful cup was found in the cemetery of S. Maria of Capua, and was brought to the attention of archaeologists by G. Robert. Scenen der Ilias.

p. 7, published by Fröhner. Musées de France, Pls. 10-12.

Finally, what is more significant is, that there still persists there the traditions of archaism in the character and composition of the drawing; this is the exact symmetry that governed the placing of persons in the combats shown on the outside of the cup; it is everywhere in the rendering of the movements as in that of the drapery, a suspicion of dryness and stiffness, something recalling the execution of Anasis and of Exekias. Full liberty is not yet conquered, and yet is felt the effort of an ambition that aspires to new progress. For example, a novelty is the connection established between the three themes forming the decoration of the cup. All three represent the episodes of the same war; inside is Memnon, king of Ethiopians, who is the victim of Achilles and lies dead, extended in the arms of his mother, the goddess Eos (Pl. XI). on the exterior is the combat of Menelaos with Paris and of Ajax with Hector (Figs. 301, 302). The general data for these two duels is taken from the Iliad. Behind each hero has he placed a protecting deity. What is particularly appreciated there is the precision of the drawing, the conscientious patience of an execution that has tried to render with a singular clearness the imbrications and the chiseling of helmets and cuirasses, the tresses and the grained curls of the hair. In presenting the body, Douris conforms here docilely to the archaic convention, that confuses the front and profile views; but with that execution the movements are correct and have spirit. The figures are vigorously detached on a black glaze, thick and velvety, which gives to the vase an extraordinary lustre. It already attracts attention by its appearance, and yet there is nothing in these external paintings that is commonplace.

The impression is entirely otherwise when one considers the group of two persons that decorates the interior of the bowl. "In its smallness, this is one of the most beautiful paintings that antiquity has left us; it consoles us a little for so many lost masterpieces, and one imagines that a potter in his workshop invented that first image of the Water Dolorosa, as moving as that of Mantegna or of R. Van Weyden. Nowhere else is the hypothesis of the imitation of some great painting imposed with more force. Everyone will be struck by the surprising

resemblance of this pagan and Greek creation to the symbol, which has moved Christian souls for so many centuries. Eos is standing with wings spread and as if fluttering, bending toward the dead face of her son Memnon, whose rigid body she supports in her extended arms. The goddess that represents the radiant morning and the promises of nature waking before the dawn is no more than a despairing mother, fixing with a long look the cherished features that she will see no more. The contrast is profoundly melancholy, and the discovery is worthy of a great poet. The corpse of the powerful prince of the Ethiopians, allied to Priam, is entirely nude, just as it was found on the field of battle where the conqueror Achilles had despoiled it of its equipment. The stiff legs are extended. The left foot is still contracted by the agony. The arms hang straight, the fine beard and the closed eyes complete the memory of a dead Christ. This is the true Pieta that is under our eyes."¹

Note 1. p. 534. Douris. Pottier, p. 72.

What causes to be still better appreciated the expressive beauty of this painting is a comparison easily established. The same subject appears to have been treated on the outside of a cup by an anonymous painter, who lent his aid to the potter Pamphaios, a painter in whom men have sometimes desired to see Euphronios (Fig. 303), without having very specious reasons to allege in favor of this hypothesis. Two winged genii with helmets on their heads support a nude corpse in their arms. This can only be the corpse of a warrior, vanquished and fallen on the field of battle, that according to custom had been despoiled of his arms by his conqueror. This is what occurred to Memnon slain by Achilles. There are no names inscribed here near the persons, but the adventure of Memnon rescued by his mother from the last indignities was sufficiently celebrated, that we scarcely hesitate to recognize here the hero whose mortal remains were carried through space to the distant coasts of Ethiopia.

This painting is certainly the best of the works left to us by the workshop of Pamphaios. The scene is well composed, there is ease and variety in the movements of the bearers, and the body of Memnon has the unconstraint; see the right arm that hangs inert. The scene is enclosed between two women, whose

attitudes resemble each other without being entirely similar. The drawing is correct and even sufficiently free; the painter has shown one foot of Memnon in front view. What is lacking here is emotion. Of the two women, one has a character not well defined. It may be supposed that this is a nymph, a companion of Eos, that with her arm extended shows the winged genii the route to those oriental lands where the hero will find a tomb; she plays the role of that Hermes, whose caduceus she has usurped. The other woman can only be the mother, Eos. She is recognized by her gesture, by the hand placed on her heart, as if to still the beats; but how cold is this gesture, if it be compared to the movement that Douris has given to his Eos, leaning over the body of her son that she embraces, and on which she fixes a long look! Here the mother holds herself at a distance; she leaves the dear burden to arms which are not the maternal ones.

If under the influence of a modeling furnished by some beautiful fresco of a contemporaneous master, Douris could in the first part of his career produce a work so pathetic as this group of Eos and Memnon, to the time of his full maturity is referred another cup, more recent in form and style, which represents the exploits of Theseus (Figs. 304, 305). In regard to Euphronios, who derived from these same myths the subject of the decoration of a celebrated cup of the Louvre, (Pl. IX, Figs. 246, 247), we have spoken of the popularity enjoyed by Theseus in the Athens of the morrow of the Median wars. The decorators of vases must then have been at only the embarrassment of choice to borrow movements and groups from the frescos, reliefs and pediments of public edifices, when they thought of placing their brushes at the service of the glory of the patronage given by the Athenian democracy. On comparing the two cups, it seems that Euphronios and Douris may have had the same models under their eyes.¹ Certain characteristic poses reappear from one to the other vase. This is the case for the attitude of the Procrustes of Euphronios: it is again found quite similar with Douris. In both the brigand overthrown by Theseus has his leg bent under him, and the other is extended on the ground in its entire length. It is the same for Kerkyon. In the two paintings, Theseus dominates his adversary by his great height, *

with head leaning over the back of the vanquished, has compelled him to bend forward, has clasped his arms about his girdle, and is going to lift him to throw him panting on the ground. In both, Skion, who does not defend himself longer, is like a dead weight in the arms of Theseus. He already has his head down; he will be thrown by Theseus from the top of the rocks from which he cast into the sea the unfortunate passers.

Note 1. p. 538. What indicates how much the subject was in fashion is, that the British Museum also possesses a cup on which these same exploits form the entire decoration of the exterior; (E, 38); but it is very inferior in execution to those of Euphronios and of Douris (Catalogue. III, Pl. 2). Of groups common to these two painters, I find on this cup only that of the two interlaced wrestlers. Otherwise the painter has placed here a more monsters and animals than brigands. He has given to Theseus as adversaries the Minotaur, the bull of Marathon, the boar of Erymanthea.

But two artists are very freely inspired by a common model. They have taken from it only the idea of the motive, and each of them has used it in his own way. The Procrustes of Douris is not treated in the same sense as that of Euphronios. Theseus with Douris lays a heavier weight on the shoulders of Kerkyon than with Euphronios. Further, in the episode of the bull of Marathon, which is the best preserved piece of the painting of Euphronios, Douris has substituted that of the hunt of the wild boar of Krommyon, and to vary the monotony of these scenes, he has inserted there two women, the nymph Phaea, who sojourned at Krommyon, and the goddess Athena. In the interior of the cup, instead of the episode of the dive of Theseus into the depths of the sea, which furnished to Euphronios a composition of such original grace, Douris has placed the commonplace group of Theseus and of the Minotaur (Fig. 306). Yet he knew how to give to his Theseus, clothed in a short tunic and a petasus hanging on his nape, something of the elegance, that with Euphronios characterizes the figure of the young hero.

It is not only this vulgarity of one of the themes that makes the inferiority of the work of Douris. His drawing is correct here but is without accent. There is not found "that spirit, that bold flight of lines" which forms the beauty of the painting of Euphronios, and where is believed to be found the

faithful reflection of a great work of statuary.¹ The contrast is also more marked with Euphronius between the fine head of Theseus with its short hair circled by a band, and the large and savage heads of brigands with beards in disorder and their long matted hair.

Note 1.p.538. Pottier. Douris, p. 72.

It is again a trilogy of the same kind, which is offered to us by a cup of the Louvre, that represents on the exterior the abduction of Thetis by Peleus.² At one side is the struggle of the hero with the young woman, who endeavors to escape from him by the diversity of the successive forms that she takes; on the other side the Nereids flee affrighted and come to announce the abduction to the god Nereus and his companion Doris, seated on ornamented seats like those of Zeus and of Hera.(Fig. 307). In the interior is seated Poseidon, receiving the vase for libation from the hands of a goddess, his spouse Amphitrite. Here again as in the cup that glorifies Theseus, all the decoration relates to the same idea; this is the life and adventures of the divinities of the sea which the painter wished to place in the scene; but the group of the hero and the goddess is here not equal to that decorating the bottom of the cup of Peithinos. This group with Peithinos has more amplitude and nobility.

Note 2.p.538. Louvre. Hall G, 116. Pottier. Douris, p.80-84. Fig. 13.

The same method is taken on a cup of the museum of Vienna.¹ On the exterior, Ulysses and Ajax are in combat, They rush at each other in rage, while Agamemnon and the other chiefs attempt to separate them.(Fig.308). On the opposite side is the vote of the Greek chiefs, each one bringing his vote in the form of a little pebble deposited on an altar in presence of the goddess Athena (Fig. 309). In the interior are Ulysses and Neoptolemus, "a painting which forms the heroic termination of the drama, and where the victor, declining to keep for himself those glorious arms, generously restores them to the son of Achilles, so that he may bear them in his turn and complete the ruin of the Trojans (Fig. 310). Thus the formula of composition dear to Douris again ends here in a trilogy. These are the three acts of a tragedy dominated by the memory of Achilles and

the epic poem of the war of Troy.

Note 1.p.539. Klein. Metasternsignaturen. No. 13. Pottier. Douris, p. 91-94, Figs. 16-17. - beautiful cup of the British Museum, that is said to be in the style of *prokos* (K, 89), also represents the *oplon krisis*. likewise is seen on one side of the exterior the two heroes in rage throwing themselves on each other, and on the other side is the vote of the Greeks; but in the interior of the cup, the theme of the return of the arms to Neoptolemus is replaced by the group of Paris and Helen.

"One cannot avoid the thought that the Greek drama, such as conceived by Eschylus and his immediate predecessors was no stranger to this arrangement, of which we have found so many examples, not only with Douris but with all his rivals in the period of the Median wars."¹ There is no question of seeking here an exact imitation of some contemporary piece. Nowhere in these paintings of the 5th century whatever resembles the costumes and accessories of the theatre. There is nothing of the kind in these paintings. The painter does not copy the theatre, as much later would the decorators of Greek vases of southern Italy; yet perhaps unknown to himself, he suffers the influence of the theatre. He is thus led often to reproduce in the arrangement of his decoration the type, which was then adopted for the entireties that the poets presented in competitions and tragedies, in festivals of *Dionysos*, the type of these three dramas whose subject was taken from the same myth, and shared the same law under the three different aspects.

Note 1.p.541. Douris, p. 92.

This is not all that he owed to the impressions that he brought for hours spent on the seats of the theatre. Did not these memories suggest to him what has been noted with Douris as with several of his contemporaries, attitudes of persons that may be called scenic? "This is not the painting of the voting Ulysses at one side with his hands raised, both astonished and delighted to see increased the heap of pebbles, that represents the votes cast in his favor, and on the other side is Ajax, placed in the right corner of the scene. Alone and abandoned, feeling the defeat inevitable, he covers his head with the mantle to conceal his shame (Fig. 309), a dramatic image that makes one think of the frequently cited creation of Timantnes,

Agamemnon veiling his face not to see the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. This kind of effects," these poses of mute elegance, the theatre appear to have given the example and the idea of them. We know that Eschylus was admired for having placed a Niobe immovable on the stage, a sullen Achilles that responded only by implacable silence to the discourse of the ambassadors of Agamemnon.¹

Note 1.p.542. Pottier. Douris, p. 93-94.

The masterpiece of Douris in the category of paintings with themes derived from mythology is perhaps the cantara, that he signed as both potter and painter. What is represented on both sides of the vase is the combat of Hercules and Telamon against the Amazons (Fig. 311). The same battle is fought on both sides of the cup between the Greeks and the virgin warriors of Asia. Here Hercules (Fig. 312) and there Telamon is the protagonist. (Fig. 313). Each of them plunges his sword into the breast of an Amazon; but the attitudes and arrangement of the secondary persons vary in the two paintings. The execution is very careful. All the figures are of rare slenderness with small heads. The iris of the eye is indicated by a black point and tends to open near the internal angle. Traditional conventions also retain their power here; but scarcely perceived at the right are the deformations which these impose. I scarcely see more than one inaccuracy to mention. The left leg of the Amazon slain by Hercules is much too long.

Although the proportions of the body may be more slender here, I cannot prevent thinking before these figures of the statues of the pediments of Egina. In the paintings on the cantara are distinguished certain motives, that are found on those pediments. Such is that of the archer on his knees, who aims under the protection of the warrior armed with a spear; such again is that of the warrior who falls, one leg bent with knee touching the ground; but these resemblances of the attitudes and of the mode of grouping can be explained as simple coincidences from the identity of the theme. There is something else. What particularly justifies the comparison is something in the general appearance, that is more easily felt than defined. The drawing in both is already wisely correct. The movements are very proper. They are even sometimes violent; but they lack

slightly naturalness and unconstraint. They recall the poses that the model, while docile to the orders of the artist, tries to take on the dais of the workshop, or those which we force ourselves to keep before the lens of the photographer, when he cries, "don't move."

Art has yet attained neither in the marbles of Egina nor in the paintings of the ceramists that sovereign ease, which gives the impression that the movement represented by the chisel or the brush has been seized by the artist, without the person executing the movement having suspected all the attention with which a curious eye follows his steps and actions.¹

Note 1.p.544. These analogies struck Furtwängler, who compared the paintings of Douris with the statues of the pediments of Egina; but he connected this similarity with an entirely different theory, that he states on the subject of the influence which the art of the Samian sculptors exerted on that of the sculptors of Egina. He inclines to see an Ionian painter in Douris, perhaps a Samian, an immigrant at Athens. (Egina, das Helligtum der Aphata, p. 341-347).

Warlike subjects, as we have termed them, are merely a variety of mythological subjects. From the battles of the Iliad are borrowed the arrangement of these paintings, even when the painter gives no names to the combatants that he places in the scene. Seven cups by Douris are devoted to this kind. Without any cost of imagination for this purpose, Douris has adopted for this kind of themes, sometimes one and sometimes the other of the two arrangements made familiar to him by the works of his predecessors. Here they are two warriors or chiefs, that he places at the centre of the painting, threatening with the sword or spear. Behind each of them are secondary persons, simple witnesses of the duel. Frequently between the two champions is a nude corpse lying on the ground. This is a vanquished hero whose spoils must be taken from the enemy in order to give him the honors of burial. Elsewhere the painter has thought of representing a conflict; but the combatants are matched in pairs and this too marked symmetry has some coldness. It does not produce the idea of a real fight, and its neat and its disorder.

The battle is not the entire life of the soldier. He must first prepare himself for it, and the representation of this preparatio

supplied to Douris the materials for three paintings, in which appear the ingenuity of his mind and his very vivid sense of the picturesque. "The decoration of this cup causes us to penetrate in a way into the interior of a Greek camp, at the time when each one equips himself for manoeuvres or for combat (Fig. 314). In the hollow of the bowl is the classic scene of the libation. The soldier invokes the gods before starting. A woman brings him wine that she pours in the phiale of sacrifice. On the exterior is the camp, the alarm has been given. In great haste, each man seizes his arms, his sword, spear or helmet. It is necessary to vary the uniformity of the subject. The painter has succeeded in this by introducing some figures of old men or of bearded men that are present at the departure and encourage the ephebes. A woman brings a shield and a sword. Nothing is more alive than the features and acts of the young men that arm themselves. One tries his sword and half draws it from the sheath. Another places on his head the fillet which confines his hair, better to draw on his helmet. His comrade with a smart movement tucks up his left sleeve and the bottom of his tunic. Elsewhere the already helmeted hoplite completes the fitting of his greaves to his legs; another puts on his cuirass; a third suspends his sword at his side and passes the baldrac over his shoulder. A fourth makes a gesture of comic despair in finding that he has forgotten to place a crest on his helmet; finally the last raises and knots his too long hair. These are sketches made from life, like the notebook of an artist, who has followed troops in manoeuvres. The kind which we term "military painting" in its familiar form dates from the Greeks."¹

Note 1. p. 546. Pottier. Douris, p. 98-99.

We have already seen Euthymides please himself by paintings of the same kind. He has twice shown the hoplite occupied in buckling his cuirass (Figs. 260, 262); but with him the scene of arming comprises only three persons, the hoplite and two spectators; it has much less movement and variety than with Douris. As said in the style of the studio, it is much less amusing. Douris is in advance of Euthymides. He is freer and more realistic.

Because there are in places something a little angular in the contour with Douris, it is divined that this cup must be a work of the youth of the painter; but Douris no less has made

proof there of much invention and spirit of observation. The painting is interesting. We see there a band of the soldiers of Themistocles and of Miltiades ready to start for one of those battles, which saved Greek civilization. "One feels there something like a gust of the breeze of Marathon." 1

Note 1. p. 547. Furtwängler. Text of Plate 53.

There has sometimes been expressed a regret for this epoch, that the direct allusions to the feats of valor in the Median wars are so rare on the monuments. If this be so, it is because Greek art lives and moves more freely in the ideal world, a creation of this thought, than in the real world. It seems to almost ignore the latter. This is not because the artist is a dilettante, a stranger to the emotions of his people, to its sorrows and joys; but because he has demanded his first inspiration from the myths born of the imaginations of distant ancestors, and which he has taken from the epic poetry where these myths had collected the first types of form that he had attempted to sketch and define. To the habits which he had thus contracted from infancy, he remained faithful until the days of his old age. It is exceptional, that as in the frescos of the poecile at Athens, he is compelled to restrict himself to represent contemporaneous events. Usually he likes better to project them like a reflection into this legendary past and transpose thus the expression and feelings which these cause him to experience. He recalls these by the allegories whose material is furnished by the adventures of gods and heroes. The victories obtained by Hercules and Theseus over the monsters and brigands, by the Lapithes over the ruder centaurs, by Agamemnon and Achilles over the Trojans, by Athenians of former times over the Amazons that had invaded Attica, thus became the transparent symbol of the happy effort by which the Greeks could repulse the Persians and drive them back to Asia. With this method which disappoints our curiosity, we can only be thankful to Louis for having at last once aimed at what we call realism." A cup of the Louvre, unfortunately much injured and restored, shows inside a hoplite striking with his sword an overturned savage soldier, who holds a standard with a double pennon of square form. This typical accessory can leave no doubt of the real character of the painting. A flag would not have been

placed in the hands of a Trojan. It is very probable that the victors of Marathon had collected on the field of battle Persian standards with the booty, and that we have here the reproduction of a trophy of that kind." ¹

Note 1.p.548. Pottier. *Douris*, p. 101-102. Louvre, 3, 117. If we do not reproduce here the drawing that Pottier gives of this painting (*Douris*, Fig. 20), this is because it does not seem very clear to us. There is some difficulty in distinguishing there what is restoration from what remains of the original painting.

It is particularly as a document that this vase is of value, while in the part of the work of the painter that is devoted to familiar subjects, we find some of his best works. *Douris* appears to have had a marked predilection for that kind of subjects. Among the vases that left the workshop of Euphronios and of Brygos, those that represent mythical subjects are by far most numerous. With *Douris* the proportion is reversed. In the eighty paintings which decorate the vases signed by him, forty one represent familiar scenes.¹ With Hiero, *Douris* thus prepares for the advent of a new type of paintings, to which ceramic painters devoted themselves by preference about the end of the 5th century; the toilette of the woman and the play of the child then became their favorite subjects.

Note 1.p.549. Pottier. *Douris*, p. 103.

In this order of ideas, *Douris* frequently limits himself to resume the themes, which his predecessors had derived from the various exercises of the palestra. Like them, either by means of a little column, by a vase for ablutions, or by representing on the ground one of those mattocks that served to remove the sand, he informs the spectator that the scene occurs in the gymnasium. He groups there the ephebes, who under the eyes of the master armed with a long rod, engaged in wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the discus or the javelin (Fig. 315). That from the time of the black figure was one of the commonplaces of ceramic painting. It scarcely offered to *Douris* the occasion for being an innovator and inventor; but he seeks to distinguish himself from his predecessors by giving to the contour more refinement and certainty. It is the same for those figures of adult men and youths that we have already seen placed in pairs

on the cup of Peithinos. Then are found again at the Louvre on the cup of Douris. No composition. "This is like a panel with two persons, that is constantly traced with some variations on the free portions of the vase; but each group in details is full of taste and spirit." ¹

Note 1. p. 550. Pottler. Douris, p. 108.

Of the decoration of this cup, we retain only the image that decorates the interior of the bowl, the ephebe and the hare (Fig. 316). It has a singular grace. Seated on a stool and leaning on a staff, the young man regards tenderly the little animal placed on his knees, which the Athenians loved to tame, a and that rambled in the house, like the cats in ours.

This systematic coldness of the groupings that we have mentioned in the painting which represents the exercises of the palestra, are found again in the decoration of a cup, which represents the interior of a school; but this no less remains one of the most interesting works of Douris. The painter has left the beaten paths. Leaving aside the scenes of gymnastic exercises to frequently repeated, he takes us into the hall where the masters of music and the grammarians give their lessons. On one side of the exterior is the recitation of the lesson on the lyre (Fig. 317), on the other is the writing lesson and the lesson on the flute. On the walls of the hall are suspended cups, lyres and a basket in which the master doubtless keeps the papyrus, fixed on rollers where are written the texts that he causes his pupils to learn by heart. In the hollow of the bowl is the figure of a nude ephebe fastening his sandal, which shows us the youth released from his task and preparing to go out to play.

Better than the texts, the cup of Douris gives us a correct idea of what was at Athens the education of youth, whose programmes have not been stated to us in systematic fashion by any Greek writer. It aids us to understand the place held in that education by the teaching of music where the words, epic and lyric songs, war songs, moral sentences, were more important than the melody, which was merely an accompaniment. The literature properly so called is still represented here at one side by a roll of papyrus held on his knees by the master of declamation, from which he reads the beginning of an epic poem.

at the other side by a page of writing traced by a young master, while a standing scholar prepares himself to receive the model that he is to copy. During this time and seated on their stools, the preceptors of these youths await the end of the lesson to take them home.

With this painting may be compared that of the sports and the dance of the silenes, that we reproduced at the beginning of this study (Fig. 296). Doubtless the persons of this Bacchanal are factitious beings on account of their horse ears and tails; but the tricks and skill executed are those which pleased Athenian guests in the unbridled gayety at the end of a repast. The painter gives us instantaneous views of the camp, gymnasium and school, as would be said today. He introduces us in the same fashion into the festal hall at the time when among men, their brains are heated by wine, they have the strangest fancies.

Note 1. p. 352. A series of the same kind is separated on a hydria, that Furtwängler attributes to Phintias (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*, p. 112).

No ancient artist has better initiated us into the intimacy of Athenian life, than Douris has done by the paintings of this kind, that would mostly appear to belong to the end of his career. Henceforth "what we call genre painting is born. This is the last and perhaps the most fruitful creation presented to us by the work of Douris. It permits us still to admire also the flexibility of a talent, that starts with religious and heroic subjects executed in the severe style of the Eos and Memnon, and attains the graceful and spirited compositions of the ephebe with the hare and of the interior of a school."² This brilliant facility will be found in compositions like the group which decorates the interior of a cup, where the painter has represented Eros who carries off and transports through the air a young man. This must be Ganymede which the servant of the gods will conduct to Olympus, where he will become the cupbearer of the celestial banquets (Fig. 318). With sketches traced by such a sure hand, with a painting like that of the joyous thiasos of the Silenes, the ceramic painter might seem to have very nearly reached the end of a long apprenticeship. He had not much more to learn for him to apply the method of design, that should remain forever that of adult art. He had

nearly solved the problem of projecting the figure of the body on a plane, so that however modeled with its relief, it was as such as the mind of the spectator perceived it by the intermediary of the image formed on the retina. The brush of the decorators of clay had still some progress in this way to realize. This will be the work of an artist, Brygos, in which one will find scarcely a trace of the archaic style, with systematic alterations of the form imposed on the designer of the older ages, by the natural effect of the embarrassment into which he had been plunged by the difference of transcription, which he had undertaken with the naive boldness of inexperience.

11. Brygos.

Like Hiero, Brygos signed his vases as maker.¹ There are from him only cups, which gives reason to think that he made a specialty of that manufacture, and that he had gained a reputation in it. Yet according to all probability, his workshop must have made and sold for the needs of his patrons vases of other types; but perhaps known particularly as a decorator of cups, he judged it well to place his signature only on the kind of pieces to which he owed his vogue. On the ten cups that represent him in the museums is found only the verb *epoiesen*;² but in a manner yet more marked than that of Hiero, all the vases issued from the kilns of Brygos bear the impression of the same taste, and the decoration has the same qualities of execution. This phenomenon has two different explanations. It is possible that Brygos himself decorated the vases that he shaped, and that to prove his right to property, he was content with the most general formula; these suffice to make his mark known on the markets of the West. If on the contrary, it is preferred to attribute to Brygos only the role of chief of a workshop, one is compelled to believe that he always employed the same painter; but perhaps to prevent this painter from making a reputation at his expense, that would cause his competitors to dispute with him such a precious collaborator, Brygos compelled him to remain anonymous. Whatever hypothesis is adopted on this subject, the execution remains equal to itself from one cup to another, so that the historians commonly speak of the style of Brygos, just as those of Epictetos, Euphronios and Douris.¹ Such is the constancy of a manufacture that always

has the same character and the same merits, that even the most subtle critics have not even attempted to do for Brygos, what they have attempted for Euphronios and Douris, to establish the chronology of his vases.

Note 1.p.554. On Brygos, see the Article of C. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa. There will be found an accurate summary of all preceding works, and the judgment of a fine connoisseur on the style of the master. In spite of the title, but few things will be found to take in Ulrichs. Der Vasenmaler Brygos. 1875. This is only the publication of the cup of Kurzburg with a very good drawing. The dissertation of P. Ducati is a conscientious work. Brevi osservazione sul ceramista attico Brigo, notovelle arch-eologgische. 1904; but it is a work almost entirely made from books and engravings. The author has seen but very few of the vases of which he speaks. No personal impressions.

Note 2.p.554. Klein, (Meistersignaturen, p. 175-184) mentions eight cups by Brygos in 1887. Last year was mentioned the acquisition of a cup by the Ashmolean Museum, that would be the tenth known as bearing his signature. (Rev. arch. 1912², p. 299). I do not know where the ninth is found.

Note 1.p.555. Pottier has stated to us (p. 448, note 3; p. 454, note 1) that he believes he has divined the painter on wages for Brygos, that was the true author of all the paintings that Brygos has signed. He proposes to recognize there Onesimos, whose name if properly restored, is read on a vase made by Euphronios. (Catalogue, p. 1000-1005). The indications on which he relies to justify this hypothesis have some value; but all that remains too conjectural for there to be really reason to speak of the style of Onesimos and not the style of Brygos. Let us leave to him the honor and responsibility that he has assumed.

It has been supposed from the appearance of the name borne by our artist, that he was a metic like Anasis, originally from Thrace, where the Greeks knew a people of the Bryges. This matters little. What we hold in an advantage to know is to what time date back his beginning in the arts of clay. There are reasons to believe that he already distinguished himself before the sack of the Acropolis in 480. In the layer of rubbish created by the conflagration was found a fragment of a painted vase, which seemed to competent judges to present all the char-

characters of the style of Brygos.³ On the remains of a marble base found in the same fill were read the first letters of two lines of a votive inscription:—B P V ---A N E. It appears tempting to restore Brygos anetheke, after the example of the dedications existing with the names of other potters like Nearchos and Euphronios.⁴

Note 2.p.555. The first archaeologists who found on the vases this name of the potter had read Brytos. They knew poorly the paleography of Attic inscriptions of the 8th century and the commencing 5th. They took the gamma for a lambda.

Note 3.p.555. Hartwig. Meisterschalen, p. 1, Note 1.

Note 4.p.555. C.I.Att. Vol. 1. Supp. No. 373¹⁸⁵.

If these are but slight indications, which do not permit anything to be affirmed with assurance on the subject of the initial date, this would appear certain, that Brygos did not belong to the generation of Euphronios and of Euthymides, that he was sensibly younger, perhaps by twenty years. According to all appearance, he began to produce only after Douris. In any case, his activity was prolonged later. All concurs in demonstrating this. We have seen what place the names of the kaloi hold in the decoration of vases signed by all the artists that we have surveyed up to the present. Already these names are sometimes wanting with Douris. Now no more of them are found with Brygos; there is not one of them on any cups signed by Brygos, no more than are met inscriptions of this kind on the hydria of Melidas, nor on the other vases dating from this second half of the 5th century. The fashion of those amorous legends does not seem to have survived long the second median war. It was born at Athens in the Athens of Pisistrades and for set festivals and for pleasures, when the beauty, luxury and pranks of the young people of the aristocracy amused the conversations of the idle; but it corresponded less to the tastes and the preoccupations of the Athens of Themistocles and of Aristides, of Cimon and of Pericles, to that energetic democracy which aspired to the empire of Greece, and that devoted all its strength to distant expeditions and grand enterprises.

On the vases of Brygos, beyond the signature of the master, were then no other inscriptions than those intended to name the persons placed in the scene; but these also furnish some

information that has its value. Beside the sigma with three branches, the only one in use on the marbles of Athens in the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries, there is seen to appear with Brygos the new form of this letter, which in Attic texts will soon replace the earlier form. What in also the most decisive fashion invites us to see in Brygos a successor rather than a contemporary of Euphronios, are certain peculiarities of his execution, for example such as the rendering of the eye in figures in profile. We have already seen this eye that Douris and other painters open near this inner angle; but in some heads by Brygos, it has nearly its normal appearance. Instead of retaining an awkward shape which is only presented in a front view, the brush gives it that of an isosceles triangle (Fig. 201, No. 23). When seen from the side, the eye doubtless does not present in nature that geometrical stiffness; its ball and both eyelids form curved lines; but with that slight inaccuracy it was indeed in perspective that the eye was presented there for the first time, and Brygos by suppressing the little vertical line that closes the eye in front, even sometimes arrived at showing the eye almost correctly. (Fig. 201, No. 24). With Brygos painting had then finally found the true solution of the problem that during so long a time it had been unable to solve.

Finally, at the same time that the drawing of Brygos is even bolder and more free from all restraint than that of his predecessors, his technics is more complex; it shows the desire which the artist feels to give his painting an appearance that may be richer and more colored than that of earlier works. Brygos seeks to model by hatchings a certain surface where he desires to indicate curvature, for example that of a shield or of a rick on which is seated one of his persons. By a skilful use of diluted black, he obtains for the hair a tint tending to blond. For that of old men and for their beards he makes free use of white; for other hair he gives a beautiful black, representing it by a stippling of little projecting points. For clothing and accessories, he knows how on occasion to use red retouches. Finally, he employs gold in places to accent certain details of the armor of men or of the toilette of women.¹ (Plates XII, XIII). However may be the application of gilt-

gilding to the clay, one cannot mistake a first indication of a change in taste. The successors of Brygos will far more largely use this mode of ornamentation to decorate those little elegant and smart vases, that will become the fashion about the end of the 5th century. It will suffice to sum up in one word all these observations:— if Brygos has carried farther than any of his contemporaries science and boldness of drawing, at the same time he is more of a painter than were Euphronios, Hiero or Douris. Better than any of the Attic masters, he had a suspicion of the role that color might be called to play with advantage in the decoration of pottery. Thus he returned to follow examples that had not been thought profitable by the decorators of clay at Athens. He resumed in this manner the tradition of the ceramists of Ionia, in the slightly different conditions.²

Note 1. p. 557. On bosses in form of flat nail heads that are perceived on several points of our two plates XII and XIII, there is found the trace of gold. The gold has disappeared, but one distinguishes very well the mordant on which the gold was applied. This mordant has retained a yellowish brown tone, that indicates the ancient presence of the gilding. On the role of gilding on the cups of Brygos, see Pottier. Douris, p. 58.

Note 2. p. 557. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX, p. 562-568.

It seems that Brygos, as many master potters had done before him, did not take the trouble to sign all vases that left his workshop. There are attributed to him with some probability some forty cups, which strongly resemble the signed cups in the character of the scenes represented as by the execution.¹ In any case according to these, it may be affirmed that paid a very particular attention to the choice of the subjects to be represented on his vases. If he decided on a common theme, he sought to renew it by ingenious and novel variations; but he appears to have taken pleasure in frequently borrowing the material of his decoration from myths less known than those of the current repertoire.

Note 1. p. 558. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Chap. XIII. Furtwängler. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Pls. 49, 84, 83.

For example, here is a cup of the Louvre on which the decoration of the exterior is divided into two paintings. On one s

side is the judgment of Paris; but the other painting offers a very unusual appearance, for which has been presented several different explanations. This is the one which we prefer.² The painter represented Paris returning to Troy after the abduction of Helen (Fig. 319). "Hecuba tenderly receives the culpable son that Aphrodite herself pushes into her arms. Priam makes a gesture of hesitation or of reproach. Behind and at the rear, Cassandra seems to foresee the misfortunes that will fall upon the family, while one of her sisters, perhaps Polyxena, spins from her distaff as if careless and ignorant. This last hypothesis appears most attractive, for it gives to the composition a dramatic character, that suits well all works sent from that Workshop."³

Note 2.p.558. C. Robert. Bild und Lied. p. 90 et seq.

Note 3.p.558. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 987-988. There can be found the indication of the other explanations proposed.

In the interior of the bowl are Apollo and Artemis facing each other (Fig. 320). If Artemis shows herself there in her usual and in her customary aspect, the type of Apollo is novel and original. The god is clothed with elegance and leans on a great sceptre. He has the traits and costume of one of those ephebes of high society in Athens, qualified by Kalos and celebrated by the inscriptions of Attic vases. This is not the sole manifestation in the paintings of this cup, of the desire experienced by the artist to rejuvenate the traditional themes by the mode of presentation.

In the painting of the judgment of Paris, the latter is no longer the hairy shepherd of the vases with black figures. Paris with his sceptre and lyre is indeed the son of the king. Such as we have already seen him on a cup of Hiero (Fig. 277). Brygos has clothed and ornamented the Trojan shepherd; but he has put more expression into the attitude and face. Here Paris has his lips separated and his head is thrown back; he sings in a sort of ecstasy, is accompanying himself with his instrument (Fig. 321). Because of the deplorable state of this exterior, we do not seize well the attitudes given by the painter to the two goddesses that follow Hera.

In considering the whole of this decoration, it is recognized that the connection is more loose between its different parts,

than in many works of Douris; but still one cannot deny the existence of this connection. The subjects of the two paintings on the outside are taken from the myth of Paris. As for Apollo and Artemis, they appear as the protecting deities of the Trojans in the interior of the cup.

The prepossessions and tendencies that we have indicated here, we shall find still more marked in the decoration of a cup of the British Museum. No uncertainty there. Each person has his name in the field; but nowhere in all that we have in Greek literature is there found the least notice of the myth represented here. It concerns an insolent enterprise of the Silenes, who did not fear to attack Hera the spouse and Iris the messenger of Zeus. At one side, full of wine and luxury, they throw themselves on Hera. There are four intent on the pursuit; but between them and the goddess that flees terrified, Hermes, called by her cries can come to interpose himself. His imperious gesture commands the Silenes to stop, and behind Hera is seen Hercules hastening to the rescue, armed with his bow and club. (Fig. 322). At the other side is Iris, who struggles between two assailants, each of which has seized her by an arm. A third Silene runs to the scene of the struggle with great strides. To defend herself against the violence that threatens her, Iris cannot count on the intervention of the gods like Hera. Standing near his altar with sceptre and cantharus in hand, Dionysos is present in the scene; but he seems amused rather than anxious. Indulgent to the freaks of his joyous companions, he does not even lift a finger to restrain their gross passions. Iris has wings; these can place her beyond reach (Fig. 323).

If the poets and mythologists tell us nothing of dangers that Hera and Iris thus ran, one can scarcely admit that all this was the invention of the painter. He must have taken the idea of this episode from some literary work, that familiarized minds in Athens with the rough statement of this strange adventure. It must have been imagined by one of the rivals of Phrynichos and Eschylus. We have indicated in the work of Douris attitudes and procedures in composition, that seem to us to have been suggested to the artist by contemporaneous tragedy. Here also we shall recognize this same influence suggestive of the theatre. But it is not tragedy that inspires Brygos, it is

the satirical drama, the naive immodesty and burlesque fantasy, which characterize it. In one of the comic dramas, which at the Dionysies came to rest minds from the emotions due to the tragic trilogy, some one of the poet then in vogue had given to the Athenians the spectacle of the august goddesses pursued across the orchestra by the loose chorus of lascivious satyrs, negroes as they were called. Leaving the play, the painter would divert himself by reproducing in the decoration of one of the cups awaiting him, the latest fashion of groups and movements whose picturesque effect was engraved in his memory.¹

Note 1. p. 582. This is the opinion of G. Robert in the Article on Brygos of Pauly-Wissowa.

The artist has marvellously rendered this effect. The theme of both paintings is identical, and still one of them is not the repetition of the other. In one is an amusing contrast between the group of the deities and that of the Silenes. On one side is an air of offended dignity, gestures of reproach and of menace. At the other side is the embarrassment of men taken in fault, and although entirely influenced by desire, yet how in spite of this before the protection that Hermes intimates to them. The painter has varied the expression of this embarrassment. The Silenus marching at the head of the band is carried onward by his dash and has not yet stopped; but one would say that he mutters explanations and excuses. The two following him have stopped; they draw back. A fourth has received a stronger impression from the appearance of Hercules. In his terror, returning to that animalism of which something remains in the Silenus even under the aspect of a man, he throws himself on the ground and runs away on four paws.

In the entire party one is present at the pursuit and the struggle. The serene indifference of Dionysos, an impassible witness of the exploits of his band, contrasts with the violence of this dash that casts these madmen on the prey, of which they believe themselves already masters. The god is not even irritated by seeing one of them bound on his own altar, taking there a point of support to hold Iris.

The merit of the execution of these two paintings corresponds to the talent with which they are composed. The two figures of Hera and of Iris alone, where the torso is displayed in its entire

width, while the heads and legs are shown in profile, attest the persistent empire of the old conventions; but the deformation that results from them is lessened here by the amplitude of the drapery, that envelops the bodies of the two goddesses, and as much can be said of the Dionysos, also draped from head to foot. On the other hand, in the images of the Silenes is no longer anything conventional. There is in the rendering of the nude form a boldness sure of itself, which we found nowhere in the same degree. Whether they are seen in front or behind, in front, profile or three-quarter view, the entire body is presented to the eye of a spectator as he would perceive it, if present at the scene. This result is obtained for two of these images at the cost of audacious and knowing foreshortening; see the Silenus that ramps on the ground, and he that springs on the altar! The excess and unexpectedness of these poses give to this entire painting something of an air of joyous animation and passionate life.

This is particularly what forms the value of this cup. We shall not also the originality of the costume worn by Hercules, tights striped with black and descending to his ankles. Over these are cast a short tunic and the lion's skin. On his thigh hangs the quiver, which with this sort of tricot characterized the Scythian warrior. It must be to excite curiosity that the painter has thus disguised the Greek Hercules as a savage warrior. This example has not been much followed. Scarcely can be cited two or three vases on which the hero shows himself so equipped.¹ There will also be noted on the clothing of at least one of the persons, on that of Hermes, those black spots which Brygos loved to scatter over his fabrics. There is a peculiarity in execution which aids in recognizing the products of this workshop, when they are not signed. These dots are sometimes replaced by very small circles, and are found more numerous and more strongly marked on the tunic and the himation in which are draped the hero Chrysis and his female adorer Zeuxo, that the painter has grouped inside his cup, one receiving and the other offering the homage of the libation (Fig. 324).²

Note 1. p. 564. Furtwängler. Text, p. 240; Pl. 47.

Note 2. p. 564. The same. p. 239.

This is the second monument known of one of the local cults

of Attica, of that rendered to a hero Chrysippos, whose name has not been preserved by literary tradition. Another mention of him was made by a votive stele recently published, on which Chrysippos appears with the traits of a cavalier.¹ Here he is seated with helmet on head, a cuirass on his chest, spear in hand, but the image is common.

Note 1. p. 585. *Furtwängler. Sammlung Sabouroff. Introduction to the sculpture*, p. 37. Note 4.

An entirely different character is presented by the group that decorates the interior of another cup of Brygos on which is represented a komos. There is seen a guest who has allowed himself to do too much honor at a well served table. His stomach revolts and while he vomits, leaning with his right hand on his tall staff, one of the courtesans that has taken part in the banquet supports his head (Fig. 325).

The painting is curious for its frankly realistic character. There will also be admired the certainty of the execution. The two heads have a very frank expression. In that of the young man leaning forward is felt fatigue and suffering. That of the courtesan and also her gesture betrays an anxious and affectionate solicitude. The feet and hands are in most elegant drawing and the same qualities are found in the drapery, in the rendering of the thick fabric of the great mantle in which the ephebe is enveloped, and in the fineness of the Ionian tunic, which from neck to feet fits the slender and supple body of the young woman.

The same merits are in the representation of the komos (Figs. 326, 327). The same variety and vivacity of movements as in the paintings that place Hera and Iris in a struggle with the Silenes. The figures are crowded against each other in a narrow space and partly conceal each other without confusion anywhere. Mouths are open. One hears resound the joyous calls, the songs which arise to accompany the playing of the instruments, the lyre and the flute. Like the ephebe of the interior, two persons of this joyous group have drunk too much; while allowing themselves to be carried away by the dash of the farandole, to their stomachs are relieved without anyone paying attention to that incident. In the best society of Athens, custom permitted taking certain liberties, which with us among persons well br-

brought up would not fail to appear in doubtful taste.¹

Note 1.p.567. In the interior of an anonymous cup, whose exterior also represents a komos, there is a nude ephebe that supports the head of a man of adult age lying on a couch. The arm of the invalid hangs inert. Catalogue Van Branteghem, Pl. XXV, No. 78.

We hasten to come to a vase that may be regarded as the masterpiece of Brygos, to the cup of the Louvre, which represents various episodes of the Ilioupersis, or "the destruction of Troy." It is one of the most precious monuments possessed by our gallery. The painting in the bowl has but a secondary interest. (Fig. 328). In a place that the shield and sword suspended on the wall define as the tent or house of the warrior, it represents an old man with white hair and beard, armed with a sceptre and seated on a seat covered by a cushion. This person holds in the right hand a phiale, into which a young girl holding an oenochoe is going to pour wine. Near her is the legend, *Eriseis*, i.e., *Eriseis*. The painter has given no name to the old man. It has been desired to see in him either Phoenix or Peleus, with whom the captive formerly loved by Achilles conversed concerning the exploits of the hero. This was perhaps to take useless trouble. We would have here only a variation of a motive, that was at that time very much in favor with makers of cups. If the painter has inscribed the name of *Eriseis* near the woman, this is because that name returned to memory, when in the field of these paintings, whose theme he had borrowed from the events of the war of Troy, he scattered legends intended to complete the decoration of the cup.

On the exterior extends without interruption the series of tragic incidents, according to the tales of the poets, in which are summarized the disaster of that last night.¹ A palmatum under the handle marks the starting point and the end of the composition. This develops from right to left. It opens with a group formed of four persons. A young man (*Astyanax*) flees terrified. Before and covering him with her body is his mother (*Andromache*); the dog was forgotten. She brandishes in both hands a pestle for crushing wheat, the first weapon that she found in reach. Opposite her is a Greek warrior (*Orsimes*) with shield on the left arm, sword in the right hand. To throw himself on

Andromache, he strides over the body of a wounded Trojan; of whose name remains only some letters. Behind Orsinos is a woman with disheveled hair and disordered clothing. No name. It is perhaps Cassandra. Then comes a Greek (Hyperos), who prepares to finish an anonymous Trojan already cast on the ground. (Fig. 329, Pl. XII).

Note 1.p.568. That all the beauty of this cup may be appreciated, which is one of the masterpieces of the Attic ceramics of the severe style, we represent it here by two cuts inserted in the text (Figs. 329, 330), and by two plates without text. (Pls. XII, XIII). The two cuts in black give the entire composition and cause one to seize its wise arrangement; these were necessary, since in the plates in color for no detail to disappear, we must give the figures dimensions, that did not permit them all to enter the field of the plate. What was important there was to reproduce accurately the appearance of the vase, to give a correct idea of the methods of design and of the discreet polychromy of the painting.

The drama continues on the other side. Neoptolemus has seized by the feet the nude corpse of a young boy (Astyanax), and brandishes it like a club to strike the aged Priam, who is seated on the altar of Zeus near a great tripod, extends his arms and seems to supplicate the son of Achilles (Figs. 330, Pl. XIII). At the end of the field Polyxena goes to the left, led by Akamas and turns around to view this scene of horror.

In these two paintings, while the Greeks wear complete armor, helmet and shield, cuirass and greaves, even the Trojans who attempt to fight without hope, have nude heads and legs. The painter thus desired to recall that they were surprised in slumber. Their sole clothing is the mantle which they have thrown in haste over their shoulders. Men have much discussed and sometimes criticized the paintings of this celebrated cup. Thus because they are surprised to see brought together in the same group two incidents that could not be regarded as simultaneous. On one side is Astyanax alive, on the other he has already succumbed. There is no reason to be embarrassed for so little. While it retains some artlessness and does not stop for such apparent contradictions, it does not even suggest the objections that may be raised. What it proposes is to choose

in the parts of some great historical event or in the life of the person taken for the hero, the episodes best suited to strike the imagination. With the Italian or Flemish painters of the Renaissance is found more than one example of this juxtaposition in the same fresco, of miracles that could only be performed successively by the saint, whose memory is to be celebrated. Brygos has done the same. The painters preceding him, painters of history and ceramic painters had emulously sought in this agony of the Trojan people themes, which while suited for the brush in drawing beautiful movements, touched the hearts by reviving the emotions, that the epic poetry had caused them, that first education of Greek youth. Of all these themes, without asking to what instant of the fatal night might have corresponded each, Brygos has retained those which appeared to him both most moving and richest in picturesque details. All these figures and motives, in spite of their diversity, concurred in producing the same impression, that of the ferocity of heroic customs, such as they had been depicted by Homer and by the cyclic poets after him.

Still one group forms an exception. It is the one that closes the series, that of Polyxena and Akamas. In comparison with the others, this group has a tranquil and reposeful appearance. Akamas walks with great strides, head bent down as if he hastened to leave the place where so many acts of savagery were perpetrated. It is not seen that he has laid his hand on the arm or shoulder of Polyxena. While casting a last look at the city and the relatives that she will never see again, she docilely follows the victor, rather as a friend that will be grateful for having taken her from death, than like a captive that yields to violence. Men have spoken of an effect sought by Brygos, that he desired to alleviate by this contrast the feeling of horror produced in the mind by all these sights of death and blood. Perhaps he had that intention; but what especially suggested to him the method that he has taken was the desire to flatter the national vanity of those Athenians for whom he worked. According to a tradition dear to them, Akamas son of Theseus fought before Troy.¹ Having returned from the war, he reigned over Athens. He was the eponymous hero of the Akamantide tribe, to which belonged the deme of Ceramicos. The potters

thus loved to make him appear on their vases, as the patron of their industry;² in the present case, Brygos knew how to please the Athenians by showing him here mingled with the victors over Ilium, but distinguished from those savage warriors by the mildness with which he exercised the rights given him by the victory. For that purpose, the artist did not fear to depart from the version of the myth, more generally accredited, which gave Polyxena to Neoptolemus, so that he might sacrifice her to the manes of Achilles.

Note 1.p.572. Proclus. *Cycli excerpta*, p. 584 (Edit. Didot).

Note 2.p.572. Thus Akamas has his marked place among the heroes grouped around Hercules on the celebrated hydria of Meidias, and that on the beautiful vase of the same epoch that came from Agrigente, he appears in the first rank of the Athenian warriors that fight against the Amazons (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*, PL. 9).

In the legends on the field is another proof of the liberties taken by the decorators of clay with the myths that they employ. Near the names taken from epic poetry, such as Neoptolemus and Astyanax, Polyxena and Andromache, there are others such as Crimos and Hyperos, which are pure invention, perhaps those of comrades in the workshop. In studying the Greek vases, men have too frequently forgotten that the ceramic painters did not understand their task as do the artists, who illustrate a modern book by their compositions. All these myths were familiar to their imagination, which from youth was impregnated by the school, and later by the recitations of epic poetry, that certainly accompanied certain festivals, and by the dramatic representations. It found again their principal episodes, those lending themselves best to translation into form, in the works of sculpture and of monumental painting, which furnished to industrial art suggestions and models. This was like a reserve, and an inexhaustible treasure in which the collaborator of the potter, without feeling himself bound by a precise text, took at pleasure his fancy themes, which he adapted to dimensions and form of his vase, as well as to the taste of the patrons that he had in view.

It remains to do justice to the talent displayed by the painter in these paintings and to define his style. This style is that which we have already learned to admire by other cups signed

with the same name; but nowhere have we found a composition as wise and an execution as masterly, as in the decoration of the cup of the Louvre. There on each side of the exterior, the artist has divided the field between a principal group, that occupies about two thirds of the space at disposal, and a secondary group that occupies the rest. At one side the true subject of the painting is the despairing struggle that Andromache with her chance weapon attempts to sustain and save her son, against the Greek warrior whom she tries to prevent from passing. The wounded Trojan that falls on the ground between Orsimos and Andromache gives a foresight of the approaching result of an unequal duel. This end is divined by the gesture of affright made with both arms behind Orsimos by the young woman, that we have called Cassandra. One must hear the cry of terror that issues from her great open mouth. The two persons, a Greek and a Trojan, who then come standing next each other are not merely figures for filling. They confirm the impression left by the group which they limit. One feels what a slight chance this Trojan with neither helmet nor shield has of escaping the blows of the fully armed warrior, who threatens him with his spear.

The painting on the other side, where is continued the course of this sad story is perhaps even more pathetic. There is not only the death of the vanquished imminent and anticipated, Astyanax could not be torn from this death by the heroic devotion of his mother. His poor body, despoiled of all clothing, in the hands of the victor is no more than an instrument of massacre. The corpse of the child will fall like a clump on the bald brow of his grandfather, who is a powerless witness of the disaster, and took refuge near the altar of Zeus. The majesty of age and the sanctity did not arrest the homicidal rage of Neoptolemus. This reached its paroxysm in him, the intoxication of murder. Further those two, Priam and Neoptolemus did not suffice to make a pendant to the five persons grouped in the similar scene on the other side; but very skilfully by means of the altar and the high tripod near it, Brygos filled the void and established equilibrium between the two paintings. Finally, with the same skill and to complete the decoration of this side, he added there as a sort of epilogue this group of Polyxena and Akamas, whose appearance contrasts with that of the rest of the painting.

and where a role is assigned to the son of Theseus which pleases the patriotic pride of the Athenians.

This so ingenious and well arranged composition, the truth of the artist has expressed with rare good fortune. The line here has a marvellous certainty, firm without dryness, as fine in rendering the plaits of a tunic, as broad and thick in that of the masses of a woollen mantle. The proportions and contour of the figures have a perfect accuracy. The internal modeling of the bodies and of their members is discreetly indicated, but with much precision, by touches of diluted color. Without being detailed with emphasis, the extremities, feet and hands, are treated with much care; but what is especially striking is, that what there is in all the drawing in expressive boldness and passionate movement. I do not believe that in this kind, anything could be placed above the figure of Andromache, and that body thrown forward by the flexure of the right leg, while the bust is raised, the chest and head being thrown back to give more force to the arm, that will strike the shield of the enemy with the heavy metal instrument. Beneath the drapery which follows all the vibrations of the form that it covers, there is divined the contraction of the muscles stressed for the effort. The same dash, the same elasticity of the flesh, are again found in the entire person of this Orsinos who throws himself on Andromache, and in the gestures of Cassandra, Neoptolemus and Priam. If there be finally a bit where fails the mastery of Brygos and his knowledge of the nude, this is indeed the body of Astyanax, the slender body of a child with pointed elbows and knees, that is held up by the feet and seems to stretch by his own weight, by its arms falling inert, both sides of this head which makes its closed eyes so pitiful, its lips still opened by the last sign, its long hanging hair that trails in the dust.

Brygos thus appears to us, at the end of the field which he proposed to pass over, as the artist of genius whose works by their happy success come to crown an entire series of patient and conscientious efforts. Under the Pisistratides appear to have been made at Athens for the decoration of vases of clay the first attempts in the painting of red figures on a black ground. At its beginning the new style seems to be only a

transposition and prolongation of that which it succeeded, of the style of the black figure; but soon under the influence of the models offered to it in Attica itself and in all Greece by monumental painting and statuary, it unbends and becomes flexible. Become more and more sensitive to the beauties of the living form, it learns to render them and to increase the effect by that of the drapery. He learns to place his figures in perspective by the use of foreshortening. Commenced by Epictetos, this evolution is followed by the initiative of painters like Euthymides, Phintias, Oltos, Makron, Peithinos, Smikros, Douris, and especially Euphronios, that one of these decorators who is most inventive and has the highest ambitions. It was completed with Brygos on the morrow of the second Median war. Was Brygos better than Euphronios? We cannot say. In any case, he does not seem to have suffered the direct influence of Euphronios. He does not give to the virile nude the same grandeur and the same strength. It is by other means that he aims at expression. He does not apply himself like Euphronios to seek it in the displacement of the eyeball, he places it in the lips, which are nearly always open, in the disorder of the hair, in the movement of the arms and in the entire body. His figures are particularly of value by the role that they play in the composition. It would be said that Brygos was not much interested in the isolated figure; also the interiors of his cups have less importance than those of the cups of several other masters. It is particularly in the decoration of the exteriors that the painter displays his qualities.

The advantage that Brygos has over Euphronios is, that he entered later on his career, and that he victoriously freed himself from the yoke of archaic conventions. Scarcely do there remain in him some weak vestiges. Thus freed from all restraint, he can at his pleasure diversify the attitudes of his persons, to give them or develop with more caprice and boldness the vigor of a healthy and supple body. Yet it is not without surprise that there is found in the decoration of the cups signed by him that have come to us, that one finds no representation of the exercises of the palestra. Perhaps that is only a natural effect of the chances of the excavations. Time would have spared none of the cups on which he treated these themes

of the gymnasium, that as well as those of combats, give occasion to develop his principal qualities. In whatever manner it could be explained this omission, we shall admire in his paintings a display of force, a dash and a fire that is not found in the same degree in any of his predecessors. Brygos is particularly the painter of movement.¹

Note 1. p. 576. Brygos appears to have taken pleasure in obscene images, of which a foretaste is given by the cup of the Silenes attacking Hera and Iris. (Figs. 322, 323). There is by him in the museum of Florence a cup, that connoisseurs indicate as one of the best works of the master, but which no one has dared to publish yet, because of the character of the groups represented thereon. (Hartwig. Meisterschalen, p. 344).

12. Potters and Painters of the Second Order.

With Douris and Brygos, in this history of painting on clay, we have reached the time when this painting will evolve, under the influence of the models offered on the one hand by the frescos of Polygnotos, of Panaenos and of Micon, then on the other hand by the statues and reliefs of Polycletes and of Pheidias, the great entireties of sculpture that project the image of a thrilling and passionate life on all surfaces of the edifices by which are decorated the Athens of Pericles. To follow in its development this art of the decoration of clay, it has been necessary for us to choose between the thousands of monuments that fill the glass cases of the museums. What has aided us in making this selection is a custom introduced in the 6th century in the workshops of the Ceramicos of Athens. Until then at long intervals some island, Corinthian or Beotian potters thought to inscribe their names on the vases which then had decorated. Their example had not been followed. Everywhere to indicate their products to the local or foreign patrons, the potters had counted only on the beautiful appearance which they undertook to give to the pieces sent from their kilns, and on the fame of the Workshop with which they were connected.

It was no longer thus in the Athens of Pisistratus and of his sons. The ceramists there profited by the models offered to them in the growing city by the progress of the architecture, of mural painting and of statuary. Then they awake to higher conditions, whose flight will soon be favored by the ruin of

Ionia, ravaged by the Persians and by the decadence of Corinth, where no longer reigns the Cypselides and Periander. Their industry becomes an art. They aspired and in a little time succeeded in conquering a sort of monopoly. Due to the superiority of the methods of fabrication which they practised and to the refinement of their taste, they became the titular furnishers of all lovers of vessels of luxury, and all those who in Greece and Italy are sensitive to the elegance of the beautiful forms and the charm of the myths, so rich and varied, from which the decorators of clay most frequently demand the subjects of their paintings, which they traced on the surfaces of their hydrias, amphoras and cups. In these conditions then are conscious of the value of the works that they produced and find pleasure in avowing themselves as the authors of them. What further encouraged them not to reject this temptation are the needs of competition. There are in Ceramicos many workshops whose equipment is equally perfected. To ensure the preference of patrons, the most skilful of these master potters that take the habit of calling the attention of the public to their works by a signature which is the mark of the workshop. Frequently, better to inform the eventual purchaser of the care devoted to the execution of the vase, the potter permits the artist that painted the decoration to place his name there also. Then on the marked vase announces itself by a double signature as a work out of the common, and which can claim a high price.

Although among anonymous vases there are some very beautiful ones, we were then required to take as best authorized of the ceramics of Athens, those vases which a single or double signature recommended to our curiosity. If the chiefs of workshops were interested in signing, this was only that their establishments were advantageously known at all places on the coasts of the Mediterranean, for this mention to add to the chances of a profitable sale. Likewise the inscription of the name of a painter had a reason if this painter enjoyed a well established reputation among amateurs. Finally, another element which we have considered was even the number itself of vases on which were read signatures of potters or of painters. If the name of Hiero is found on so many vases, this is because his workshop in the first half of the 5th century was one of the most famous.

famous for the excellence of its products, which was then at Athens. Likewise, if the amphoras and cups very frequently present to our eyes the names of Epictetus and of Douris, this is because the former being before and the latter after the Median wars, they were the ceramic painters whose assistance was most sought by the chiefs of the industry and paid far highest by them.

If this be so, one cannot be surprised that we have adopted the method of taking out of their order, so to speak, those signed vases whose list increases each year, had been drawn up by the diligence of the ceramographs. It is by consulting and studying the vases that we have been able to distinguish the successive phases according to the choice of the forms preferred by the potter, according to the manner in which the painter intends the composition, and that by design and color he interprets and renders the living form.

This method is that which by the force of things was already imposed on the archaeologists, who before us attempted to write this history. Perhaps we have only tried to apply it with more rigor. Further, to have fixed points of reference and not to lose ourselves in details, we have not caused to figure in this survey all the artists, potters or painters, whose signatures have been read on the clay. Only those have entered the account, who in one fashion or another, have seemed to us must have given the tone in the world of ceramics. If there is some painter like Oltos, who could owe to a single vase of exceptional interest the honor of being mentioned here, we have generally given place in this history only to the masters, whose works have come to us in numbers. Those masters thus brought to our attention by the frequency of their signatures are certainly the potters whose workshops were most frequented, and thus are the painters who contributed most to the success of this workshop by the services rendered by their brushes to the chiefs of the industry.

Still, beside these workshops to which went the greatest profits, and those painters whose signatures were highest on the market, there were doubtless many other workshops in which it was attempted to dispute with these privileged ones a patronage, who until the disasters of the fifteen last years of the

5 th century did not cease to extend and multiply its demands. There had been at Ceramicos many obscure decorators and yet very skilful, who were occupied in imitating the models offered them by the paintings of the favorites in fashion. Thus it is divined by the prodigious quantity of Attic vases furnished by each new excavation of the tombs of Campania and of Etruria, as well as by the signatures of unknown men that from time to time appear on the vases that leave these cemeteries. To give an idea of the fruitful activity which reigned then in the quarter of Ceramicos and of the abundance of that production, there is room to complete the sketch that we have presented, by the addition of some names and the reproduction of some paintings. By those examples, one will see that these artists of the second order or little masters have often very nearly equaled those of their contemporaries, to whom perhaps because deceived by the chances of excavations, we have caused to play in this history a part more important and more in view.

The signatures of artists make their appearance in the manufacture of Athens on vases with black figures, that we believe contemporaneous with Solon and they soon multiply there. In the ceramics of the two first thirds of the 6 th century we have represented by the vases signed by the potters Ergotimos, Amasis, Exekias, Timagoras, Nearchos, Ergoteles, Tleson, Anacles, Theozotos and the painter Klitias. For the same period we have cited the names of the potters Taleides, Tychios, Charitaios, Chiron, Hermogenes, etc., and those of the painters Sophilos, Lydos, and Myson; but there we found ourselves in presence of vases on which the caprice of the individual scarcely intervened to diversify a decoration, whose repertory was very poor. The familiar themes of this decoration were known to us by the borrowings, that we had made from the work of three or four chiefs of workshops, that have left us most signed pieces. There is really no reason to seek elsewhere all the variations that men could derive from these current themes, variations that offered but a mediocre interest.

It is no longer entirely the same for the period of vases which we have termed transition vases. Doubtless the vases signed by Nicosthenes, Andokides and Epictetos suffice to show the hesitations a little before the Median wars, through which

passed an entire generation of potters and painters, when the adoption of a new method of decoration there led to the abandonment of ^{the} black for the red figure; but in any workshop before taking a free method, various procedures were tried, white or red figures on a black ground and vases of mixed technics. By the effect of these more or less happy experiments, Athenian fabrication commenced to put more variety in the shape of decoration of its products. What acted in the same direction was the multiplication of workshops, due to it that made for this manufacture a more elegant and gayer appearance of its new works. These with their finely modeled figures in light soon caused the disgust of the foreign purchases for the dark silhouettes and the brutal coloring of Corinthian vessels.

Then in the vicinity of the workshops from which issued most of the vases, that we have chosen as types, there were opened other workshops, which also appeared to have assured markets, for example, those of Typhéides, Pamphaios, with collaborators like the painters Epilycos (Fig. 213), Psiax and Pheidippos (Fig. 214). Some surprise was experienced on finding the name of Epilycos inscribed on several other vases, no longer accompanied by the verb egrapsen, but only by the epithet kalos.¹ Without learning from what workshop came the vases on which is read this salutation addressed to Epilycos, a recent find made at Caere has directed attention to the person of this painter. It gives reason to think that Epilycos enjoyed a real popularity in the quarter of Ceramicos, about the time when men passed from the black to the red figure.²

Note 1. p. 581. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p. 388, Note 2.

Note 2. p. 581. G. B. Guizzo. Il cosmografo Skythes (Monumenti et Memorie. Vol. XX, p. 101-154; Pls. VI, VII, VIII).

Of a painter called Skythes, who like Lydos must be a metic, there are known two of those tablets with their holes for suspension, which were made to be suspended on the wall in houses or beneath the porticos of temples. These tablets that were collected on the Acropolis of Athens and have black figures;³ but Skythes was one of those initiated with enthusiasm in the practice of the new method, as shown by the cup which was discovered in 1911. It was in fragments; but it has been possible to put together the fragments so that no important part remains.

Note 3.p.581. Rizzo. Pl. VII, 2; Klein, p. 48-49.

In the hollow of the basin is a nude lyrist walking with the signature on the field of Skythes egrapsem (Fig. 331). On the outside between palmations that surround the handles are two exploits of the national hero Theseus in combat with the son of Krommyon and Theseus seizing by the throat to strangle him, one of the heroes from whom he delivered Attica (Fig. 332). Is this Skiron or Procrustes? We do not know. There is no legend there which gives the names of the actors in the scene. All that the brush has written there above the son is a salutation to epilycos kalos. The word kalos is repeated on the other side of the exterior.

The image of the lyrist has not the elegance of many images of the same kind that Epictetos and Chelis have made in this place on the cups which they have decorated (Figs. 204-209, 211, 216). The Theseus of Skythes is also very much further from that which we have admired for his robust elegance on a cup of the Louvre (Figs. 248, 247). Here the forms are heavier and they have scarcely any interior modeling. Skythes was a mediocre artist; but what is to be particularly noted there is the compliment addressed to a comrade, and what makes it still more curious is the fact, that Epilycos returned the friendship that Skythes showed him. The Louvre possesses a fragment of a cup on which in the portion of the painting on the exterior preserved, there is seen two nude ephebes, who to fill their cups take wine from a great cratera. (Fig. 333). The signature is incomplete. There remains only kos and raps; but these few letters suggest the restoration; Epilycos egrapsen. Everything concurs to justify this restoration. We know no other painter of the time, whose name ends in the syllable kos. There are remains of palmations which recall those decorating a cup of the Louvre signed by Epilycos.¹ Finally, here is what also adds to the probability of the hypothesis. There is in the field, cut in two by the figure of one of the ephebes, this second legend, nothing of which is lacking; kalos Skythes. We have just reproduced a vase on which the painter Skythes applauds Epilycos. This is a response and a return of thanks that Epilycos sends to Skythes by a salutation of the same sort. What can be inferred from a comparison of the two pieces is that Epilycos and

Skythes were only contemporaries. But also that they worked in the same workshop and were connected by intimate friendship.

Most archaeologists have perhaps been too much inclined to affirm that the kaloi of Attic vases are generally important persons in the city, sons of great families and favorites of fashion. It seems that in the receivers of this sort of praise, one must recognize more frequently than men are inclined to do, artisans of Ceramicos, apprentices or chiefs, potters or painters, to whom their companions of the workshop or their rivals send this salutation in a feeling of joyous comradeship or affectionate confraternity. This tends to prove that ^{for} a very great number of legends, men have so far not sufficiently tried to compare and interpret.¹

Note 1.p.582. Louvre. G, 10. Pottier. Catalogue, p.391-394.

Note 1.p.583. Rizzo. Il ceramografo Skythes, etc.p.148-152.

If we have thought that Skythes should be placed on the list of Attic potters, who merit not being passed over in silence, this is then less for the value of his work than for the inscriptions read on it. These being compared with other legends of the same kind aid us in seeing certain aspects of life in the workshops, in which for more than two centuries there was expended so much talent, without a single one of the writers of Athens ever having found occasion to pronounce the names of Euphronios, Douris or Brygos. By the study of the decorated monuments, modern erudition has known how to repair that injustice and that neglect of history. It is known how to state all that the Athens of Pisistratus, of Cimon and of Pericles must have owed to the wealth and prestige of the patient labor, the intelligence and the taste of these obscure workers of Ceramicos.

It is for another reason that the potter Pistoxenos will take his place here, whose signature has been read on two kyathos, on a cup and on the foot of a vase.¹ He does not belong like Skythes to the age of transition. His workshop has not left to us vases decorated in the black manner; but he was already in full activity at the time when the chiefs of industry disputed with each other the assistance of the painter Epictetos. Pistoxenos has placed his epoisien on a vase ^{that} Epictetos signed as painter, and on which he has represented Dionysos and the Silenes, the common theme into which Epictetos has introduced no

unexpected variation. It is not the same for another vase, the kyathos of the museum of Schwerin (Fig. 344). There is no name of the painter. Pistoxenos signs by epolsen, was he also the author of the decoration? We do not know; but what is certain is, that this painter, whoever he may have been, announces himself by the freedom of his design and by the entire spirit of his composition as a contemporary of Douris and of Brygos.² Let us call him Pistoxenos so as to study his work without having to employ periphrases. With him as with the masters to whom we compare him, we find carried very far the search for what art critics call character. By the attitudes that he has given to his figures, by the traits that he has lent to them and by the least details, such as even the choice of accessories, he has desired and has known how to distinguish from each other the different actors in the scene, to define the peculiarities of their existence, of their preferences and their habits.

Note 1. p. 584. *Klein. Vasen mit Metatelsignaturen*, p. 143-150.

Note 2. p. 584. Attention has been called to Pistoxenos by an Article of Meybaum, who judged with reason that this vase, published forty years ago, merited being studied anew, that these paintings were worthy of being reproduced with more accuracy than was the case the first time. (*Der Zecher des Pistoxenos im Schweriner museum. Jahrb. 1912. p. 24-37, Pls. 5-8*). He added to the faithful drawings of Reichhold two plates taken from the original. We have preferred to give the drawings, that are more easily reproduced.

By the authors and the figured monuments is known the myth of Linos.¹ This virtuoso of the lyre taught music to two young sons of Alcmena, to Iphicles, son of Amphytryon, and to Hercules, son of Zeus; but while Iphicles docilely applied himself to that study, Hercules was tormented by an excess of strength that he desired to employ in other labors, and poorly supported the chastisements brought on him by his negligence. Struck by Linos one day, he slew his master in a fit of anger. This is not the scene represented by the painting of Pistoxenos. That is the prologue. Iphicles is seated before Linos. Behind Iphicles advances Hercules, who is going to receive his lesson. He is led there by an old woman servant, like a child as he is

Note 1. p. 585. Pausanias. IX. 23-3. Apollodorus. IV. 1-2. D.

Diodoros. III, 27. Hartwig attributes to Douris a cup of the museum of Munich (371), where on one side is represented Hercules killing Linos (Meisterschalen, p. 824). Also see the relief in Museo Pio Clementino, Pl. X-2).

All here concurs in differentiating these persons to render apparent the nature of the relations that they maintained between them. Linos is represented as a bald old man of distinguished appearance (Fig. 335). Carefully draped in his tunic and mantle, he sits on one of those chairs with back, which the painters assign to heroes and deities. Before him Iphicles is seated on a stool, an ephebe with nude torso that for decency has the lower part of his body wrapped in the himation. Both have their heads bent forward, hold the lyre and their hands strike the strings. Iphicles has his eyes fixed on his master, and seems to follow with attention the movement of his fingers. Hercules is a robust youth (Fig. 336). If his legs and bust are concealed under the mantle that covers him even to his feet, one divines his vigor by the projection of his shoulder and by the firm drawing of his right arm, which is entirely uncovered by the fabric. Other indications suggest the same impression. This is the thickness of the very short neck. Also the appearance of the hair. While the hair of Iphicles is well concealed and held in place by a narrow fillet, that of Hercules over his brow and ears abounds in close and irregular curls. Those bushy and curly heads in more than one painting characterize the producers of disorder, for example with Euphronios, those brigands over whom Theseus triumphs (Figs. 246, 247). Finally, a last significant trait, it is not a lyre that the pupil holds in his hand, who goes to take a music lesson. It is a long arrow by which is announced the tastes of the child, that will become the redoubtable archer, whose image will be so frequently seen on coins, on painted vases and on the pediments of temples.

Hercules was tired of his lyre and did not even wish to carry it. He had entrusted it to the servant woman that accompanied him. In this figure, the first editor of the monument proposed to recognize an eunuch;¹ but everything advises one to see in it rather a woman.² It is first this name of Ceropse, a name with feminine termination.³ It is also the arrangement of the drapery. Beneath the folds of the tunic crossed on the chest

between the two vertical folds of the mantle, it is believed is divined the relief of the withered and hanging breasts. Finally, in the entire person, the wrinkled brow as in the emaciated neck, there is nothing of the soft fat of the puffy flesh of an eunuch. Geropse is indeed a woman, perhaps a nurse who grumblingly still accompanies the child, that she formerly held on her knees and who now treats her rudely. One feels in her fatigue and bad humor. These appear in her walk and in the expression of her face. Bent by age, she aids herself by the cane that bends as her body has the habit of leaning heavily on this staff. She has the hooked nose, hollow cheeks, toothless mouth and projecting chin. Nothing is more curious than this figure. This is a sketch that the painter has made from some old woman with wagging head, that he had seen toddling behind a child in some alley of Ceramicos. Better to render again the strange and picturesque effect of this apparition, he seems to have placed tattooing on the arms and feet. Perhaps she is some slave of African or Thracian origin, that has served him as a model.

Note 1.p.587. K. Hebbig. Il mito di Lino, etc. (Annali. 1881. p. 86-98, Pl. F).

Note 2.p.587. This is the opinion of Hartwig (Meisterschalen. p. 377); also of Meybaum.

Note 3.p.587. Palatato, one of the courtesans of the painter of Euphronios (Fig. 239).

It has been supposed and not without probability, that here as in the paintings signed by Brygos, which represent Hera and Iris assailed by satyrs, we have the reflection of some satyric drama, that amused the people at the great Dionysiacs. The myth of Linos appears to have been several times on the Attic stage in the 5th century.¹ The poets found a motive for comedy in the fruitless efforts that the legendary master of music made to initiate in the laws of melody this savage pupil, this amousos. Men laughed at the theatre when they saw there Amphitryon renounce carrying farther this musical education that ended in such tragic fashion, and decided to send to the mountain the pupil that murdered his master. There by his first sports and by his races in the forest and thickets, the future hero in hunting the game, a prelude of victories that he would

win over the brigands and the monsters hostile to men.²

Note 1.p.588. This is what O. Jahn states, who has collected the texts of the scholiasts in which are mentioned those dramas, whose themes were supplied by the story of Linos and of his relations with Hercules as a child (Einige Abenteuer der Heracles auf Vasenbildern, in Berichte der Sachsischen Ges. der Wiss. 1853. p. 145-150).

Note 2.p.588. Ellen. Histories varices. III. 32.

This character of frank realism, that we have indicated in that image of real sorcery, which Pistozenes has placed on his goblet, we find again although less emphasized in the painting which decorates the interior of a cup, that Hegesiboulos signed as potter. There is seen an old man with the profile of a Serpente, a nose like the beak of an eagle, who leads a dog with long and thick hair, in which is believed to be recognized a specimen of the breed called Laconian (Fig. 377). This old man is not hunting. Leaning on a knotty staff, he walks with quiet steps and his companion does the same. Is he perhaps an old dealer in dogs, who walks out and shows the animal for sale? On the outside are scenes of festivity. Some of these young men that take part in the repast are dressed with women's hats. On a second cup, which left the same workshop is seen a young girl that plays with a top.

Note 1.p.589. Griechische Vasenmalerei. II, p. 173-180. The name of Hegesiboulos is wanting in Klein.

Hegesiboulos must have belonged to the same generation as Pistozenos. By which it seems that their patrons were a little wearied by always seeing on the vases offered them only these heroes of the old myths, which the painter obeying tradition was forced to retain in them some nobility and beauty. As if to distract and amuse themselves, then took pleasure in sometimes finding in these paintings very marked popular types, which amused the eyes and provoked a smile. Certain paintings of Pistozenos and of Brygos have already appeared to move the public, for whom ceramists then worked, dispositions and tastes that we have explained by the influence of jocose parodies assisted by the satiric drama, in the Dionysiac festivals of the country and of the city.

If we wished not to omit a single one of the signatures that

have been read on the clay of the vases, we could also cite the potters Sotades and Cleophrades. The former signed a bacchanal scene in correct drawing but without originality, where satyrs are struggling with Menads.¹ Cleophrades, according to an inscription in which several letters are lacking, might well be the son of that Amasis, whose workshop produced so much in the reign of the black figure.² He caused Douris to work for his workshop.³ On the faith of a single signed vase, that of the Cabinet of Medals of Paris, even 34 other vases have been attributed to him;⁴ but it is divined that there is much fancy in these attributions. The basis is wanting. These two chiefs of workshops were contemporaries of Douris and of Brygos. On the contrary, it is about the beginning of the red figure that it is proper to place the painters Callis and Euphrosion.⁵ As painters with a more advanced style may be mentioned Hegias, by whom is only a cup, Hermonax, who has left us half a dozen vases, of Polygnotos, a decorator of amphoras.⁶ Among the makers of amphoras, it is proper to recall also the name of a potter Menon, an important work of whom has been collected by an American museum. Its execution much resembles that of Andokides.⁷

Note 1.p.590. De Witte. Description des antiquités conservées à l'hôtel Lambert. 1838. Pl. XXVI.

Note 2.p.590. Six. Röm. Mitt. 1838. p. 233.

Note 5.p.590. Klein. p. 153-154.

Note 4.p.590. Beazley. Kleophrades (Jour. Hell. Studies, Vol. XXX, p. 28-38, Pls. I-IX).

Note 5.p.590. Callis does not appear in Klein's lists. On a fragment of a vase with his signature found on the Acropolis, see Pottier. Gaz. arch. 1888.p.171. Two hydrias of Hypsistratos studied by Furtwängler suggested to him the idea, that this artist was apparently very near Euthymides. (Griechische Vasenmalerei. Pl. 32 and Fig. 28 in the text.

Note 6.p.590. Three amphoras mentioned by Klein (p. 129) add a pelike described and represented by P. Orsi (Gela, p. 504-507, Fig. 358 and Pl. 43). The drawing is very free thereby the external modeling is obtained there by means of light lines placed with accuracy and sobriety.

Note 7.p.590. Pates, in Am. Jour. Arch. 1905, p. 83.

If further we do not propose to forget any of the painters,

who merit finding a place in this history, either for the interest offered by the subject of the painting or by the beauty of their style, we should have to seek those works less in the very poor legacies of the chiefs of workshops of the second rank, than in the multitude of anonymous vases. It will be seen with a certain number of these, that in all probability could be credited to the most skilful of those ceramic painters, who carried so high the reputation of the fabrication of Athens during the 5th century.

13. Anonymous Vases.

Until now on the vase that we have described and reproduced, we have nearly always read either the name of the potter, the name of a painter, or both at the same time. By taking for subjects of study and for types those vases that may be termed signed vases, we have attempted to trace at least the great lines of a history of Greek ceramics. If we have given this importance and attributed this role to the signed vases, this is by virtue of a hypothesis which presents such a degree of probability, that it is nearly equivalent to certainty. The signature was not the rule in the workshops. For some hundreds of signed vases, we have thousands of anonymous vases. Thus it appears natural to admit that the vases which exceptionally bear exceptionally a signature are those products of the workshop with which the potter and painter have been particularly careful, those on which they counted most to found and sustain the reputation of their workshop, to conquer the favor of that rich Etruscan patronage, which paid better than the local patrons. By those vases on which they inscribed their names, the Attic ceramists of the 6th and 5th centuries, the titular furnishers of the entire civilized world their desired to make themselves known to their contemporaries and to recommend themselves to their approval. Thus we shall risk nothing by taking them at their word, judging them according to the works which they have avowed, by using these to define their style and to appreciate their talents.

The signed vases thus render an inestimable service to the historian, they aid him better than the others could do to orientate himself among the myriads of painted vases which fill the glass cases of the museums of Europe and America, to draw

lists on which will take their places as discoveries are made, the monuments that almost daily leave the earth around the entire Mediterranean, the surprises of fortunate finds and the searches of systematic excavations; but there is no person that does not admit that these vases do not suffice to inform us fully on the variety of subjects on which was exercised the imagination of the ceramic painters, and the diversity of the explanations that they have offered of the most common themes. By this alone they do not give a just idea of what there were in the Attic workshops of original talents, of artists who brought their personal notes to the concert, who innovated in the presentation of the myths best known, and interpreted the living form with independence.

We have already had occasion to state, without being able to allege for this peculiarity an explanation satisfactory in all points, that if the potters and ceramic painters of Athens sometimes inscribed their names on the vases which they supplied to the public, they more frequently dispensed with taking that care.¹ Now in the multitude of anonymous vases, there is more than one which by the interest of the theme as by the beauty of the execution, rivals the most beautiful amphoras and cups on which is read either the signature of a maker in fashion, or that of a decorator celebrated in his time. It would be easy for us to prove this by a small number of examples. These will cause to pass beneath the eyes of the reader vases, which it appears did great honor to the workshop from which they issued. In such a matter, there is only the embarrassment of choice.

Note 1. p. 592. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 360-361.

Among these vases that tell us nothing of their authors, it is only analogies of composition and execution by which it is believed that they can be attributed without great chance of error to certain painters, whose signed work we have studied; but for many of these vases, the comparison does not give results that seem decisive. Among connoisseurs of very experienced taste, who have examined the most beautiful pieces of the public galleries and private collections, agreement rarely falls on the name that it is proper to propose for a certain vase. Here Furtwängler speaks of Euthymides and there Hartwig says Euphronios. Then Pottier would assign to the problematical *Corésimos* a great part of the works of the potter Brygos, for *and*

are sought other collaborators. Each of these learned men brings to the support of his hypothesis specious reasons, and it is difficult not to hesitate among all these affirmations. The wisest is then to decide only with extreme reserve thus to enlarge by conjecture the list of works, that should represent the acts of masters known by authentic signatures.

Yet in this rarity of signatures and in the great number of vases that merited being signed, there is a problem that occupies us, and here is the question that we are led to ask ourselves; in this Ceramicos where burned so many kilns, where so many brushes were employed to decorate the clay, besides Epictetos and Euphronios, Oltos and Douris, were there not many other artisans who only labored to gain their bread without aspiring to leave their obscurity, would have been almost as skilful as the famous masters? Most of the time these humble and skilful workmen limited themselves to imitate, frequently in a manner to produce illusion, the style of the decorators whose paintings were highest repaid at Athens and in Etruria. Neither law nor opinion forbade counterfeiting. Others of these routine painters had their points of originality. It has been desired to define this originality. Names are not even pronounced; but there have been designated by periphrases, these unknown painters to whom it is believed could be attributed methods of composition and design personal to themselves. There have been distinguished the three artists that have as favorites; one is Diogenes, another Laches and a third is Lysis. This is mentioned as the master of figures with bald heads, the master of figures with a leaf.¹

Note 1. p. 593. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Sect. II, 15, 17, 18, 19.

Without here engaging in these researches, wherein by force of refinement and subtilty, one risks evoking phantoms, we shall present some examples of these vases, although they present no guarantee by the mark of a workshop, but which followed the route of the cemeteries of Etruria. We shall take our examples at first in the series of vases, that it is true bear no name of the author, but which by many indications it is believed approach the duly signed vases.

There would be a long list of vases, which by choice of subjects as by the execution of the decoration very closely recall

those on which is read the name of the painter Epictetos, but it seems that the different potters for whom Epictetos worked held to having the honor of his signature, which increased the prices of their cups. When in a workshop he laid his hand to a vase, it was not permitted to forget to inscribe on it his egrapsen. We are then not inclined to seek the works of his hand in even the paintings which most resemble the paintings, of which Epictetos declared himself the author. (Figs. 211-212, 215-222). What we would much rather see will be the work of pupils or rivals of the painter in fashion.

The question is not proposed in the same fashion for Euphronios. If we had his signed paintings, which give us a high idea of his talent, the caprice of Euthymides would suffice to prove the reputation which he had obtained in Athens and also in the circle of those wealthy foreign amateurs, that obtained their supplies in the agencies which the principal manufacturers of Ceramicos had in Campania and Etruria.¹ In the Ceramicos, where without ever fearing a suit for counterfeiting, potters and decorators freely copied each other, men must have sought to imitate the models of Euphronios as potter and as painter. It is not then surprising that the hand of Euphronios is thought to be found on a certain number of vases bearing the mark of the same taste as his own.² Some of them are perhaps free copies due to the skilful workmen employed by the competitors of the famous master; but on the other hand, some of those vases may really have been decorated by the brush of Euphronios. He further seems to have had some negligence or caprice in the use that he made of his signature. If when he was associated with Cachrylion he declared himself the author of paintings, on the other hand, when he had raised the fame of a manufacturer, he did not compel himself to give the public certain information that other chiefs did not fail to offer it. He does not state what part he took as painter in the decoration of those vases signed by him as potter. Perhaps he counts that the purchasers whose approval he desires, will know how to recognize by their style vases entirely by him, both form and painting, to distinguish them from the products of counterfeiters. Euphronios must have hoped that men of taste would not be mistaken. If one could attempt to become inspired with some s

success by the wise order and rhythm of the compositions of Euphronios, it would be less easy to steal from him the secret of his design, to reproduce the bold firmness and frank certainty of his line.

Note 1.p.584. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X.p.391.

Note 2.p.595. The same. p.444, Note 1.

For these reasons that accord with the best informed contemporaneous ceramographs, we have believed that is found in the decoration of the beautiful crater of Arezzo (Figs. 253, 255) the hand of the artist, that executed the signed paintings of the cup on which is represented the combat of Hercules and Ceryon (Figs. 242, 243). Same attributions to Euphronios that have been proposed for several anepigraphic vases perhaps do not appear much less justified, if one could enter here into minute comparison.

Also by indications that merit serious consideration, men have desired to assign to Euthymides several anonymous vases that are interesting, both by the subject and by the manner in which it is treated. Hesitation scarcely seems permissible for an amphora found at Vulci, where the most important and most careful of the two paintings on the body places in the scene Theseus, aided by his faithful companion Pirithoos, carrying off Corona, a heroine whose name is known to us only by the inscription on this vase (Fig. 335).¹ In the Attic legend, which does not refuse its favorite any kind of success, Theseus in his leisure moments plays the part of a Don Juan, but that of a Don Juan who freely resorts to violence, when it is not necessary to attain his aims, as for Ariana by persuasion. Thus as the ravisher of Helen, he preceded Paris.

In the decoration of this vase, the entire character of the design recalls the signed amphoras. For a person standing, one leg is shown in front view, while the other is seen in profile. (Figs. 260-262). In the rendering of the face, the contour of the jaw is rendered by a very light curved line starting from the side of the nose, which ends at the corner of the mouth. It is affirmed that this trace is sought in vain at that place among other masters of the severe style. If it is not visible in the images necessarily too much reduced, that we have given of the figures of Euthymides, it is found on the originals, to which it is easy to refer.

These same peculiarities of style are found on another vase, a pelike of Vienna, which it is also desired to credit to Euthymides.¹ This would certainly be the best work of that painter, if this conjecture be accepted. There is a wise composition and much movement in the painting that extends entirely around the vase, and which represents the murder of Egisthus by Orestes. While Egisthus, pierced by two blows of the sword is all bloody, falls at the base of the throne that he usurped, Orestes who has just struck him, turns to face a new enemy, his mother, who runs with raised axe to avenge her lover. Between Orestes and Clytemnestra are two persons, Chrysothemis, one of the daughters of Agamemnon, who makes a gesture of fright, a powerless witness saddened by the misfortunes and crimes of the race of the Atrides, then the herald Talthybios, an old servant of the family. He comes with long strides to prevent the new murder. With one hand he seizes the axe falling on the head of Orestes, and with the other arm he holds and stops Clytemnestra. The effect is very dramatic.

Note 1. p. 596. Griechische Vasenmalerei. II, Pl. 72, p. 73-81. See Mascher. Die Sammlung, etc. No. 333. Mascher agrees with Furtwängler in recognizing the style of Euthymides.

Always based on this analogy of style, it has been believed possible also to adjudge to Euthymides a third vase, an amphora of Wurzburg, whose interest is particularly in the subject of the decoration.² There is seen an Athenian hoplite on the point of departing for the war, who sacrifices to the gods and consults the entrails of the victim to learn the result of the combat. To judge from the size of the liver that an acolyte holds in his hand, a bull has been sacrificed. Then this would be the son of a rich family, that is represented in his campaign equipment. Now two amphoras signed by Euthymides have already shown us a hoplite arming himself for departure (Figs. 260, 262). Even here is found the Scythian soldier in tights with black bands, that we have already seen in one of those paintings. This painter certainly had a marked predilection for this kind of scene, and there is a further reason for accepting the proposed attribution. Finally, on the amphora of Wurzburg as on that of Munich (Figs. 260, 261), what on the other side of the vase forms a pendant to the series of prepar-

preparations for departure, is a group of drunkards. Also to be noted in this painting is a dog seen from the rear; this is one of the boldest foreshortenings found in the painting of that time (Fig. 339).

Note 2.p.598. Griechische Vasenmalerei. II, Pl. 103, p.222-223

Here in the same order of ideas is another coincidence to which we shall attention. Like the amphoras on which is read the name of Euthymides, all the vases that men are inclined to attribute to him are indicated by the abundance of legends scattered in the field. Euthymides would be that one of the contemporaries, who would most freely resort to that expedient to overload his decoration.

The work of Euthymides preserved would then perhaps be more considerable and more varied than is indicated by the known signatures of the artist. This can be admitted without subscribing to all hypotheses of that adventurous archaeologist, who being charmed by Euthymides, conjectures that he died young and regrets that this premature death may have prevented him from becoming the greatest painter of his time.¹ If further whatever may be said, Euthymides did not equal Euphronios and never attained the expressive power of his drawing, yet he has a style sufficiently personal, that in his case as in that of Euphronios, criticism can believe itself authorized to discover and distinguish in the multitude of anonymous vases that crowd our museums, some authentic works of those artists, which they have omitted to sign for reasons that escape us.

Note 1.p.597. Furtwängler. Griechische Vasenmalerei. I, p. 83, 173-179; II, p. 79-80.

Does the work of Douris also lend itself to be enriched and completed by an investigation of this character? At first sight one would be tempted to believe so, for the elements of comparison are more numerous here. Douris has left us many more signed vases than Euphronios and Euthymides; but as soon as one engages in this work, he perceives that the abundance of the monuments embarrasses him, far from facilitating the task of the critic. Among the anonymous vases that he surveys, he finds more than one which reminds him of a certain vase of Douris; but this vase of Douris itself recalls one signed by some other contemporaneous painter. This is because the work of Douris is

not homogeneous like that of Euthymides, and even that of Euphronios in a certain measure. Douris suffered several different and successive influences in the course of a career that seems to have been long, he so sensibly modified his style, that one may be tempted to classify in chronological order the vases which he has signed. Then where to seek and how to define the style of Douris by something which will allow to be recognized the intervention of his hand and the touch of his brush by the character of the drawing?

If it be necessary to renounce the finding of the formula of this definition, at least we know what subjects Douris loved to treat, and we thus form a sufficiently correct idea of his preferences, of the taste that inspired his creations of so abounding fancy and ingenious mind. If you know well the repertory of Douris and if you survey in the museums the long series formed by the anonymous vases of the severe style, you will perceive more than one image, which by its theme and its entire execution arouses in you the memory of a certain painting of Douris. Thus a refined connoisseur of Greek ceramics has come to believe himself right in attributing to Douris 35 cups or fragments of cups.¹ Doubtless many of these attributions are only authorized by very slight indications; but others are shown by one or two examples, and appear to present a great resemblance. Here in the interior of a cup is an Artemis with quiver on shoulder, who advances while holding in the right hand a torch and in the left her bow and two arrows. (Fig. 340). The movement of this person and the shape of the head recall the Nike of a lecythe of Douris (Fig. 293). The frame with its little crosses between fragments of a fret is entirely similar to that of the cup of Eos and of Memnon (Pl. XI). Finally, the name of Hippodamas is inscribed here in the field, and is read on two cups of Douris.² Same name of kalos above a nude ephebe on another cup, who leans over a vase supported by a foot in form of a column to wash his hands (Fig. 341). We find here the frame with crosses and frets, that was in the customs of the workshop for which Douris painted; but what is especially striking is, the resemblance between this image and that which we have found on a cup of Douris, where is represented an athlete preparing to launch the discus (Fig. 295). In both is the same

coiffure and the same form of the head of the young man; same careful study of the muscles, which is indicated with much precision by lines of diluted black. The same care to fill the field by representing there various accessories, Here is a towel hung on a nail; a cratera full of water will be emptied into the basin for ablutions. There is a pick to move the earth and a roller intended to wipe off the dust and sweat covering the body of the athlete.

Note 1.p.800. Hartwig in Meisterschalen.

Note 2.p.800. Klein. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften p. 103.

Finally, there is every reason to recognize the hand of Douris on an unsigned cup of the Louvre (C, 123). The painter has represented on the exterior conversations between ephebes and bearded men; but what is more interesting is the group in the interior of the bowl (Fig. 342). There is seen Zeus carrying in his arms a sleeping woman. "All the details of the sketch and of the execution, profiles and figures, the slender proportions with small heads, a fret cantoned with crosses that serves as a frame for the painting, are characteristic. There would even be one of the beautiful works of the master. The name of the woman not being written or being lost, we do not know to what amorous adventure of the god the artist alludes; for those adventures are numerous; but what can be admired here is the air of sovereign youth of the celestial Don Juan, the graceful attitude of the sleeping body, that seems to weigh so little in his arms. The composition of other paintings of excellent execution, but commonplace, announces the time when the exteriors were entirely sacrificed to the internal subjects. One can study the foreshortenings of legs and feet, eyes in profile, hands and draperies which show all the progress accomplished by the Greek drawing of that epoch." ¹

Note 1.p.801. Pottier. Catalogue, p.984-985. Hartwig had already credited this cup to Douris. (Meisterschalen, p. 818). He reproduced all its decoration (Pl. 88).

For reasons that do not seem valueless, men have also proposed to credit Douris with a cup that offers some curious peculiarities.¹ In the interior is a festal scene. Seated opposite a flutist that accompanies him on her instrument, a guest sings an elegy of Theognis, as we learn from a verse of the poet that

the painter has taken the trouble to transcribe. On the outside is a rare subject, Hercules in a fit of anger slaying Linos, his music master. In claiming this vase for Douris, it is recognized that it is not one of his best works. It is stated that the abundance of his production led him to neglect toward the end of his career. The execution is elegant but without accent. The painting is a little empty. This cup cannot be much earlier than the middle of the 5th century.

Note 1.p.802. It is interesting to read the entire study of Furtwängler on this cup. (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Pl. 105).

Finally, the name of Douris has also been pronounced concerning a cratera on which are represented on one side the duel of Achilles and Memnon, on the other being that of Diomedes and Eneas.² Behind the combatants are deities that came to aid them. Athena appears twice, faithful to her role of protectress of the Greek heroes; then near Memnon is Eos and Aphrodite near Eneas. The paintings certainly merit the attention that has been devoted to them. The composition there is a beautiful arrangement, although it may be regretted that the painter has made but little difference between the paintings. In the two scenes the corresponding persons occupying the same places have the same poses. There was some indolence of mind in the artist. On the other hand, what can be praised without reserve is the breadth and freedom of the drawing. The movements are natural and have spirit. If it be decided to give this vase to Douris, it will not disparage the list of his works; but to this hypothesis, I see many objections.³ What suggested it is that in two legends, in the names of Aphrodite and of Diomedes is found the delta open at base and dotted, that is most frequently used by Douris; but this form of the letter is found elsewhere than in the signature of Douris; on the other hand, what is of more importance is, that the name of Eos and that of Memnon are not written here in the same fashion as on the cup of Douris on which are represented these two persons. (Plate XI). All that this difference in orthography proves, it might be said, is that the two vases in question left two different workshops, where the painters of letters did not have the same habits, and it is known that Douris worked for different potters;² but it would be necessary to admit, which seems very doubtful, that

painters of figures before laying down their brushes did not trace on the clay the names of persons, which they wished to place in the scene, and those of the young men in fashion to whom they rendered the homage of their work.

Note 2.p.602. C. Robert. *Scenen der Illas und Ethiope*. XV Hallisches Winkelmannsprogramm. 1891. Klein adopts the conjecture of Robert. (*Lieblingsinschriften*, p.98, Note 7). From the collection Tysckiewicz this cratera passed to the museum of Fine Arts in Boston).

Note 3.p.602. This is what Fröhner understood (Collection Tysckiewicz. 1892. p.15-17, Pls. 17,18). These two plates are merely printed from those executed for C. Robert.

Note 1.p.603. It is found several times repeated on a vase signed by Brygos. Klein (*Meistersignaturen*, p.183, Note 8). Also see a pelike of the museum of Berlin (Furtwängler. *Beschreibung*. 2166).

Note 2.p.603. Douris writes Heos and Memnon. Here are read Helos and Memnon.

In any case, here is something more significant. The execution of the painter here is not that of Douris. By more than one example one may see how Douris tried to mark by lines of diluted black the play of the joints and the projection of the muscles beneath the skin (Figs. 301, 302, 303). Now on the cratera in question is nothing similar. No indication of this kind is perceived inside the contour, on the nude legs and arms of warriors, whose members are extended in the effort of a violent movement. The wisest is then to limit one's self to saying that there is the work of a painter contemporaneous with Douris and Brygos, that is equal to neither in the art of composition nor in vigor of drawing.

Men lend only to the rich, says the proverb, and if this be not an error, it seems that the archaeologists have not given Brygos as large a credit as to Douris. We have only ten signed vases by Brygos, all of the same type. Consequently, when it is necessary to define taste and style to find the impression on unsigned vases, one is less at ease than for Douris; but struck as men were by the rare merits of Brygos, one cannot divest himself of the idea that a skilful decorator of clay certainly had to respond to the demands of a very extensive

patronage. The few cups which have come to us with his signature only represent but a small part of the product of a workshop, which must have been in its time the best patronized of all those of Ceramicos. Further, for the composition and drawing, the execution of Brygos has characteristics sufficiently marked that a trained eye believes there could be recognized in the ornamentation of more than one anonymous vase the work of his hand. Thus it is explained, that everywhere in studies devoted to Attic pottery and in the catalogues of museums, there is frequently seen for unsigned vases this formula:- Style of Brygos.

It would be easy to draw up the list of some fifty cups, that for reasons more or less specious have been classed under this title by ceramographs. No more for Brygos than for Douris, can it be a question of enumeration and discussing of these attributions. There only prevail vague analogies, and this can be explained by even the success of Brygos and by the reputation that he enjoyed. The products of his workshop became highest on the markets of Greece and Italy. Thus there was every interest in workshops of the second order to copy the best they could the fashions given to the clay by that favorite of the mode. Yet there is a certain cup which by indications that do not seem deceptive, men can believe themselves authorized to credit to Brygos in person rather than to his imitators.

It is an incontestable fact that the ceramic painters of Athens, soon had the time when the signature was in current use, often desired to abstain from signing some of their best works. We have admitted this for Euphronios. Likewise and for similar reasons we incline to recognize the art of Brygos in a great number of beautiful cups, where the painting in the bowl represents the murder of the Amazon Penthesilea by Achilles. Plate XIV. 1

Note 1.p.604. The cup is 15.8 ins. diameter within the border, 17.7 ins with the border. The drawing of Miss Howard was executed after Plate VI of Griechische Vasenmalerei.

If there be in the epic act of Achilles an episode that one might be pleased to resume to find there material for facile development, by the Greek poets of the Hellenistic age and after then the elegiac poets of the age of Augustus, their

pupils and imitators, this is indeed the duel of Achilles and Penthesilea. After the death of Helen, Troy being deprived of its most valiant champion, called to its aid distant allies; the Ethiopian Memnon, son of Aurora, and the Amazons inhabiting the coast of Thermodon. There occurred under the walls of Ilium a great battle, in the course of which Penthesilea, the queen of these virgin warriors, massacred many Greeks. To put an end to that carnage, Achilles intervened and soon overthrew and disarmed his enemy. This is the final moment of the combat which is represented by the painter. With one knee on the ground and the other leg extending backward on the ground, Penthesilea is there without defense before her ferocious conqueror. With her right arm extended, she seeks to repulse Achilles, while her left hand is raised and stiff, vainly grasping the arm which already plunges a broad sword into the neck of the young woman. No trace yet of suffering in the beautiful features of her that will soon die. The eyes that will close are widely opened and are raised as if with a mute prayer to the face of the hero. With raised head and to better ensure his thrust, he has his eyes fixed on the victim that will fall at his feet in a moment. In this play of looks which thus cross, did the painter desire to show an intention, which we are tempted to suppose, touched as we are by this living image of youth and beauty cut off in its flower? This question suggests itself, we could reply to with some assurance only if we possessed the *Ethiopiad*, the lost poem of Arctinos of Miletus. This continuation of Homer had given a sequel to the *Iliad*. He had related the events after the death of Hector, those succeeding even to the death of Achilles and the dispute between Ulysses and Ajax to know which of the two should inherit the arms of the hero. Now by the *Ethiopiad* were inspired the artists, who placed in the scene the duel of Memnon and Achilles, the corpse of Memnon carried through space by Eos, and finally the battle of the Amazons and the defeat of Penthesilea.

Unfortunately, there is preserved only a single verse of the *Ethiopiad*, and we form an idea of the contents of this poem only by the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus. This Rhetor had taken pains to draw up summaries of all the epic poems that came down to his times. He had placed these summaries after each other

in what he believed a chronological order, so as to form a sort of continuous history. This analysis has a brevity and a distressing dryness. Here is what he says of the combat of Achilles and Penthesilea; "The Amazon Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, Thracian by birth, came to bring aid to the Trojans. She fought very bravely and Achilles killed her. The Trojans buried her, and Achilles slew Thersites who had injured and insulted him concerning the love, that he accused him of having conceived for Penthesilea." ¹

Note 1. p. 306. *Cyclicorum poetarum fragmenta*, at the end of the Greco-Latin Homer of Didot. p. 583.

How was betrayed without preventing the murder, this love with which Thersites so coarsely reproached Achilles? This is what we learn from other writers of the late epoch, Dictys of Crete and Quintus of Smyrna, who certainly borrowed from the old poem the principal traits of their tale, free to mix with it details which they drew from their own imagination.² The Latin rhetor and the retarded epic poet in the full Roman empire relate with the invectives, which cost Thersites so dear, were provoked by the desire that Achilles had expressed to see funeral honors rendered to the valiant Amazon, while others proposed to have her body torn by dogs or cast into the river. All the tales agree in the respect that the hero wished to show to the mortal remains of the vanquished enemy; but what one would know if there was in this respect by Arctinos anything more than the expression of this generous feeling.

Note 2. p. 303. Dictys. III, 15. Quintus of Smyrna relates at length the exploits of Penthesilea and the stroke of the spear by which Achilles overthrew her and her horse; then Achilles removed her helmet, when perceiving her face, he regretted having slain her, that he had not made her a prisoner to carry her into Thessaly, where she would have shared his couch (I, 671-673). To Quintus refers in two words the scholiast of Virgil (ad *Iliadem*. II, verse 220). Likewise Propertius (IV, 10-15).

Does the poet indicate at what moment there was born in Achilles that movement of tender pity that Thersites called love? Did he show Achilles experiencing a sort of charm, when the helmet of the warriorress having once fallen off, he perceived the radiant face of the virgin that he had struck to death?

did he paint him as seized by sorrow and regretting too late the blow that he has just given? One is inclined to believe it when he reads the description that Pausanias gives of the frescos executed by Panaenos, brother to Phidias, who decorated the lower panels of the throne of Zeus at Olympia. On one of those panels Pausanias represented Penthesilea as expiring and Achilles supporting her.³ Like the painter of our cup, nearly his contemporary, from the Ethiopiad Panaenos must have taken the subject of his painting. Now in this at the end of the combat appears very different from what he has in the Iliad, where he aggravates by such cruel words the pain and agony of Hector. In the painting of Panaenos, why did Achilles as a friend thus aid the dying woman to lie down gently on the ground, if some verses of the poet had not suggested to him the idea of understanding and of announcing thus the scene of a pathetic death? ¹

Note 3.p.806. Pausanias. V. 11-8.

Note 1.p.807. In the Clorinda of Tasso (Jerusalem delivered, cantos III and XII) there must have been a memory of the Penthesilea of Arctinos. The idea of this romantic episode would have been suggested to the Italian poet by reading these writings of Dictys and of Dares, that were much read in the middle ages, of which several editions and translations were made from the end of the 15 th and in the 16 th centuries. Tancred sees the Syrian Amazon without having seen her face, and when he had recognized her, in despair he aided her to die.

What the ceramic painter represented is the phase of the drama preceding by some moments that represented by Panaenos. Penthesilea has already ^{been} struck at the sources of life; but life has not yet left her. Her features are not deformed by suffering, and her eyes retain all their brilliancy. This is the moment when the hand of Achilles gives death, his soul has the sudden and almost crushing revelation of the nobility of the marvellous being that his steel has condemned without help to rapid destruction. The evil has been done, he is no longer the master to repair it. When he withdraws his sword from the wide wound, the blood will flow in waves and strangle the wounded one. Then in his suddenly troubled heart awakes that admiration and compassion expressed by the pose that Panaenos gave to his Achilles.

It does not seem doubtful that the ceramist, by the manner in which he has composed his painting, desired to produce in the spectator the feelings with which his work has inspired us. It is already a proof of his mastery, that of having succeeded in placing so much expression in his Achilles and Penthesilea; but in this alone this group would not have sufficed to fill the entire field, and one must be struck by the part that the artist has derived from the space allowed him. At the right and left of the principal persons he has placed two accessory figures, sufficiently connected with the action for their presence to explain itself, but which do not risk attracting too much attention, that must be entirely devoted to the tragic pair of Achilles and Penthesilea. Behind the Amazon is a Greek warrior with sword in hand, who turns toward the combatants. He prepares to come to the aid of Achilles, if perchance the latter has some difficulty in conquering his enemy. Behind Achilles lies dead on the ground an Amazon pierced by wounds from which flows the blood. This image shows the bitterness of the combat ended by the victory of Achilles. Ajax, the Greek warrior, if this be desired, in a way forms a pendant of Achilles, just as the prostrate Amazon corresponds to the kneeling Penthesilea. Thus in the composition is an equilibrium that gives a high idea of the professional skill of the painter.

This skill is no less apparent in the entire character of the drawing. The line there has a freedom and singular coldness. The profile of Penthesilea is recommended by a rare purity of lines and a severe elegance. As for the internal modeling, the muscles are plainly indicated there but with much decision in the nudes of Ajax as on the torso and thighs of Achilles. The movements are rendered with very sure accuracy. There is in the presentation of the body and members the freedom that Polygus has placed in his painting of satyrs attacking Hera and Iris (Figs. 322, 323). Thus the left leg of Penthesilea that extends behind, is not shown in profile, as it would certainly have been in a more ancient painting. This leg turns, the calf develops its roundness there and the foot is seen in front view. Also in front view are presented the right foot of Ajax and the left foot of Achilles. There is also noted the foreshortening of the right leg of the corpse of the Amazon lying on

the ground. The thigh projects forward and conceals from view the entire lower portion of the member. A happy find is the pose of the two arms of the dead. The latter with a gesture of terror raised them in the air, when she felt the steel enter her chest. When she fell, her arms remained stretched on the ground behind her head. Both hands are joined, the fingers are crossed and pressed closely against each other in the last spasm of agony. What adds to the effect of this figure is in the half open eyes and the open mouth of the face shown in front view, as at the instant when the separated lips breathed the last sign. Finally, the outside of the shield is shown in perspective.

If by this ease and expressive vigor the drawing of the anonymous painter recalls that of Brygos, it does not fail to be in certain respects more advanced than even that of the master. The representation of the eye as it appears to the spectator in the face seen in profile is here nearer the truth than in most of the heads of the work of Brygos. The eye is here more freely open toward the inner angle without affecting the dry triangular form frequently given to it by Brygos. There is better felt the curve described by the orbit of the eyelids. There remains here only a trace of the ancient convention. In the three figures, the transparent cornea retains the appearance of a circle, while in the side view it must present only the aspect of a segment of a circle. Finally, the projection of the upper eyelid and the eyelashes is scarcely indicated. There is then very little required for the ceramic painter to triumph over a difficulty, which for more than a century had arrested the most skilful of his predecessors. There is not much to do to succeed in giving to the eye in representations and in profile an image that may be correct in all points.

If for the trace of the eye, the decorator of our cup seems more disengaged from the past and more modern, if one may so speak, than Brygos himself, this cup by its entire execution too nearly approaches cups, that have come to us with the mark of this chief of a workshop for one to hesitate to proclaim the analogy. The resemblances are of all kinds. Our painter has no more taste for writing than Brygos. He does not employ that to fill the field, which he knows so well how to fill

with living and passionate figures. No legends are here in the interior of the bowl. By the costumes and particularly by what is known of the popularity of the myth in question have been recognized Achilles and Penthesilea. On the outside of the cup, where the painter has limited himself to sketching with a rapid stroke of the brush ephebes preparing their horses for the race, there is no inscription other than *pais kalos* twice repeated.

What further again more strongly proves this relationship is, that the anonymous painter takes the same pleasure in the play of color as Brygos. Here is a variety of tones that before Brygos was not in the customs of the ceramists of Athens. The mantle of the warrior on the left is of a dull red with white retouches, and that of the warrior at the right is a clear gray with overlays of white and brown. The same gray has served for the sort of jacket held close at the waist by a girdle worn by Penthesilea over her fine tunic of linen. Touches of violet represent the blood that has flowed on the clothing of the Amazon wounded to death. The painter has employed with skill black to accent on the light ground of the clay the ornaments decorating the helmets and the dark bands of the tights in which is clothed the corpse of the Amazon.

What adds to the effect and the richness of this polychromy was the important part that gold played in this decoration. Here on the cup of Iliopersis, by passing the fingers over the vase are felt in places slight reliefs, which correspond to the parts of the image on which gold was formerly applied. In some parts there remains something of the gleam of that gilding; but even where all the shine has disappeared, the clay presents a dull tint due to the mordant on which was formerly applied the thin layer of metal. The traces of that coating are found both on the little rounded bosses and on the narrow bands of slight projection. This is proved the application of gilding on the cuirass of Ajax, the shield of Achilles and the guards of the swords as well as also on the jewels of the women, their eardrops and the bracelets which they wore on the wrists and ankles.

The beauty of this painting strongly struck the archaeologist that called attention to this cup, that it merits and of which a faithful image has been presented.¹ In the first gush of en-

enthusiasm that he inspired, he refused to admit that this painting was the work of one of the decorators, whose brushes were for hire by the manufacturers of the *Ceramicos*. He inclined to see there a painting that the chief of a workshop had exceptionally required, doubtless by placing a price on it, from one of the famous artists, who then covered by their frescos the walls of the edifices of Athens, Olympia and Delphi. Perhaps it would not be necessary to press Furtwängler much to lead him to pronounce the name of Polygnotos. According to him, this cup dated about 400, i.e., at a time when that painter had already produced his most celebrated works, and when the influence of his grand style made itself felt on those, who in one way or another practised the trade of painter.

Note 1.p.810. We speak of Furtwängler in the study that he devoted to this cup (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. I, Pl. VI, p. 27-35). Then there had been given only a bad image of this cup in Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*. Pl. IV, 6.

However seductive this hypothesis, the learned genius who had advanced it abandoned it for himself. What must have decided him to make this sacrifice was on the one hand the impossibility that he found of citing any text, which permits one to think that any historical painter lent his aid to the potters. Particularly that he believed that he recognized the hand of the painter of Penthesilea in the decoration of several other vases. Among those which he attributes to the same artist appear two vases that we shall study, that on which is represented Apollo taking vengeance on Tityos and the vase with white ground in the museum of Berlin that Euphronios signed as p potter. He assigns no name; he contents himself with saying that in the painting of Achilles and Penthesilea we have a masterpiece of a very skilful ceramic painter, whose works are to be placed on the undecided frontier that separates the severe from the free style, Douris and Erygos from Medias.¹

Note 1.p.811. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. I, p. 282-286.

Without claiming to know more, we shall insist on the analogies that permit the establishment of a comparison between our cup and the vases bearing the signature of Erygos. There is in both the same kind of composition, the same freedom of drawing, the same skill in expressing feeling and passion less by alteration of the face than by the choice of attitudes and the vivacious

expression of the movements. It is particularly the very marked taste that in both, the painter has for polychromy and for the use of gilding.

It is further not to the secondary details that do not concur here in rendering more apparent still the impression received at first from the general view. On the clothing of the dead Amazon we find those black points in the form of little circles or of minute crosses, which on most vases of Brygos the brush has amused itself in scattering over the clothing (Fig. 319, 320, 324-330).² Finally, the sigma that we see here in the legends of the exterior is that sigma with three branches; now it is the modern type of the letter that is offered to us by the signature of Brygos (Fig. 322). It is probable that Brygos was only the chief of a workshop; there is every reason to believe that the painter of the Penthesilea is one of the artists, who worked for this very well informed manufacturer. He knew how to choose his ordinary collaborators among those decorators of clay inspired by most knowledge of grand art, and who applied themselves most successfully in leading ceramics into the new paths.

Note 2. p. 811. Histoire de l'Art. X. p. 564.

To the same painter we attribute also the cup in the interior of which is seen Apollo throwing himself on the giant Tityos, who attempted to do violence to his mother Latona (Fig. 343). At the left, Apollo with raised sword marches or rather runs to Tityos. The latter has not even attempted to resist. Seized by terror, he has fallen on his knees; his left arm is bent on his chest; he lifts his right arm raised toward heaven in the gesture of prayer and of despair. Behind Tityos is a woman with her head turned toward Apollo. She is Ghe, the earth, mother of giants. While making a movement of recoil, she lowers her veil over her face to as not to be a witness of the murder of her son.

At the first glance cast on this cup, one has the impression that it closely is related to that of Achilles and Penthesilea, which was decorated by the same artist.¹ A careful examination leads one to affirm what was at first suspected. The frame is entirely similar in both, a crown of ivy on which the berries of the plant are mixed with leaves. Here as on the other vase, the entire effect of the painter is devoted to the painting in

the bowl. The theme of the exterior is commonplace, young persons conversing together, and the brush has made there only slight sketches. These have further suffered much and are almost effaced, while in the hollow of the bowl, if the surface of the clay shows some wear, there are only restored the eye and the profile of the woman. What before all justifies the comparison which we have established is the arrangement of the paintings. With these figures the painter has also known how to fill well the field that he has done elsewhere with four. At the centre of the scene is the kneeling figure of the giant, who is complicated by the extension of the arm projecting forward and the bending of the lower members. Before and behind Tityos stand two figures, the slenderness of the nude Apollo boldly launched in the space and the nobility of an image of a woman enlarged by the pose and the long folds of her clothing. Between these two figures that form pendants of each other, there is both equilibrium and contrast.

Note 1.p.612. Furtwängler has no doubt on this subject (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. I, p. 276).

After this mode of composition, what is found here similar to what we have observed on the other cup is the frank charm and the certainty of the drawing. On any Attic cup is scarcely any figure that equals by its proud elegance that of this Apollo in which is felt all the vigor of divine and triumphant youth. All is calculated in this image to increase the effect. The bow and arrows held in the left hand recall the murderous effect of those arrows which never miss their aim, and that have already punished other insults offered to Letona, and which pierced to the heart the children of Niobe. The painter has known how to arrange the right arm, raised to the height of the head, passed behind it and not concealing the beautiful face of the god. The female figure facing Apollo is not so well done in all points. When one regards her, he commences by seeing only the expressive grace of the gesture by which the distressed mother seeks to bring before her eyes the shawl that covers her shoulders and brow; but when the entire image is considered, there is discovered a serious fault in drawing. In that figure are two movements which oppose each other, and that cannot be produced simultaneously in the same person. The entire lower part of the body leans to the right, as indicated

by the foot and also the left leg, whose knee lifts the fabric in that direction, the painter has desired to show by this that the goddess fled before Apollo; but the upper part of the body is turned to the opposite side. The head faces Apollo. That is an attitude which the body could take only at the cost of a violent twist. The painter has conformed himself with too much complaisance to one of those conventions, which in the paintings of his predecessors allow two views to coexist, such is the profile view for the head and members, and the front view for the torso. The defect is real; but it is lessened or at least concealed in a certain measure by the amplitude of the drapery. On the other hand, this same painter has made proof of a certain mastery in the figure of Tityos. The right leg presented there with the same foreshortening as on the cup of Penthesilea, the left leg of the dead Amazon. Here also the thigh conceals the entire lower part of the bent member, save the foot which shows a front view beside the knee. In the face of the giant, the eye is treated in the same fashion as in that of Penthesilea. The lips are opened. It seems that a cry escapes her.

If for the art of the composition and the style of the drawing this cup recalls so very nearly that previously described, the resemblance is also marked by other indications. There is a presumption of common origin in the identity of the frames. The same decorator must have executed these two garlands of ivy. He made an entirely similar use of gilding on the two vases. there was in both garlands gold on the berries of the plant. It was here on the leaves of the crown of laurel that binds the brow of Apollo, as well as on the bracelets that he wears on the left wrist and the ankle of the right leg. Some traces of gilding on the diadem and the eardrop of Che. Finally, it is the sigma with four branches that we find here, and a detail that merits mention, in the legends of both cups it lies horizontally instead of being vertical, thus M. It is believed that taken as the facts, the caprice of the same hand is in the writing of the two groups of legends.

The cup of Tityos must then follow the fate of the cup of Achilles. Like that it allows itself to be connected with probability to the workshop from which issued the vases signed by Brygos. There is also something here that establishes a relation

still closer between our cup and the cups of Brygos. In most of those, as we have caused to be noted in regard to those paintings where the arrangement of the drapery was most clearly presented (Figs. 319, 322, 323, 326), the clothing of the woman is no longer the long Ionian tunic with the mantle thrown over it. It is the Dorian peplos as clothed Ghe, that in which are draped at the Parthenon mortal women and goddesses. With the peplos as clotheed Ghe, and this same costume offers there the arrangements which characterize it on the statues of Phidias. There is on the front the apoptygma, that panel of the fabric that from the top falls on the chest; there is below on the abdomen another doubling of the cloth, which is obtained by drawing up and raising a part of the fold from the bottom. To keep in place this portion of the dress, it was fixed by means of a cord. This band thus used as a girdle is very well distinguished on the figure in question. Like the works of Brygos to which we have compared it, our vase would date about 460. That is the time when all artists, painters as well as sculptors, began to understand what beautiful uses they could make of the new costume that fashion had just caused to be adopted for women at Athens; but they did not succeed for the first step in that undertaking. The folds of the drapery are much simpler here than they will be later, they lack body.

Finally, one cannot omit to indicate a last peculiarity in the representation of this drapery. The veil of Ghe is all spotted with the black dots, which the workmen of Brygos loved to scatter over their fabrics. These scattered points used to decorate the mantles of persons again causes one to think of Brygos before a skyphos of the museum of Vienna, for which the anger of Achilles outraged by Agamemnon, and then his sorrow after the death of Patroclus, furnished the painter with the subject of his decoration; but there were other motives for attributing this vase also to the workshop of Brygos.¹ Of the two paintings that decorate this vase, one appears to represent the Greek chiefs who held a council to find means to soften the irritated soul of the son of Peleus. In the other painting, more important and much more carefully executed, there is recognized at first sight the scene of one of the most celebrated episodes of the Iliad, the visit of Priam made to Achilles to

obtain the restoration of the body of his son (Fig. 344). Behind the aged king march the bearers of the presents offered, two young men and two young women.² Here the painter has followed the text of Homer more closely than usually do the decorators of clay, when they are inspired by epic poetry. According to the poet, at the moment when Hermes introduces Priam into the tent, and whom he has made invisible to all eyes, Achilles has just finished his repast.¹ What the poet wished to represent was the attitudes of the persons in that brief instant before there left the lips of Priam the pathetic prayer, which touched the heart of the hero.

Note 1. p. 815. *Gräechische Vasenmalerei*. II, Pl. 84, p. 123-124.

Note 2. p. 815. Not to be compelled to reduce the image too much, we have made appear only one of the servants that accompanied Priam.

Note 1. p. 816. *Iliad*. XXIV. 475-478.

Achilles is lying on his couch before a table covered by the food. He holds in his hand the knife that served to carve his meat. He has not yet perceived the unexpected guest that the gods have sent to him. His head is turned to the other side toward the back of the tent. Before him is a young servant, whose role is defined by the utensils that he handles, the cup and the ladle with a long handle, which serves to lift the wine in the cratera. At the other end of the couch stands Priam leaning on his staff. He waits until Achilles turns his head and discovers his presence. Then he will clasp the knees of the conqueror of Hector, "he will kiss those terrible hands, those murderous hands that have slain so many of his sons."² Beneath the couch is the corpse of Hector. Thongs fastened about his wrists recall that Achilles dragged him in the dust daily under the walls of Troy.

Note 2. p. 816. *Iliad*. XXIV. 478-479.

We note in this painting the same merits that we have admired in Brygos. If there is not here that ardor and even that distraction of movement that we have indicated with Brygos, it is because the subject does not lend itself to that; but in this scene in which the agitation is only in souls profoundly moved by grief and anger, where the attitudes must remain dignified and calm, the painter has not placed less judgement in the com-

composition, than Brygos did in the tumult of his battles and his bacchanals. Between the two parts of the painting there is a sensible difference in the data of the theme and in the aspect of the figures. At the left are only four supernumeraries that acquit themselves of a servile duty. Yet if it is the combination of the three figures at the right, which speaks to the imagination and which reminds us of some of the most admirable verses of the Iliad. It finds some pleasure on the rhythm of their counted steps, in the ease with which all of them bear their burdens, the men with amphoras on their shoulders and the women with heavy baskets on their heads. There is also a desired contrast between the draped figures of the servant women, like the canephores in procession, and the slenderness of the nude youth at the other end of the field. However well posed they are, those accessory figures do not distract the attention from the group in the right part of the painting, which is formed by the three persons gathered there, Priam uncertain of the reception that his prayer will receive, Achilles made ferocious by the death of Patroclus, and that corpse lying on the ground where all feet may trample it. Doubtless there is the chief interest of the painting for the mind of the spectator; looking at those persons, one waits and believes that he already hears the words that the poet has placed in the mouth of Priam, those that appeal to the filial piety of the hero and will find the way to his heart. This moving attempt and the anticipated vision of the memorable interview is that, whose impression the painter has particularly proposed to give; but this has made proof of the skill and taste that enclose this group among the figures almost foreign to the action, and please by the severe elegance of the lines defining their contours and movements.

Like the arrangement of the scene and procedures of the execution are even those of Brygos. To judge of the accuracy and freedom of the drawing, it suffices to cast the eyes on the figure of the cupbearer, where the brush has very well rendered the grace of the first youth. The pose is very easy. The entire body rests on one leg, the right. This is the same movement, which about that time Polycletus made the fashion in statuary. One of the feet is seen in front view, as in two of the paintings that we have believed it right to attribute to Brygos. The

trace of the profile of Achilles is even that of the heads by Brygos. Here is that taste for polychromy which characterizes the execution of Brygos. The strips of meat arranged on the edge of the table are indicated by touches of red laid directly on the clay. With a reddish brown color is represented the color of the hair of Achilles and of the two female porters that close the procession. Finally, and no indication is more significant, we find here the hatchings made with little lines of diluted black, that Brygos employs to mark the shadows.. The painter has used them to cause to be felt the curvature of the shield fastened on the wall.

We note also among the resemblances to indicate, the black points scattered over the fabrics,, and finally the skill with which the painter has filled his background's by distributing there various accessories according to his fancy. Thus he has shown the helmet and shield of Achilles suspended on the wall of the tent, the shield at the centre of which is a Gorgon's head, and his sword in the sheath. In the bowl of one of these cups is Phenix or Peleus, for whom Erisels pours out a drink; Brygos has arranged in the same way as fixed on the wall the sword of the hero and his shield decorated by the image of a bull (Fig. 328). There are then many similarities, which amply justify the attribution of our vase to the workshop of Brygos.

Finally, for reasons of the same kind there can be attached to the same group with much probability another cup of the museum of Munich.¹ In the interior is a Menad that balances a thyrsus in her right hand, while with the left she holds a panther whose head hangs toward the ground. By the energy that she displays in the movement of the entire body put in motion by drunkenness and ecstasy, this painting recalls that of the komos reproduced from a cup signed by Brygos (Figs. 326, 327). There are noted here many peculiarities of execution on which we have already had occasion to insist. The leaves of the vine branch that shade the head of Dionysos are detached in reddish violet from the ground. All draperies are spotted with black points.

Note 1. p. 618. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Pl. 49.

If one accepts the conjectures that we have presented in accord with the most refined connoisseurs of Greek ceramic, there

would then be reason to credit to Brygos, besides the cups that he took the trouble to sign, some of the most beautiful anonymous vases that are contained on the museums, some of those which best represent the last effort of flowering of the severe style. It would be easy to extend this list; but we shall content ourselves by citing a cup that it has been proposed to assign to the workshop of Brygos. The indications alleged are here of a different order from those which we have so far presented. For this motive and the curiosity of the fact, we shall give this example of the hypotheses with which is pleased the ingenious subtlety of archaeologists.

This refers to a cup of the British Museum found at Vulci.¹ In the bowl a very young girl is clothed in a long transparent tunic and dances before a young man crowned with leaves and lying on a bed. On the outside are scenes of a feast, of which we reproduce one half (Fig. 345). Indeed there in the execution are certain traits which recall those of Brygos. The mantles are spotted with black points, and at one end of the painting is seen leaning against a column a youth, who is equipped with the ladle and phiale and plays the part of cupbearer. This figure is almost similar to that which we mentioned on the vase of Achilles and Priam, which we believe we had serious reasons to credit to Brygos. The same nudity and the same pose. All the difference is that here the weight of the body rests on the left leg and not on the right. These indications have their value; but what has particularly called attention to this vase and made one think of Brygos is a peculiarity of another kind, the very singular orthography which the painter of the letters has adopted here for certain names of kaloi and kalai read on the vase. All those names belong to Attic onomastics, and several of them, Kallisto, Demonikos, Aristokrates, have nothing to cause remark; but besides these names correctly written are others which vary from the habits of the current orthography of Athens. Thus there are found both inside and outside the following forms; Pilitos for Philitos, Dipilos for Diphilos, Nikopile for Nikophile, Pilon for Philon. Now by a text of Aristophanes, by the inscriptions and by the grammarians, it is known that the northern dialects of Greek, those spoken in Macedonia and Thrace were reluctant to use the aspirates. They

replaced aspirates by strong or weak letters according to the order of the labials.¹

Note 1.p.819. Catalogue III, E, 68. Hartwig. *Meisterachalen*. Pls. 34, 35; p. 319-324.

Note 1.p.820. Thus deriving in one of his comedies to cause the people to laugh at the police agents, who sometimes with a certain roughness maintained order on the agora and in the theatre, Aristophanes made the Scythian archer, who was perhaps a Thracian, say *pilesei* for *Philesei*, *painetai* for *phainetai*, *kepale* for *kephale*. (*Theomophoriazousai*, verse 1088 et seq. The Macedonians said *Biloppos* instead of *Philippos* (Dümmler. Berl. Phil. Koch. 1888, p. 20). *Die Griechen Vasenschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*. p. 80).

The substitution of the strong labial for the aspirate in the legends of this cup is too frequently repeated and has a too systematic character, for one to see in it the effect of simple negligence or the distraction of the painter. The latter was certainly not an Athenian of good family. He wrote as he pronounced. Men have not failed to see in this souvenir in this respect, that the name of Brygos appeared to be that of a Thracian, of a foreigner of Thracian origin,² and from that it has been supposed that this potter employed in his workshop workmen, that he had drawn from his native land, and after several years spent in the Ceramicos, they had been unable to lose their provincial pronunciation.³ The conjecture is ingenious; but it strikes a serious difficulty. This is that on none of the cups signed by Brygos is found a trace of these provincialisms.

Note 2.p.820. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X, p. 555.

Note 2.p.820. It seems indeed that there was in Ceramicos more than one workman originally from those northern provinces, where they did not know how to pronounce the phi. On the fragment of another cup is read *pile kai* instead of *phile kai* (Hartwig. *Meisterachalen*. Pl. 3; 2 and p. 320).

What would cause us to hesitate further in adopting this hypothesis is even the presence on this cup of those legends cited as proof. We have stated how Brygos is plain in writing, compared to his predecessors. On none of the authentic cups of Brygos is read a man's name accompanied by the epithet *kalos*.¹

we then incline not to make Brygos a gift of this vase; but it no less retains its interest. It contributes by giving an idea of the variety of the ethnic elements, which enter into the composition of that people of workmen supported by the Ceramicos of Athens. Even today for the working population of our great industrial cities, does not this include a number of foreigners who came to establish themselves in addition to the natives of the country, where one is certain to find a remunerative salary?

Note 1. p. 821. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X, p. 558.

When we have tried to connect some anonymous vases with the workshops that are known to us by the signatures of the potters who directed them or the painters who lent them their aid, what we particularly proposed was to show by some well chosen examples, how and with what prudence it is proper to employ this method. That certainly has its dangers, which we have not concealed. It exposes the archaeologist to dangerous temptations. It accustoms him to start from a primary statement, by which he does not fail to lose sight of the entirely hypothetical character, to base on it other assertions, which thus find that they have a very fragile basis. That is a witty saying in which between men of the trade an attack may be made on affectation of subtilty; but these adventurous conjectures sometimes risk discrediting science more than they serve it. It is then best to restrict one's self to a small number of cases whose resemblances are so striking, between an anonymous vase and certain vases avowed by their authors, that are believed in assuming a signature, only correcting a negligence of the workman. In this measure we are ready for this investigation, but it seems to us useless and even dangerous to engage in it for a number of other vases that however merit mention, either for the qualities of their execution or for the singularity of the subject of their paintings. Their silence is even a revelation. Nothing indicates better what expenditure of imagination and of talent was made without aiming at glory, during more than two centuries in the workshops of Ceramicos, among the smoke of the kilns, by those obscure artisans, who perhaps contributed more than the architects, sculptors and celebrated painters, to enrich Athens and to render popular in the entire basin of

the Mediterranean the creations of its genius of form, to impose the primacy of its art.

One of the most remarkable of these anonymous vases is an amphora painted at the foot, that came from Vulci (Fig. 346). Around the neck are ephebes, who in the interior of a gymnasium prepare to throw the discus. The vigorous and compact bodies are modeled with much precision. On the body of the amphora is a painting in which the persons are of greater dimensions, Dionysos, three satyrs and four Menads.

Here is the image of a Menad detached from the painting; it will give an idea of the character of the execution (Fig. 347). While two of her companions are struggling with the satyrs, she advances, ardent and proud. In the right hand she holds the thyrsus resting on her shoulder, while her other hand holds a serpent that coils about her left arm. Her brow is enclosed by a crown of ivy placed on thick hair that falls no lower than the nape. Her lips are opened; she speaks and calls.

The exaltation of the Bacchic delirium is marked with even more force in the face of another Menad (Fig. 348). Her head is entirely turned backward. Her mouth is widely opened. One hears the sacramental cry that leaves it, *evoi?*

There are doubtless traces here of archaism, particularly in the drapery. The zigzags of its borders are too regular and the folds of the fabric floating backward terminate in too acute points. But on the other hand, how this drapery follows well the dash of the body thrown forward by the rapidity of the walk! Especially what bold freedom and expression and freedom found in the same degree in the poses of the satyrs and in their faces convulsed by the violence of desire carried even to its paroxysm.

What gives reason to think that this vase dates at nearly the same time as the works of Douris and of Brygos, is that in all the profiles, those of the satyrs as those of the Menads, while the eye retains the lenticular form, it tends to present itself in perspective. The pupil is there already almost fixed to the internal angle of the eyeball.

There are scarcely figures on the vase of that period that are superior of those of the persons of that Bacchanal. There is reason to attract to this beautiful vase an attention that

it merited obtaining earlier.¹

Note 1.p.823. Furtwängler and Reichhold. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Text. p. 233-234.

If in the decoration of this hydria we admire a spirit and ardor, which recall to us what Brygos has made of the same qualities in the assault that the satyrs made on Hera and Iris, (Figs. 322, 323), here is a vase on which an unknown but very skilful painter has made proof of very different merits. This concerns a cratera in the form of a tall and slender chalice, that is very soberly decorated by two elegant scrolls, one of which extends beneath the lip of the vase and the other surrounds the bottom. Within the frame formed by those ornaments are four persons arranged in pairs. On one side ^{are} Dionysos and a nymph who prepares to fill the cratera that the god presents to her. No other inscription than the word kalos twice repeated. On the other side are also two figures, each holding a lyre in the hand. As we learn from the inscriptions, these are two dancers of Eolian poetry, Alceus and Sappho. (Plate XV). It is not alone by the title of rivals in genius and glory that they are so brought together. In the attitudes given them by the painter, he seems to allude clearly to an incident of their lives, recalled by certain verses in every mouth. Those verses have come down to us, cited in support of one of those anecdotes which pleased the Greek imagination.¹ Alceus had in one of his odes informed Sappho that shame alone prevented him from declaring his love for her, and Sappho had replied:-

Note 1.p.824. Alceus, fragment 55 (Berckh. Lyrici graeci). Aristotile. Rhetoric. I. 9.

"If you had only the desire for good and beautiful things, and if thy tongue did not murmur bad words, shame would not turn thy eyes away, and thou wouldst have a right to tell what torments thee."

We have the translation of this dialogue in form in the pose of the two persons of this painting. Alceus has his head bowed and the eyes cast down, as if he dared not face the speaker. On the contrary, she carries her head high, and while having her eyes fixed on Alceus, she seems ready to leave him, not without a certain air of disdain and anger.

This painting already offers a very lively interest by its

theme. It evidences the popularity enjoyed at Athens by Eolian lyric poetry. For this reason the idealized portraits of Alceus and Sappho have been called to decorate the side of a vase, that had its marked place in the festivals, where men loved to repeat the songs of the table and of love by the poetess and poet of Lesbos. Sappho has been found on other vases;¹ but this painting is the only one on which the two images appear as close together. This curious subject the artist has made a happy use. His two figures are isolated in the void of the field and have great charms in their ample height, ample draperies that wrap them and beneath which are indicated the forms of their bodies, with the lyres that seem to vibrate under their fingers. The fabrics in particular are treated by the hand of a master. The brush has known how to mark a very frank contrast between the linen tunics with fine and wavy folds, and the woolen mantles. One of the latter is very short and is thrown over the shoulder of Alceus, while the other is much longer and extends in front in broad folds from the girdle to the knees of Sappho. The heads are both enclosed by the sacerdotal fillet; is not the poet in some fashion a priest of Apollo and the Muses? Both these heads have nobility and gravity; but the most successful is that of Alceus with his hair, whose locks float on his cheeks and nape, and with his pointed beard that falls on his chest. The head of Sappho is not as good. The painter attempted perspective; but he did not yet use it with full mastery. He has known how to present in foreshortening the right foot of this figure projecting beyond the bottom of the tunic; but when he wished to show the face in three quarter view, his brush betrayed him. The eye is badly drawn and the mouth is crooked. The convex curve of the jaw projects too much. Sappho has the appearance of a swelling.

Note 1. p. 825. The list of these vases, among which is one with black figures, was drawn up by Comparetti (*Museo ital. di ant. class.* Vol. II, p. 41 et seq.).

This lack of skill causes us to believe that men are mistaken in seeking in this vase a product of the workshop of Brygos.² It is admitted that these calm figures of an almost sculptural character scarcely resemble the very animated figures, which decorate the cups signed by Brygos; but it is believed that

there is found in the trace of the profiles a similarity that does not strike me. Men stand particularly on these black points which the brush has scattered over the tunics of Sappho and of Alceus. This scattering of points is indeed among the habits of Brygos; but it is there a very secondary motive, that does not signify which of the artisans of Ceramicos could borrow it from the manufacturer in fashion. We do not believe it right to class this vase in the series of those of which Brygos avowed himself the author. By its qualities as well as by its defects, it seems rather to be the work of some other painter, whose name we shall never know. All that we know of this painter is, that he was a contemporary of Douris. Between the two figures of Alceus and Sappho is read this legend; *dama kalos*. On an Attic cup now lost, the name of Damas was read near that of Chaeostratos, the favorite most frequently mentioned on the vases signed by Douris.¹

Note 2. p. 825. Furtwängler. Griechische Vasenmalerei. Series II, p. 21-23 of text.

Note 1. p. 826. Klein. Lieblingsinschriften. p. 125.

On the contrary, it is necessary to think of Brygos for the hydria known under the name of Vase Vivensio. There was given of it quite recently a transcript, that may be according to the beauty of the original.² The painting which decorates its shoulder represents, like that on the exterior of the famous cup of Brygos (Pls. XII, XIII), the tragic scenes of the last night of Troy. The composition comprises no less than 17 persons. It evidences in its author a rare faculty of reflection and invention. The painter has known how to choose among the motives that he found in his predecessors, to appropriate those appearing to him as most happy, and to invent others, that seem to belong to himself. Thus the old Priam, who occupies the centre of the painting, is more pathetic here, more touching, than with Brygos. According to tradition, he is seated on the altar of Zeus; he holds on his knees the nude and bloody corpse of his grandson Astyanax (Pl. XVI). Already wounded himself in the head and shoulder, he has both hands clasped over his brow. Sunk in mute despair, he makes no effort to escape the mortal blow that will be given to him by Neoptolemus, who stands before him with raised sword. Behind the altar is a palm tree, t

that represents the sacred wood; the top of the tree is twisted by the wind, recalling that the Greeks have profited by a night of storm to slip within the walls of Troy. A young woman sits on a stone at the foot of the trunk; her attitude expresses prostration and terror (Fig. 349).³

Note 2.p.828. Griechische Vasenmaleret. Pl. 34.

Note 3.p.828. To follow the description, one must pass from the altar at the left of Plate XVI to the woman seated on the ground, who is found at the right of Fig. 349 under the palm.

At the left of this group is another woman, whose pose is nearly the same; there is a little difference in the movement of the arms. This mourner is against a statue of Athena standing on her pedestal. She is sunk in her grief; but beside her occurs a second episode of the sorrowful drama. Like Priam, Cassandra, the useless prophetess, believed that she would find asylum in the sanctuary. She holds the statue clasped in her left arm. The latter with raised spear appears to menace the ferocious warrior that pursues Cassandra, Ajax the son of Cileus; but this menace of the powerless idol does not arrest Ajax. He has seized the young woman by the hair. He has already torn off her clothing. She only has to cover herself a light mantle cast over her back seen from the front, her beautiful body is nude. With her right arm she seeks to repulse the ravisher; but he will triumph over her resistance, and when he carries off Cassandra, the statue that she clasped will fall on the ground. As related by the epic poem, Athena will not fail to avenge on Ajax the injury inflicted on her image.

Here as on the cup of Brygos, the painter has held to alleviating the horror of the scenes of violence and of murder that he represented, by the introduction of episodes of another character; he has placed ^{them} at the two ends of the painting. At one side is Eneas who flees with his son Ascanius that he pushes before him, and his father Anchises, an old man with bald brow, which he carries in his arms. At the other side are two Athenian heroes, Akamas and Demophon, who find and free their grandmother Aithra, formerly carried to Troy as a slave. Between the last group and that of Neoptolemus and Priam, the painter had a void to fill, and has placed a Trojan woman that brandishes a pestle in both hands, and prepares to let it fall on the

of the Greek warrior. We have already found this motive with Brygos. Whatever artist imagined it, he had sufficient success that the ceramic painters, when they treated the theme of Ilion-persis, committed no fault in borrowing it from their predecessors, except renewing it by some happy variation. Here the warrior who threatens ~~that~~ unforeseen attack with one knee on the ground and covers himself with his shield. It is likewise one of the required accessories of these scenes, the bodies of dead and wounded Trojans crushed under their feet by the combatants, and the type thrice repeated here, of the woman feeling herself devoted to captivity, who awaits with the immobility of a statue the hand which the victor, her future master, will place on her shoulder.

Here the execution no longer offers characteristic traits that permit to be pronounced the name of one painter rather than that of another.¹ The decorator of this hydria seems to belong to the group of the last masters of the severe style. There are still in the arrangement of the drapery traces that show archaism; but the eye tends to present itself in the profile at its usual appearance, and in the figures as in the accessories, the brush is pleased to seek the effects of perspective, not without sometimes committing some inaccuracies in the course of its attempts. If the shield of Athena is well presented in foreshortening, there is awkwardness in the right leg of Neoptolemus, which is shown in front view. The calf is too large; one does not see well the shape of the foot, which is seen from behind. On the other hand, nothing is more correct than the pose of the Nude Cassandra. The knee of the right leg rests on the ground. The lower limb is bent back and concealed by the thigh; but at the side is perceived the foot, which is well in place.

Note 1. p. 828. This is the opinion of Furtwängler (Text p. 186). He differs from the opinion of Hartwig, who thought that the vase Vivienzo could be attributed to Onesimos.

Our anonymous painter is certainly a very skilful draftsman. What he lacks is only felt when his painting is compared to that in which Brygos has treated the same subject. The movements here are correct, but compared with those of the figures of the cup of the Louvre, they appear a little cold and slight-

slightly restricted. The painter of the hydria disposed of a larger field than his rival, and he made a happy use of it. His composition is not inferior in the choice of motives to that of Brygos; it may appear even more varied and interesting. What places Brygos without a peer is the superiority of the execution, which with him is of intense and passionate life in the drawing.

This warmth and boldness of movement, which has seemed to us to define the style of Brygos, we again find here and there on vases that must be contemporaneous with the cups of that master, but which no characteristic peculiarity permits to be referred to any certain workshop. I do not believe that one could find anywhere on Attic vases a bit, where the drawing may be more frank and more compact, than in a group of wrestlers, only a part of which has been preserved to us on the exterior of a fragment of a cup on which was inscribed the name of the favorite Laches (Fig. 350). One of the two men is thrown on his back on the ground, all panting. With a gesture whose violence is marvellously rendered, his conqueror holds his chin and places his hand on the mouth to prevent breathing and force him to ask for mercy. There will be noted on the arm the projection of the muscles. These are professional athletes which the painter has brought into the scene.

If in regard to these figures of athletes, one can scarcely prevent thinking of Brygos and his Silenes making an attack on Hera and Isis, I see no serious reason to pronounce the same name concerning two paintings, which by the merits of their execution do not seem to be inferior to what is best in the work of Douris or even that of Brygos. On one of them is a group formed of a Silene, a roe deer and Hermes; on the other is the very well known theme of the dispute between Hercules and Apollo concerning the tripod of Delphi. Between these two paintings is a resemblance sufficiently marked that one might be strongly tempted to see there the work of the same artist, to whom there is perhaps reason to attribute several other paintings, not without analogy to those of the two vases, whose paintings we reproduce here.¹

Note 1. p. 630. This anonymous painter is the one that Beazley calls *Le maître de l'amphore de Berlin*, No. 2180 (*Jour. Hell. Stud.*

1911. p.278-295, Pls. VIII-XVII). He attributes to this ceramist even 38 cups that belong to different museums. He studied these vases with great care, most of them in the originals; but one cannot regard as well proved many of the indications that he adopts to reach his total. This is truly to abuse conjecture.

There is first the amphora of Berlin. At one side is a Silenus walking.² He has in the right hand a cantharus, which must be supposed to be filled with wine and that he is going to bring to his lips. In the left he holds his lyre horizontally and resting against his body; his fingers play with the strings. It is again a Silenus that appears in the first plane in the other panel. The painter to whom this vase was entrusted had decided to take all the decoration from a single theme. He was pleased to represent the wandering and ecstatic life of these lewd and capricious demons, that the Greek imagination loved to represent running through the forests on the steps of Bacchus and in pursuit of the nymphs, then stopping in the middle of clearings to make resound in the silence of the night, the harmonies of their citharas and the songs with which drunkenness inspired them. Very early, the brush of the ceramists was exercised on these data: there have been made paintings of it, more than one of which have found place in these pages; but to the painter of our amphora, to rejuvenate a repeated subject, thought of a variation, that none of his predecessors had suggested within my knowledge. He has brought together there two persons that one is accustomed to see united. Hermes, the agile messenger of the gods, and the Silenus, player of the lyre. To fix the place of the scene, to recall to the spectator the great forest on the mountain where were celebrated the mysteries of Dionysos, he has placed a hind between the young god and the fantastic demon. However she might be by nature, the woman inhabiting the dense thickets has learned by habit, not to be frightened by the noise of these festivals, at which concealed in the bushes, she had been present as an attentive and curious observer (Pl. XVII).¹

Note 2.p.830. Furtwängler. catalogue No. 2180. Beazley, Pl.XVI.

Note 1.p.831. Our Plate XVII reproduces Plate XV of Beazley's Memoir.

The group has a skilful and compact composition. In the first plane is the Silenus, whose torso is seen in three quarter view. He turns his hand to the left, which is shown in profile, as also are shown the legs. His left hand supports the lyre resting on his hip and pinches its cords, while his right hand is lowered and holds the plectrum, with a cord attached to the instrument, whose sounds it would arouse. Behind the Silenus is his companion, a roe deer, that raises in the air its flexible neck and delicate head. In the third plane is Hermes. On each leg another wing is placed below the calf. Further, Hermes did not have nude feet like the Silenus. He appeared to be shod with a sort of very close boot to which adhered the little wings. In regard to them, the painter has indicated the charm of the legs of the laced boots, the free end of a strap on which one could pull to cause the foot to enter the boot. That is all spotted with black dots very close together. Did the painter wish to represent there leather or cloth? We cannot say. All that we see in the image, that footwear was well fitted and adhered to the flesh.

Although Hermes passed for the inventor of the cithara, he does not represent in this painting what music took in the Dionysiac orgy. The lyre is in the hands of the Silenus alone, and the painter has given to Hermes the attributes that art usually assigns to the servants of Bacchus, the oenochoe which the left hand of the god holds inclined, and the canthera on the handle of which together with the caduceus, close the fingers of his right hand. This unexpected reversal of the roles is also not the only trait, whose singularity is to be noted here. Below the group formed by the two persons and the deer is a band decorated by scrolls, a band that does not continue to right and left entirely around the amphora. The presence of this sort of pedestal and even the arrangement of the figures suggest a hypothesis, that there is some trouble to reject when it is presented to the mind. The ceramic painters did not have the habit of doubling or tripling the pæanes without necessity. They only took this method when they had to represent either a tumult on a field of battle or one of those actions, when the actors in the scene actually crossed their limbs and some were concealed. Then one comes to ask before this painting if the

primary idea was not given to the painter by a work of sculpture, by a group that he had seen somewhere and had freely copied with the base which supported it. The position of the arm is quite detached from the body and causes one to believe that the model inspiring it was a bronze group.

Before attempting to define the style of this painter, it is proper also to borrow from one of the vases to which has been compared the amphora of Berlin. We speak of an amphora of Wurzburg, on which is represented the dispute about the tripod. Here are Apollo (Fig. 351) and Hercules (Fig. 352). Apollo is nude with the chlamys thrown over the left arm and advances running. With the left hand he holds his bow, and with the right hand the arrow that he will place on the string. Hercules is also nude with the lion's skin tied around his neck, and faces his brother in an attitude of combat and defiance. He has seized the tripod by one of its legs and carries it on his shoulders; he will not allow it to be torn from him. With his free right arm he brings back his favorite weapon, his formidable club, to strike a blow at whoever wishes to tear from him his booty.

The painting of this amphora recalls that of the amphora of Berlin. It is difficult to deny the resemblance. There is in both the same taste for almost complete nudity. There is in that nudity the same manner of representing with much decision and some exaggeration the projection of the pectoral muscles and that of the muscular masses of the abdomen, it is the same effort to fill the field with very few figures. Hercules there occupies the most space possible. He spreads his legs; he projects over his head the legs and rings of the tripod; he bends his elbow; he allows the lion's paws to fall behind him. Apollo extends his arms, one behind and the other before his body. Further with him, this extension of the members is justified by the entire movement of the figure; but he does not explain this in the same fashion as for the Hermes of the other amphora. Why for him has the painter separated thus both hands, that balancing the canthara and that holding the Oenochoe from which the wine will run into the cup? The method taken was desired. One divines the intention there to obtain an effect, to give this more development and more amplitude to his group.

The learned author of the Catalogue of the vases of Berlin terminates in these words the description of the amphora of the Silenus and Hermes; "nearly in the style of Brygos." ¹ I do not believe that there is reason to accept this assertion, even in the very mild form that it received there. No more in that painting than in that of the dispute for the tripod, do we find traits which seem to us characteristic of the style of Brygos. There is no trace here of that very marked taste which Brygos shows for polychromy and for the use of gilding, no more than he has made use of those hatchings, which the painter of the Ilion persis used to make apparent the roundness of a member or the curvature of the orb of a shield (Plates XII, XIII); but what especially strikes us is, that the proportions of the figures are not the same as in the paintings signed by Brygos; they are more slender. This seeking for slenderness is marked here even in the representation of the animal. See the deer that accompanies Artemis and Apollo in the interior of a cup of Brygos (Fig. 320). It has much shorter legs and is much deeper in the belly than the one placed between the Silenus and Hermes. (Plate XVII). It has not like that, the graceful movement of a slender neck and fine head, which rises in the air as if to breathe the odors brought by the breeze to it. It does not give the same impression of life and lightness.

Note 1. p. 634. Furtwängler. No. 2160: - "nearly in the style of Brygos." Elsewhere he has spoken of Cleophrades, and Winter has brought forward the name of Euphronios.

To define in one word the style of the artist that has been named the master of the amphora of Berlin, we shall freely say, that more than any of his contemporaries, he aimed at elegance and succeeded in attaining it. There is the case which seems to us is betrayed in most paintings attributed to him. To the list made of them, we should be tempted to add the group of Alceus and Sappho (Plate XV). The eye is not yet fully opened; the trace is the same as in the profiles of the heads of our two amphoras. The long beard of Alceus, that falls in a point on his chest recalls the beard of the Silene as companion of Hermes.

We shall continue the excursion that we have undertaken through the museums to seek there those anonymous vases, which

among hundreds of others best merit to attract attention for various reasons. For example, here is a cup on which are represented the dispute of Ajax and Ulysses concerning the arms of Aethilles, and the vote of the Greek chiefs assigning the arms to Ulysses.¹ In these pages is nothing which differs from the current tradition of the Attic workshops. These two scenes are represented in nearly the same manner as on a cup of Douris; (Figs. 308, 309); but it is not the same for the painting in the bowl (Fig. 353). What is thought to be recognized here is Paris carrying off Helen, whom he has just taken from her husband, and the choice of this theme has nothing surprising. The artists of that time, as we have shown by more than one example, loved to seek in the same entirety of myths the subjects of the different paintings by which they decorated each of their cups.² The abduction of Helen caused this series of combats in which Achilles found death after so many other heroes. On the other hand, one cannot think of seeing here Talutytios leading away Briseis torn from Achilles. The petasus or hat with wide brim worn by the principal person is suitable for a shepherd; it is not the headdress of a herald. Likewise indeed in the great veil of the newly married, that falls from the head on the shoulders, the young woman seems to be enveloped, just as Helen is in the painting of Macron, who represents Helen preparing to follow Paris (Fig. 272). Like the Helen of Macron, that on our cup bows the head and her entire attitude seems to betray a hesitation, which her companion endeavors to conquer. He speaks to her; he seeks to dissipate her last scruples. On the explanation to be given to this painting we can scarcely have a doubt; but the painter has placed here opposite Helen a Paris, who differs greatly from that which the ceramists usually gave her as a lover. With Macron he is a young and beautiful warrior with helmet on his head (Fig. 272); with Brygos he is an inspired singer that sends his voice to all the echoes of Ida (Fig. 321); but he is beardless in both. Here Paris has the appearance of an adult man. His face is framed in a long beard that descends in a point on his chest. Why has the painter varied thus from a tradition which goes back to the time of the black figure? ¹ We do not know. We further do not see any reason to write, as one has done in regard to this vase; "style of Brygos."²

Note 1.p.835. British Museum. Catalogue. III, E. 89.

Note 2.p.835. Histoire de l'Art. X. p.478,489,532-533,538,540-541

Note 1.p.836. The same. IX. Fig. 281.

Note 2.p.836. British Museum. Catalogue. III, p. 93.

We believe that there is with no more reason, that this formula has been repeated concerning another vase, a stamnos, one painting on which we reproduce (Fig. 354).³ What makes it interesting is less its art merit, although the drawing may be executed by a skilful hand, as the theme there treated by the decorator. Ceramic painters, as it is known, borrowed much fewer subjects from the Odyssey than from the Iliad and the poems that served it as prologue and epilogue, the Cypriac songs, 1 little Iliad and the Ethiopiad. The odyssey appears to have been less popular than the Iliad at Athens. Pisistratus had introduced in the programme of the great Attic panathenaic festival competitions of rhapsodists; these must have felt this more certain to charm and move the multitude by offering it the scenes of battles fought before Troy, to illustrious deaths and pathetic sorrows, than in relating the shipwrecks of Ulysses and the enchantments of which he was a victim. It is possible that in that solemnity the recitation of the Iliad occupied more place than that of the Odyssey. Perhaps also the schoolmaster more freely used the Iliad than the Odyssey in teaching children to read, and for opening their minds to the beauties of the ancient national poetry.

In whatever way it is desired to explain the preference that painters as well as sculptors have emphasized the Iliad and the fictions connected therewith, a glance at our vase suffices to recognize that the artist was inspired there by a celebrated episode of the Odyssey. If on one side of the stamnos he only represented three cupids flying above the sea, on the other side he has placed in the scene one of the most singular adventures of Ulysses, one of those which must most amuse the naive auditors grouped in a circle around the rhapsodist.¹ Warned by Circe that he would pass before the island of the Sirens, and that if he responded to their call, he would not escape death, Ulysses passed in his boat along the plain where the perfidious and murderous singers left the bones of their victims to bleach. Docile to the counsels of the goddess, he took precau-

precautions as he was directed. All men of the crew had their ears closed by wax. As for the hero who alone hears the divine song, he is fastened to the mast by the neck, arms and legs. The sails are clewed up. Two Sirens with heads like women are perched at right and left of the bark on projections of the rock; they are well within reach of the voice. To make herself better heard, a third one has cast herself into space from the top of the promontory and comes to fly among the cordage. Ulysses has his head raised to lose nothing of the song, that recalls the dangers risked before Troy and the final victory. Protected from their seduction by the deafness imposed on them, the four rowers pull strongly on the oars. Seated at the stern the captain steers by moving the two wide oars that serve as a rudder, and exhorts his companions by gestures of his extended hand to spare no effort, so that this dangerous passage may be cleared in haste.

Note 1.p.637. *Odyssey*. XII. Verses 33-54, 154-200.

More than one observation is to be made on this painting. If one studied the naval architecture of the Greeks, he might find here data on the rigging and form of their boats, on that of the poop and the prow with their decoration; one will note the cabin that rises on the bow and the drapery with long fringes hanging at the stern; but it will suffice for us to call attention to the skill of the artist. The scene is very vividly rendered. Frequently when the ceramic painter borrows his theme from the epic myths, he seems to have a very vague memory of the episode that he undertakes to illustrate. He introduced in his painting persons and incidents of whom no mention is found in the poet that furnished the data employed in the work. Nothing similar is here. The painter appears to have presented to the mind the same verses of Homer.

Here again is a vase, which like the preceding merits not being forgotten in this too rapid survey. It is a great amphora of the Louvre that owes its notoriety to one of the paintings that decorates the body.¹ On one side, Theseus and Pirithoos abduct the Amazon Antiope. The execution is very careful, especially in the rendering of the pieces of armor; but the theme is commonplace. We have given a fragment of a painting of the same kind, where in the style of Euthymides is represented

represented the abduction of the nymph Corona by Theseus (Fig. 338). For the painting on the other side the case is very different. The painter has placed there a scene of a personage only found so far on another monument of ceramics. This is an episode of the wars of Cyrus, and this is Croesus, the celebrated king of Lydia, seated on his funeral pyre, to which fire is already set by a slave charged with that office (Fig. 355).

Note 1. p. 638. Louvre, G, 197. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 10216

It is known how rare it is that the painter, like the statuary in Greece, leaves the land of myth, where he feels much at ease, to demand his subjects from history, contemporaneous or that of a preceding generation. When he exceptionally hazards this, he nearly always gives to the history a tint of the myth. Thus on the field of battle at Marathon, where Greeks and Medes are fighting, Panaenos and Micon in their fresco of the Stoa Poikile caused to appear besides the hero of Marathon, Theseus who seems to rise from the ground, Athena and Hercules, who all come to render aid to the Athenians.¹ And if these artists do not then mix with reality a supernatural element, they rarely take more than persons, who really lived not long before, but have begun in one way or another to pass into legend. Those persons are no more than partly historical personages. This occurred to Alceus and Sappho. Those poets had scarcely been dead more than a century, when an Attic painter thought of placing their images on a vase that he decorated. Then men sang again their odes at Athens in the festivals; but still then at Athens customs were not what then had been in the Lesbos of the 6th century. The condition of free women was very different there, and already among the workmen of ceramics, as in the public that purchased their works, men perhaps no longer formed a correct idea of what might really be a type like that of this Sappho, to whom the title of tenth muse would be given by an epigram attributed to Plato. Popular imagination had inaugurated this work of transformation that will be continued by the average comedy, and that will create in time a false Sappho, the lover of Phaon and perishing in the leap from Leucades.²

Note 1. p. 640. Pausanias. Ia 15-3.

Note 2. p. 640. On what must have been really at Mytilene the role of Sappho and the character of her poetry, see T. Reinach.

Pour mieux connaître Sapho. (lecture given in the public sitting of Academy of Inscriptions, Nov. 17, 1911). Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Sapho und Simonides. 1913.

It was the same with Croesus, although he was near the events. In Greece in the 6th century, men were much occupied with Croesus.³ Curiosity was then strongly excited by the tales told by the Greeks of Ionia that came to be present at the Olympic and Pythian games, as well as by the ambassadors that were charged to deposit in the great Hellenic sanctuaries the gorgeous offerings of the king of Lydia. They did not fail to boast of the wealth of that sovereign and of the splendor of his court. The emotion had then been profound when men learned by what a disaster was ended this so brilliant reign, and they had not been able to prevent explaining this catastrophe by the jealousy of the gods, by Nemesis as they said. From this was only a step to cause to be imagined that those gods had intervened for the purpose at least of saving from a violent death this very pious prince, that from the height of grandeur they had precipitated into an abyss of misery. Thus originated what was disseminated throughout the entire Greek world about the time of the Median wars, the myth of Croesus, of a Croesus saved by Apollo from the flames of the funeral pyre. Like those tales that pass from mouth to mouth and that amuse the multitude, this comprised many variations, and that which appears to have been most popular must be of Delphic origin. To encourage the devotion of the faithful and to show that the gods do not abandon those, who brought to the sanctuary rich presents, the priests of Delphi had accredited the rumor of the miracle of the almighty power of Apollo, that had wrought in favor of Croesus. Herodotus caused Croesus to mount the funeral pyre with 14 young Lydians that were to be burned with him; but Cyrus pardoned him, when he sees Apollo, invoked by the king, cause a storm cloud to burst over the pyre, that already flamed and thus extinguish the flame.¹ According to Bacchylides, Croesus voluntarily ascended the pyre with his wife and daughters, not to fall into the hands of the victor; he himself ordered fire to be set to it, but when he addressed a last prayer to Apollo, Zeus, master of rain, extinguished the flames and Apollo transported Croesus and his children into the country of the Hyperboreans.²

Note 3.p.640. As a proof of the interest excited by the figure of Croesus, an interest not truly in relation with the very efficient part that king played in the struggle between the growing Persian monarchy and the enemies which it met in the West, it suffices to recall the place held by Croesus in the first and third books of the history of Herodotus, the relations that he maintained with Solon, Cyrus and Cambyses, and the care with which he collected the oracles concerning him.

Note 1.p.641. Herodotus. I. 87.

Note 2.p.641. *Poemes choisies of Bacchylides* translated in verse by d'Éichthal and T. Reinach. 1898. The Greek text is included with the translation. The ode in which is celebrated the sacrifice of Croesus was addressed by the poet to Hieron in reference to the victory that he won at Olympia in the chariot race in 468. In Bacchylides it is Croesus who orders his slave Abrotas to set fire to the funeral pyre (verses 48-49).

The version of the myth followed by the painter was neither that of Herodotus nor that of Bacchylides. There are here no other captives on the pyre, women or children. Yet it appears that the painter had in mind a form of the tale, which rather approached that adopted by the poet; but to simplify his task and because of the small space at his disposal, he placed on the pyre the king entirely alone. Nothing in his painting arouses the idea of a punishment inflicted on a condemned person. Everything conveys the impression of a sacrifice that Croesus accomplished by a deliberate purpose with heroic serenity. The monarch is crowned with laurel. He holds the sceptre in his hand. He is clothed in a long royal robe, that given by the artists to the gods. His pose is noble and serious. With the right hand extended forward, he pours the wine of the libation on the funeral pyre. Observe the attitude of the man armed with a bundle of torches, who kindles the fire; it is rather that of a slave who executes with regret the order given by his master, than that of an executioner who brutally performs his task. The scene truly has the character of a religious solemnity. There is a memorial of those voluntarily incurred and theatrical, to which oriental sovereigns were accustomed, and that Greek historians loved to relate.

It has been thought that here in the execution is some religious

relation to Douris.¹ The resemblance does not strike us. There is in the paintings of Douris more than one breadth of cloth in dovetails similar to that forming behind here the bottom of the mantle, but the drapery affects this charm in many other contemporaneous painters. What would dissuade us from thinking of Douris is, that color here plays a more important part, than it usually does on vases signed by Douris. There is red on the diadem, lines are diluted black to indicate the brush heaped at the foot of the pyre; retouches of red and which imitate the flames. On the brilliant lustre of a beautiful black glaze the image is detached in light. The work is very careful, in the accessories as well as the figures. It is the work of a skilful artist, who drew as well as any man of his time, that especially composed with reflection and intelligence; but it is necessary to resign ourselves not to know his name.

Note 1.p. 842.

Hauser in the text of Plate 113 of Griech. Vasenmalerei.

Without leaving the Louvre, we should have only the embarrassment of the choice to indicate in passing a certain number of anonymous vases for which, as in those that we have just studied, the painter has taken the subject of his decoration from the mythsthat epic poetry has wrought, or from myths that are no longer known except by the figured monuments. We can cite a gigantomachy (G, 66), the return of Hephaistos mounted on a mule and taken into Olympus by Dionysos escorted by the Silenes and Menads (G, 135, 162), a theme that we have already found on the craters of Ergotimos and Clitias (Fig. 99), Procne slaying the infant Itys (G, 147), the body of Sarpedon transported by Thanatos and Hypnos (G, 163; see Pl. XI and Fig. 303), the punishment of Tityos slain by Apollo (G, 164, see Fig. 343), Acteon devoured by his dogs in the presence of Artemis (G, 224), Hermes slaying Argos Panoptes, the guardian of the cow Io, Hercules with Dejanira carrying the young Hyllos, who extends his arms to his father before Ceneus, the father of Dejanira (G, 229), Hercules killing Ceneas, Old Age, who has the form of a weak and emaciated dwarf (G, 134), the Sphinx and the Thebans (G, 266), etc.

It would be easy to extend this list much, if one undertook for the sage purpose to pass through the principal galleries of Europe; but we shall content ourselves with also citing two

vases on which attention has been very particularly called by the learned, the peerless connoisseur that has undertaken to offer to lovers of antique art a selection of the more curious and most beautiful paintings on clay contained in the public and private collections of the New World, paintings reproduced by faithful drawings at the same dimensions as the originals, so that the copyist had to make no sacrifices or omit any details.

Note 1.p.843. This is Hauser, who in the text of *Griechische Vasenmalerei* wrote the notices devoted to the two monuments that we mean here; but as he warned readers when he undertook the enterprise that remained unfinished. It was Furtwängler who chose and caused to be drawn by Reichhold most of the vases, that were published and described after the death of the first editor.

Among the vases that without being recommended by the name of a painter, but merit being admired for the beauty of their decoration, men boast of a cratera that we are told forms a part of a private collection.² On one side before a bust of Priapus placed on a rock is an ithylopathic Pan who throws himself on a young shepherd. The latter flees before the god without attempting to defend himself with the whip held in his hand; but what makes the particular interest of the painting is, that we have here the most ancient image that Greek art has left us of the demon dear to the Arcadian shepherds. Pan has the horns, head and feet of a he-goat, with a torso, arms and legs of a man; but later art would never consent to allow animalism to retain that predominance in the figure of a deity which Athens and its poets had adopted. To Pan it will give a man's face, broad and joyous; but it will recall the rustic origin of the god by planting two short horns on his brow; it will retain the goat's hoofs and then cause long hairs to project around its haunches. The painting of the vases must have been executed a few years after Pan had been introduced into Athens, on the morrow of the battle of Marathon.¹ Attic taste had not yet had time to correct what was a little barbarous in the type of the newcomer, to place this type in better harmony with the beauty of those very noble gods near which it was to dwell in the subsoil of the Acropolis.

Note 2.p.843. *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Plate 115.

Note 1.p.844. Herodotus. VI. 105.

On the other side is Acteon attacked by his dogs in presence of Artemis. The subject is well known. It has frequently tempted sculptors and painters, for the opportunity it offered for mingling there the image of the young man and that of the goddess, the silhouettes of furious and leaping animals; but the scene of the drama does not present what one could expect to find there, according to the memories retained of the sarcophagi of the Roman epoch and the paintings of Pompeii. There have been several versions of the myth of Acteon. The most ancient text which explains the wrath of Artemis and the punishment inflicted on Acteon by the irritation of the goddess surprised in the bath was by Callimachus.² Now this is an invention of Alexandrine mythology, and that romantic and sophisticated mythology, transmitted to moderns by the epigrams and anthology and by the Latin elegiacs. According to Euripides in the *Bacchantes*, by his pride Acteon attracted the hatred of the immortal huntress. "Thou seest," says Cadmus to Pentheus, "what was the unfortunate fate of Acteon. Because he boasted of being a more skilful hunter than Artemis, he was torn in pieces in the forest by the dogs that he had fed."³ Such is the most ancient form of the tradition. What proves it is not only that Euripides is later than Callimachus by two centuries. There is something more significant. In the paintings of vases where Acteon is represented as the prey of his dogs, there is nowhere and not even there the least allusion to the bath in which Artemis was surprised. When the goddess is shown there enjoying her vengeance, she is always completely clothed. It is the same on the metope of one of the temples of Selinonte.

Note 2.p.844. Callimachus. Hymn to Pallas. Verse 110. See Apollodorus. III, 4-4; Hygin, fable 181.

Note 3.p.844. Euripides. *Bacchantes*. Verses 336-339. This same tradition was followed with some variations by Piodorus. IV, 81.

Further, none of the paintings of this order, except that of the cratera in question, where is admired the movement of the figures and the boldness of the design. Acteon seems to have been thrown on the ground by the anger of the goddess, as by a thunderbolt. He has both knees bent under him. His left arm rests on the ground and the other is raised to the sky with a

gesture of despair and powerlessness. The unfortunate man does no attempt even to repulse the dogs, one of whom bites his neck, another his side and the third the arm, while the fourth springs on his chest. Leaning forward in the transport of her passion, Artemis bends her bow. As if the rage of the loosed pack was too slow in executing the sentence of death, the goddess is going to pierce Acteon's heart with an arrow.

Men no less insist on the value of a stamnos of Munich, whose unknown decorator we are assured was one of the first ceramic painters, that suffered the influence of Polygnotus and of Micon. On one side is only a Nike that pours a libation to Zeus; but on the other is the representation of a myth that was dear to Athens, that of the miraculous birth of Erichthonios. She is seen above the middle of the body and holds out to Athena the infant of which she has become the mother. Hephaistos is present in the scene. It is believed that in the composition and drawing here is found a reflection of the style of the celebrated frescos by which were decorated the walls of several edifices of Athens in the time of Cimon.¹

Note 1. p. 845. Hauser in the note on Pl. 137 of Griech. Vasen.

If we have omitted to reproduce this painting, this is because by even the character attributed to it, it is placed outside the limits, which we have fixed in this study, in which we must not treat the paintings of the truly free style, that no longer bear a trace of the conventions of archaic art. It is for the same reason that we content ourselves with mentioning here one of the most beautiful vases possessed by the Louvre, the so-called cratera of Orvieto, on which it is agreed to mention borrowings made by the ceramist from the decoration which Polygnotus and Micon executed in the Anakeion of Athens.² The painter has represented there two scenes with numerous persons, here a reunion of the Argonauts in the presence of Hercules and Athena, there Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobides.

Note 2. p. 845. Louvre. Hall G, 341. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 1082. P. Girard. Le cratera d'Orvieto, etc. (Monuments de l'association des études grecques. 1895-1897, p. 17, with the bibliography of the works on this vase).

It is seen by the examples that we have given, that these vases without signature of painter or potter, these current

products of Attic industry most frequently counted for being placed on the foreign and internal markets, on the interest taken in the representation of those adventures of the gods and heros, that aroused the curiosity of the Tuscan purchaser and that of the Greek buyer. What added to the attraction of these paintings is, that men sought and hoped to find there partial or reduced copies of the great works of contemporary painting, of those which men came from all parts to admire in the Stoa Poikile of Athens or the Lesche of Delphi. Favor must then go especially to vases on which the brush of the ceramist made itself the interpreter of epic poetry, the translator of these marvellous fictions that the Greek imagination had formerly originated, and that it never ceased to vary and renew without ever appearing to exhaust them. Yet sometimes the decorator, knowing that from the back of the Euxine to the columns of Hercules, men contended for the works from his hands, satisfied himself with a better value. He restricted himself to painting on his vases scenes of the palestra, of feasts or of the toilet, of domestic or industrial labor. Among the anonymous vases, there was only the embarrassment of choice to mention those having this character, of which are recommended by the skill with which the painter has known how to present their paintings, whose subject he borrowed from everyday life, from that led by the men and women of Athens in their houses, gymnasia and workshops. This is what may be termed genre painting, taking here an expression of which such frequent use is made in the language of the critic of contemporaneous art, for which it is useless to propose a definition.

We cannot give a better specimen of this painting than the figure which decorates the interior of a cup of the Louvre on which is written the name of Cleomelos, without being able to state whether this name is that of a kalos or of an artist.¹ An ephebe in the palestra pulls from the ground the stick that he had placed to mark the point reached by his discus (Pl. XI. 11). This is an admirable sketch of a motive already known by a cup of Epictetos.² "No image can better express the progress realized after Epictetos. The elegant curve of the back, the knowledge of foreshortening, the grace of the leaning attitude, the beauty of line, all concurs to make this simple silhouette a

masterpiece of Creek drawing." ³ The profile of the face and the incision limiting the hair allows this cup to be classed in the products of the school of Euphronios. The handles were very carefully indicated in light lines of diluted black; but these lines have faded so much that photography has scarcely been able to give a trace. All that remains is the firm silhouette of that youthful body taken in a pose which permits all its suppleness to appear.

Note 1.p.848. Louvre. G, 3.

Note 2.p.848. Louvre. G, 73.

Note 3.p.848. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 950.

At other times the elegance of female nudity ornamented cups intended to pass from hand to hand in banquets. Here are several cups that present the same motive with slight variations. The first was found at Chiusi in Etruria (Fig. 356).¹ It is a nude young girl. A narrow band is detached in red on the black hair and passes twice around the head. The woman stands before a bronze basin, whose handle is shaped as the head of a serpent and rests on a base with the paws of a griffin. On the left arm, she bears her rolled clothing, removed to proceed to her ablutions. Her lowered right hand holds a great situla containing the water that she will pour into the basin.

Note 1.p.847. Collection Van Branteghem, etc. 1892.

What is curious here are the inscriptions. At the right of the head, the painter has placed e pais. To correspond to this feminine article he must have completed the formula by the adjective kale, "the beautiful girl." But supported by habit, he has written kalos. He appears to have perceived too late the solecism that he committed, when the painting was dry and he could not change the termination of the word; then by a sort of repentance he has written kale on the situla. Thus we explain this incoherence, this delayed and awkward correction.

This is the same motive that is found on a lecythe discovered at Gela in Sicily, but this time with a correct inscription, e pais kale (Fig. 357).¹ Here again are the preparations for the ablution that justify this nudity. The young woman is in her dressing room; this is indicated by a mirror hanging on the wall. Like that of the cup she now holds in both hands her rolled clothing. She is going to place it on the chair before

using the water contained in a basin placed behind her. The proportions are no less correct and the drawing has no less frank accuracy than in the figure on the cup; but here the woman appears older. The bust is more developed. What especially makes the difference is that the work is carried farther. On the back and the abdomen, on the members and the ankle joints, there is far more internal modeling. The decoration of the cup and that of the lecythe cannot be by the same hand.

Note 1. p. 848. *Orsi. Gela. Scavi del 1900-1905* (Rome 1906), p. 337-338, Plate XI).

On the contrary, from the same workshop came another vase of the same form, which was discovered in the same tomb. The woman --- I do not know why she is called the courtesan -- is here represented after the bath at the moment of completing her toilette (Fig. 358). The same mirror is fastened at the same place; it causes to be understood that the location of the scene is that already shown to us. The same chair, over which the young woman leans as in the other painting, holding a roll of cloth in her hands; but here this woman is almost entirely clothed in a long tunic that falls to her feet, over which is a sort of coraco that falls as far as the hips. There remains to complete her clothing only the mantle held in her arms. The basin of water that appears in two paintings previously reproduced is here replaced by a basket. This may contain the linen used by the young woman in drying herself, or indeed contain small articles, such as the box of paint and the jewels that play their part, when it is necessary to give the last touches to the work of coquetry.

Well known is the sport on which the great Spanish painter Goya announced himself. He made two portraits of the same female model. In one the woman lies nude on a sleeping couch. She is clothed in the other. These two canvases attract most attention in the museum of the Prado in Madrid; they are known as the nude woman and the clothed woman. To execute the light and brilliant sketches that we have brought together, the Greek ceramist has doubtless not needed to have the living model posed before him. So much conscientiousness and effort was not necessary here. However, when the two lecythes are placed near each other, we believe that we see the same women under differ-

different aspects, which is to say that the two sketches were executed by the same painter from the same memories, after the type that this artist had at his fingers' ends, so to speak.

If the ceramists were certain of pleasing their public by giving it to admire the nude body of the ephebe or of the woman in the suppleness of its curves and the variety of its movements, they also knew how to amuse it by showing in their paintings, as would have been done today by a series of photographs, the interiors of those workshops where the workmen, intelligent pupils and docile collaborators of the masters of the art, labored there for all civilized humanity.

We have already shown that the decorator of clay represented more than once the different phases of this fabrication of painted vases, where he intervened to complete the work of the potter.¹ Here is a cup found at Vulci, that we introduced in another workshop, with Critios and Nesiotes, if you please,² in one of those foundries in which the prosperity of Athens after the Median wars attracted companions, who had learned the trade at Sicyon, Corinth and Egina.³ There in the workshop similar to that where Phidias a little later will cause his statues to be cast and finished. One too frequently¹⁸ led to forget that Phidias was scarcely more than a bronze worker.

Note 1.p.850. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Figs.173-178, 181-183, 185.

Note 2.p.850. The same. p. 583.

Note 3.p.850. The same. p.470-475, 523-526, 677, 678.

While learning to place under the eyes of the purchaser a slice of life, as we say today, an episode of the lives of Attic workmen of his time, the painter desired to ennoble his painting by connecting it with the epic myths by the image placed in the hollow of the bowl (Fig. 359). He remembered that Hephaistos was the patron of the founder as well as of the potter, that he was helpful to all artists for whom the fire of the kiln was charged with transforming the material and making it suited to receive the impression of the creative idea of beauty. He has therefore represented Hephaistos delivering to Thetis the arms which had been forged for Achilles at the request of the goddess. She has already received the spear on which she rests her right hand, and the shield supported on

ner left arm. This shield is of the so-called Boeotian type with two opposite notches. To indicate that there is grace in the light charm of the goddess with white feet, with "feet of silver," as Homer says, the painter has caused her to rest on the toes of her feet. Thus by the effect of the slight effort required by this position, one of the feet is seen in front view and the other in profile.

Hephaistos sits on a seat without back, on which is laid a cushion. With the left hand he presents to Thetis the helmet with a wide crest, which he seems to examine with the eyes of a connoisseur to see that nothing is lacking. With the right hand he holds the hammer; thus he is ready to give his work a final blow of the tool. It was a delicate operation to forge the bell of a helmet. Much care was required to see that convex surface of the brass bell should present nowhere hollows or bosses. On the cover of an Attic pyxis is read the inscription Thaliarchos kalos where is seen an ephebe seated on a low stool and occupied thus in hammering a helmet (Vignette at end of the Chapter). Around his two persons the painter has distributed accessories to fill the field. Behind Thetis is an anvil and a hammer. Over the head of Hephaistos are hung on the wall the brass greaves which will complete the armor delivered to Thetis. What evidences the care with which the god has performed his task is the decoration of the shield. At the centre is an eagle holding a serpent in his talons. On the exterior are four stars.

From the mysterious cave beneath the volcano of Lipari, where Hephaistos commanded the crew of Cyclops one passes with the painting on the outside into the full light of day in some workshop, where in some shed in one of the suburbs of Athens, founders and chasers labored under the orders of the sculptors, that the city after Salamis and Platea had charged to erect the living images of its gods and heroes in the edifices of the lower city and on the Acropolis, which to the eye removed from itself the ashes and stains of the conflagration. We shall divide this exterior into two paintings, which on the original are not even separated by the attachment of the handles. We see at one side a colossal statue placed on a plank between two vertical timbers. It has more than twice the height of a workman standing behind it (Fig. 360). This is the statue of a nude

warrior helmeted, who with the shield on his left arm holds a spear in the right, whose lowered point appears to menace an enemy fallen on the ground. This is an attitude found in the works of contemporaneous sculpture, for example on the pediments of Egina, and very frequently in the combats represented on painted vases. To the statue have been adjusted the offensive and defensive arms and it appears to be nearly finished. It has to receive only a final polish, that two workmen are engaged in giving to it, one seated on a low stool before the left leg, the other standing and leaning against the right haunch. Both are armed with instruments that must be files or scrapers by means of which they remove the traces of soldering and joints.

At right and left of the structure enclosing the statue stand two men of ripe age who do not take part in the work, but who have the air of following its progress with attentive eyes. It is not merely the attitude that distinguishes them from the other actors in the scene. There is something in their entire persons that sets them apart. Of the two workmen busied on the statue, one is entirely nude and has merely drawers around the loins. One is covered by a skull cap and the other has short hair not held by a band. The two spectators lean carelessly on their staves, as in paintings of vases do the citizens present at the exercises of the ephebes, or who witness dances and banquets. They are clothed in a tunic over which is thrown a mantle laid over the shoulder. Their beards are longer than those of the workmen and are cut to a point. Their hair is also more ample and its arrangement is maintained by a fillet extending around the head. One of them has an arm concealed under his mantle and looks on without making a movement; the other has the left hand extended as if to accompany with a gesture a word that must be an order. These two men are the foremen that direct the workshop, or rather the sculptors themselves, who have come to oversee the adjustment of the statues that they have ordered from the chief of the foundry.

In the other painting we see the work of the foundry continued (Fig. 361). At the right lying on a bed of sand is a statue of a nude man, over which bends a workman with a hammer in his hand. He strikes the rivets that connect it at the shoulder.

As for the head of the figure, it is placed on the ground behind. It is known that even sculptors of marble in Greece did not hesitate to make their statues in pieces and of bits, which they then skilfully joined together by joints no longer visible.¹ For a stronger reason, metal workers employed this method, as one can prove by closely examining the antique bronzes that have come to us. Not merely the head and members were cast separate from the trunk. There were pieces in even the torso, small pieces fitted, when with more care in forming the mould this piecing could have been avoided. Men do not occupy themselves beyond measure with these slight defects in execution, that were easily concealed by a few strokes of the file; they thought especially of the general effect.²

Note 1. p. 634. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VIII. p. 158-158.

Note 2. p. 654. So to speak, there are no bronzes of very great dimensions, where if they are rather closely examined, one cannot verify these slight joints, and these are more numerous as the statue is more ancient. To prove that the Spinario of the Capitol is indeed a Greek original of the 5th century, there was noted "the addition of several pieces forming a part, by means of dovetail joints." (Collignon. *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*. Vol. I, p. 418).

Then comes a young and entirely nude workman. His right hand leans on the handle of his hammer, whose head rests on the ground. It rests between two spells of hammering metal. The pose is easy. If the head is in profile, the torso is presented in three quarter view. The leg and left foot are seen in front view; the right leg is seen in profile. At the left of the painting the painter has also placed two workmen and the high furnace that feeds the foundry. The furnace is cylindrical. On its top is placed a crucible in which is melted the alloy intended to furnish a new cast of metal. Behind the furnace crouches a workman. Only half of his face and bust are visible. From his pose it may be believed that he was occupied in managing a blower with which he fanned the fire. The other workman is covered by a skull cap and is nude, seen in front view. He is seated on a low stool and holds in both hands a long poker to stir the burning charcoal, that he plunged into the opening arranged at the bottom of the furnace. We must assume this

workman to be placed opposite the mouth of the furnace, but if he had been so placed, the painter would have been able to show only his back and the tool would have been concealed. He then resolutely adopted his method. He placed the fireman at the side, assuming that the mind of the spectator would restore the figure to his actual position.

As in the painting of the interior of the bowl, the decorator has adhered to filling the field. He has suspended on the walls hammers, a rasp, a saw, the two instruments whose purpose escapes me. Further are two feet that have not yet been fitted to the statue of which they form a part. Finally near the furnace, beneath a pair of goat horns among branches with leaves, there are arranged six tablets, two of the larger representing the head of a man and that of a woman, perhaps of a god and goddess. These must be tablets of painted clay, similar to those of which we have given numerous examples. Perhaps their presence in this place is explained by some superstition of metal workers. Indeed we learn by Pollux that founders, to avoid the evil influences that would have caused their casts to fail, had the habit of suspending in the foundry "comic images."¹ The furnace of the bronze workers, like that of the potters, was menaced by demons, who amused themselves in opposing the action of the fire, and in playing bad tricks on the poor workmen.²

Note 1. p. 656. Pollux. VII. 108.

Note 2. p. 656. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p. 347-348.

The inscriptions on vase do not make known the author. The only mention contained in them is that of a kalos, Diogenes, whose name is read on some other vases, but which are not signed.³ Several ceramographs have occupied themselves with this cup; it has recalled to some the work of Douris, to others rather that of Brygos. A single observation is appropriate. If the trace of the eye is less advanced here than on certain vases of Brygos, on the other hand it is rare that with him are found the hatchings which serve to indicate the curvature of a surface. Here are found at the base of the crucible those hatchings which Brygos placed on the orbs of shields (Plates XII, XIII). However this may be, what is certain is, that the painter who decorated this cup was one of the good artists of

of his time. The scenes here are well composed; the attitudes are natural; the drawing is firm and frank. The brush can vary its effects by mixing with profiles the front views and three quarter views; but what particularly forms the interest of the paintings of this vase is, that it confirms the idea, that after the study of the monuments, men were led to employ procedures, that the ancients applied to the fabrication of bronze statues.

Note 3.p.656. Klein. Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften, p. 101-103. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. p. 381-390.

If the ceramist drew freely from the picturesque of the groups, that formed under the sheds of the foundry around the workshop and among the tools thrown down in disorder, the workmen occupied in shaping vases, in polishing arms or modeling statues, he also knew how to find agreeable themes in the life of the gymnasium, in the working of wool, in the play of the needle, and in the apparatus of the toilette. There where by the natural elegance of the woman and the beauty of the race, everywhere was offered to the eyes of the artist harmonious lines and graceful movements. It is a painting of this kind which we find in the interior of a cup found at Vulci, whose exterior presents only the commonplace usual scenes of the *comos* (Fig. 362).¹

Note 1.p.657. Furtwängler. Beschreibung. 2289.

There are in the bowl two women clothed in long tunics and draped in the himations. One is standing, the other is seated on a seat with a back. She has the left leg bent, the foot is placed on the ground. The right leg is nude below the knee and is raised and extended; its heel rests on a stool. The left hand is in the air. The right hand lies on the calf, or rather on the tibia at the top of the calf. From the left hand starts a line of reddish violet, only a very slight trace of which remains on the photograph, but which is very visible on the original. This line goes from the left to the right hand. In the field are two baskets, one raised on a shelf, the other placed on the ground.

The first archaeologists who described and reproduced this painting believed, that they saw in the seated woman a wounded person occupied in staunching the blood that ran from her wound;

but this interpretation is only explained by a hasty glance at the original. The red line continues between the knees and is directed toward a receives in which can be recognized only one of those baskets for clothes, which are often represented on funerary steles, on lecythes and in toilet scenes. Was a basket suited to receive blood? To reject that idea it further suffices to note where the line starts. Even on our photograph it is very clearly seen to turn around the left wrist, where it is detached in gray on the light of the arm. One must then not be mistaken in the nature of the object, which the painter has desired to represent by the use of red; this is a skein of wool, but it appears that the last commentator on the monument has alone correctly seized the nature of the work which occupies the seated woman.¹ He was set on the way by some verses of Aristophanes in the Assembly of Women, by the adjuration that Praxagora, the baby-farmer of the conspiracy, addressed to one of the Athenian women dressed in ^{their} ~~her~~ husbands' clothes and provided with false beards, who planned to take the places of men on the Pnyx, to possess themselves of the power to make the laws. This suffragette is a good mother, however devoted to the cause. While attending the sitting, she desired to prepare the wool from which she would weave the clothing for her children; she would card it. Praxagora remonstrated, that for this it was necessary to raise the leg, that she could not fail thus to expose her nudity and betray her sex.² The pose that the painter has assigned to the seated woman justifies the fears of Praxagora. The leg nude to the knee would attract indiscreet looks; it would provoke them to look higher.

Note 1. p. 858. F. Hauser. Aristophanes und Vasenbilder. Zainousa (Jahrb. d. Aust. Arch. Inst. in Wien. 1909. p. 80-85. Pl. I).

Note 2. p. 858. Aristophanes. Ekkles. Verse 88-98.

It remains to explain correctly what means the verb *zainein*, which is translated by card in the dictionaries. This cannot here refer to carding properly so called, the first manipulation to which wool is subjected, when after shearing, it has been freed from the fat of the animal by boiling. It was a different operation that occupied our workwoman. From the baskets around her, she takes wool that the card has already commenced to reduce and untangle. She takes handfuls of the fleece from

which she forms the rolls that she hardens and stretches between her fingers and then finishes by compacting on the edge of her extended leg, then to throw into the basket placed before her. She will soon charge her distaff with these rolls, and in passing from the distaff to the spindle, they will become the thread which the weaver will use in her trade.

Thus proceeded the poorest workwomen; but for those who while fulfilling their duty as housewives could give themselves some luxury, there had been invented an instrument, the *oncos* or *epinetion*, that aided in their task. We have described and drawn it elsewhere.¹ It was found more convenient to rub and flatten the moist roll on the clay of this tile, than on the naked skin and the bone of the leg.

It has been thought to find some relation between the style of the paintings of this vase and that of the paintings signed by Douris; but the resemblances are such as sufficiently explain themselves by the fact that all ceramists who belonged to the same generation copied each other, that their brushes had the same habits and the same attractions. As much could be said of another vase concerning which have been pronounced without insistence the names of Douris and of Brygos. The trace of the eye is nearly correct in profile, but would rather give reason to think this vase contemporaneous with the most advanced vases of Brygos. What again recalls Brygos is a certain tendency to polychromy. The hair of several persons is made of a diluted black tending to yellow. For various details are retouches of red and white; but what is most interesting is the subject. The painting of this aryballa represents a medical clinic at Athens (Fig. 363).²

Note 1. p. 860. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. p. 314-316, 877; Figs. 164-165.

Note 2. p. 860. E. Pottier. *Une clinique grecque au cinquième siècle*, etc. *Fondation Piot*, Vol. XIII. p. 149-166; Pls. XIII-XV)

The small vase is a very careful fabrication. On the shoulder two flying Cupids face each other, each holding in his hand a garland of leaves. Their bodies gracefully extend in the pose of swimmers with one leg raised more than the other;³ but the effort of the painter was particularly devoted to the body, where extends a scene with seven persons. At the middle is a

physician with the appearance of an ephebe. Draped in a himation, he is seated in a chair with a back. The feet are drawn under the chair and he bends forward, seizing with the left hand the right arm of a man standing before him, he makes with the right hand the gesture of unrolling a bandage above the wrist. In the field over the physician are suspended three small concave objects, doubtless cupping glasses. Before the doctor is placed on the ground a metal basin with three feet like lion's paws and a little handle at the side. Intended to contain water for sponging wounds. The invalid that is being dressed is nude with a mantle thrown over the shoulder and on the left arm. That body is posed in front view, he leans on a staff and turns his head to the right in looking at the operator. At the other side of the basin another invalid sits on a stool. His left upper arm is enclosed by a white bandage placed in cross form above the biceps. Behind him and turned in the same direction is a man standing and draped, one of his hands holding a flower that he seems to carry to his nostrils, but the fractures have caused a great part of the body of this person to disappear.

Note 3.p.380. Pottier. Plate XIII).

If we pass to the other side of the physician, there is seen standing behind his chair a person draped in a himation that bares his shoulder and right side. Like his neighbors, he leans with the right hand on a knotty staff. A white bandage is around his left leg a little above the ankle. Then comes a person much shorter than the others. He has the appearance of a squat dwarf with broad shoulders, strong and short legs, bearded face and great recurved nose. In him is recognized one of those deformed slaves that certain rich men at Athens loved to retain about them, because they thought that by their ugliness they enhanced the beauty of the master.¹ Antiquity further attached a superstitious idea to this practice; it was believed that grotesque objects and beings had a prophylactic virtue and diverted evil influences.

Note 1.p.661. Saglio. Dictionnaire des antiquites, Articles Morio, Manu.

This slave turns toward a standing man draped in a mantle that leaves the torso nude. On his chest are noted the remains

of a wide white bandage. The body faces front and leans over with one leg crossed over the other, resting the left hand on a staff, the right placed on the hip, and he seems to speak to the dwarf, who with the right hand appears to make a sign of salutation or of thanks. It is believed that there is divined the subject of the conversation. The slave holds with the left hand on his shoulder a hare nearly as large as himself. This hare is doubtless a gift presented by the patient, who is held to placing himself on good terms with the servant of the house.¹

Note 1.p.882. All this description is merely an abridgment of that given by Pottier for this painting. He inserted there observations on the technics for which we refer to his text.

Before this curious painting, one cannot ask himself what a sort of a clinic the artist had in view, what sort of medication was the object of all these bandages and accessories shown in the field. The first idea that comes into mind was that it concerned fractures and dislocations that must be reduced and to care for the patients; but this was not the opinion of one of our most eminent surgeons, who is at the same time a fervent admirer of antique things.² For the forms and locations of the bandages, there is reason to reject that hypothesis. The members attacked were supported in an entirely insufficient manner. Would a man with a fractured foot walk with such an easy attitude, as the one standing behind the operator? We are not with the surgeon here, but rather with the physician. Here are invalids that come to be bled.

Note 2.p.882. Dr. Pozzi.

"Bleeding was in frequent use in ancient therapeutics. Hippocrates, Galen, Celsius, all great physicians of antiquity recommended it in certain cases and used it. They bled by preference in the arm or indeed in the foot near the ankle. It is indeed at these places that the bandages are placed in our painting. Besides, the bands are narrow and light in appearance. In fact after the bleeding and to protect the little wound from the air and dust, it sufficed to roll a little cloth around the arm or foot without making a serious bandage. Note that the basin placed before the physician would be of no use for caring for fractures, but in case of bleeding, water and sponges were required to receive the blood and wash the incised part."

"There remains a more embarrassing point; why does one of t

the patients wear a band as a scarf across the chest? It could be supposed that this invalid needing cuppings scarified on the chest or back, it was necessary to place the band thus. The cupping glasses suspended in the field were there to recall this mode of treatment. In brief, all the minute details of the representation find in this hypothesis a very plausible explanation.

Note 1.p.863. Pottier. p. 156-157.

One might feel some surprise in noting the great youth of the operator. "Although on the original a very light stroke of the brush, dipped in diluted black, indicates a springing beard, the ephebic character of the physician is evident, while his patients are persons of mature age. If there were treated accidents occurring in the palestra, the contrary would rather be expected; a bearded physician treating crippled ephebes. The proposed explanation makes perfectly natural the choice that the artist has made of men that have attained full maturity. These are citizens of Athens, men of forty or fifty, whose sanguine complexion requires an appropriate treatment. The ages of the invalids are then entirely normal; but is there not some eccentricity in showing us with them a doctor of scarcely twenty years?"

"A general reason can first be given for this fact; this is that Greek art of the 5th century has a marked predilection for youthful beauty. Even the old men and particularly the aged women are recognizable at this epoch only by the color of their white hair. It then conforms to this particular esthetics that the only healthy person, the hero of the scene, presents himself in the appearance of a young and beautiful man. This was also a means of varying the painting, of avoiding the monotonous appearance of an assemblage where all the men were of the same type." ²

Note 2.p.863. Pottier. p. 158.

These esthetic reasons could suffice in our opinion; but it is not forbidden to seek others. The ancients thought it necessary to be young to be a good doctor. Celsius expressly says: "The surgeon must be young, or at least still near youth. He must have a firm and sure hand never trembling. He must also be skilful with both hands, have clear and piercing sight and an intrepid heart. His sensibility should be that which seeks

only to heal the invalid entrusted to his care and that does not permit him to be affected by cries. He will make no more haste than the circumstances require; he will cut no more than necessary; but to well accomplish everything as if he were nowise affected by the complaints of the patient." ¹

Note 1.p.684. Celsus. De re medica. VII. Introduction.

The ceramists do not ask for the spectacles under their eyes scenes as complex as are the interiors of foundries and of clinics. Sometimes there sufficed a meeting in the street or on one of the roads entering the city to suggest to them an amusing and hastily taken sketch. See this interior of a cup that bears no inscriptions other than the names of two kaloi, Nicosrates and Laches (Fig. 364). All that the painter has placed here is an ass loaded with a great bundle of clothes and advancing without a leader. The subject may appear insignificant; but one cannot refuse to give great credit to the artist for the precision, that has carried into the details and the accuracy in the representation of the animal. He remembered what he had seen, what he saw daily, when leaving their rural deme the peasants of Mesogea and of Diacria descended to pass several days in Athens, installed with their friends or camped on the squares during the great religious and civic festivals.

What forms this package is, that the Greek still fastens on the back of a beast of burden when he starts on an excursion. This is what he calls ta paplomata, those coverings stuffed with cotton or wool, that in the evening he will spread in some improvised shelter. He will roll himself entirely in them; he will take care to cover his head so that the dew of morning may not fall on his eyes. The harness of the Attic ass was further that of his descendant. With two strong straps, one passed beneath the belly and the other inserted under the root of the tail, the pack saddle is safely fixed on the back. This is not the only service rendered by the saddle. A man sits on the side like a woman's saddle, leaning against the front and rear standards, which are very clearly represented here. Sometimes to feel safer in the bad parts of the mountain paths, he sits astride, freed from falling.

Frequently as the case here, the saddle only serves to carry the baggage. With the wooden sticks which form the frame, it

lends itself to a packing that resists the shocks of the worst mule paths. The package entrusted to it will not move. It has been fastened with great care. It is held by three pairs of straps. For greater safety, another longer strap is carried across and well stretched to serve as the martingale of the ass; it prevents the package from falling backward. Finally, on the top of this bale the packing is completed by a thin plate pierced with holes in which are fastened small cords. Besides, there is a plate for the decoration. On the side of the package is fixed a checkered cloth with an entire row of fringes below. These are painted red on the cup. There is recognized that taste for vivid colors which is still that of the inhabitants of those countries. In the saddle bazaar in any city of the Greek or Turkish Orient will be found pack saddles, that differ little from that which is easily restored from the sketch of the ceramist.

What is here more interesting as even the image of the ass? The artist has well rendered its form and features. The animal walks with the slow and long stride, which horses, asses and mules have as a habit where the state of the roads did not permit the use of vehicles and where nearly all transportation is made with convoys of animals driven forward before the agile mountaineers, who encourage them by voice and gesture. This is not here one of those despised and maltreated donkeys as are seen in our country, where they frequently haul heavy wagons that exhaust them. Our ass is slender without meagreness. He has a fine head. His upright ears give him a sort of bold air. By the sight of the black spots which the brush has scattered over his legs, one is tempted to assume a gray hide for him. He was a beautiful ass.

14. The Loutrophores.

Not to forget any of the original types that Attic ceramists have created in the 6th and 5th centuries, it remains for us to mention and define the loutrophore (hydria being understood). This term was known by the Greek orators and lexicographers. As for the vase designated by it, one does not hesitate to seek it in certain very slender amphoras of great dimensions,¹ whose decoration is only composed of paintings that represent the principal episodes of the ceremonies of Attic funerals. (Fig. 365).

Even the character of these paintings gives reason to think that these amphoras had a special destination, that they must play a part in the celebration of rites whose image they offered. What proves to archaeologists that they were not mistaken is the fact, certified by the texts, that in certain cases a loutrophore was placed on the tomb, and that its presence there had a meaning which escaped no one.

Note 1. p. 666. An example is cited which was even 4.51 ft. h high. The width of the body was no less than 1.12 ft. (Athen. Mitt. v. p. 177, Note 1).

All this concurs to advise one to see loutrophores in the amphoras of which we have presented a specimen; but there is one difficulty. There are found vases characterized by the same form, whose decoration was entirely different. What is seen on the neck and body are no longer funerary scenes. These were paintings relating to the ceremonies of marriage, that represent the carrying of the nuptial presents to the spouse and the delivery of the latter to the husband.¹ Doubtless in the etymology and meaning of the term that occupies us, there is nothing to forbid this application to vases with nuptial subjects. The loutrophore is the urn that carries and contains the bath. Now custom required that for the bath of the fiancée preceding the marriage, the water from a sacred spring should be brought by children, who were all nearest relatives in future.² These children suggest our pages of honor. The vases that served or are thought to have served for this nuptial rite were then especially loutrophores, of all Greek vases they were those which had best established their right to that name. At least for the period of red figures, they seem to have been fabricated in a greater quantity than vases of the same type, whose clay reflected the sadness of death and mourning.³ On a fragment of a vase of this period possessed by the museum of Athens, only the heads of the persons are preserved (Fig. 366); but by the coiffure of the three women and the accessories scattered over the field, crowned by leaves and a jewel casket, it is divined that this is a wedding festival. Now one of the women who takes a part in the rejoicings brings a hydria of the form defined above, and here is the same motive on another amphora, that also represents the preparations for a marriage. In both images,

the amphora thus placed in front represents that containing the water of the bath to be taken by the financee before entering the house of the husband.

Note 1.p.667. See the list of loutrophores known in 1891 given by Wolters (*Athen. Mitt.* Vol. XVI, p. 378-384). He counts 34 of them.

Note 2.p.667. Harpocraton, see Loutrophoros, Loutrophorin.

Note 3.p.667. This is what can be stated for vases with red figures by looking over the list of 34 loutrophores that Wolters has given with the indication of the subject.

Whether these vases like the true amphoras have two handles or have a third, as frequently after the manner of hydrias, matters little. In both cases various indications agree in revealing their funerary destination. When the lower part of one of these vases is found, it has almost always had no bottom.¹ It could not render the services usually required from the amphora and hydria, for the care of the house and the meal; but the peculiarity which distinguishes them is emphasized by the use to which these vases were devoted. In the hole found in the bottom of an amphora was placed a wooden stem, and this amphora thus found itself raised and better supported, than if it had its foot sunk in the ground. Thus is placed the vase that on the neck of a loutrophore crowns the entirely schematic image of an Attic tomb (Fig. 368). On the mound formed by this tomb, the brush has drawn a serpent as a funerary emblem, and little winged figures that represent the souls of the dead.

Note 1.p.668. This proof has been made for 13 of 34 loutrophores. Of the other pieces described there, we have only a fragment, the neck or a part of the body. As for the loutrophore of the Louvre, it has a bottom; but that must be the work of the restorer, who had to replace many lost pieces of that vase.

Not being used in domestic life, the loutrophores had no foreign market, unlike the other vases produced by the workshops of Ceramicos. It might almost be said that they were not in commerce. None have been found in Italy. All the loutrophores or their fragments now possessed were found in Athens or its vicinity.² These vases must be sold, as we should say, at the gates of Attic cemeteries or be made to order by the potter, when mourning struck the family.

Note 2.p.888. Athen. Mitt. v. p.177; XI, p.370, 371.

What remains of these loutrophores was collected in Attica on the site itself or in the vicinity of ancient cemeteries. There were the fragments gathered, sometimes scattered over the surface of the ground, sometimes sunk deeply in the earth. Placed exposed on the tomb, these fragile vases, loutrophores and a little later lecythes with a white coating, could not escape all the chances of ruin, that menaced them. These were broken in place, and the fragments were mixed with the earth, constantly moved by the movement of urban life and rural cultivation. The loutrophore did not have for its protection the propitious shade of the spacious Etruscan tombs. Not one has come to us that is not in pieces, and that could be entirely restored. By the place assigned to it, this was devoted to prompt destruction. The Athenians did not delay to make this complete. Also at the end of the 5th and 4th centuries, the wealthy had taken the habit of replacing them on their family sepulchres by marble vases, reproducing their form, and examples of which are numerous in our museums.

If we decided on what the loutrophore was and its purpose, we likewise know that there was a time when certain tombs had a right to the mark of a loutrophore to the exclusion of others. Discussing a question of inheritance, Demosthenes tried to prove that the citizen Archiades, whose estate was sought by two plaintiffs, died already long before, a bachelor and without posterity. He did not refer this subject to the depositions of witnesses. He stated a fact that the judges could go and prove on leaving the tribunal; "Archiades," said he, "fell ill and ceased to live without ever being married. What proves this? A loutrophore was erected on the tomb of Archiades." ¹

Note 1.p.889. Demosthenes against Leocrates. Sect. 13. Likewise Harpocration, see word Loutropheros. Harpocration further sends there to the two plaintiffs another orator, Dinarchos, who doubtless had used the same mode of proof as Demosthenes; but he mixed with these accurate assertions an error, that was made by one of these lexicographers and has been repeated by others. He imagines that the loutrophore placed on the tomb was a figure of a "young man holding in the hand a hydria." Nothing similar has been found by the learned men, Conze and

Collignon, who studied Attic funerary sculpture.

Nothing is clearer and more formal than the allusion made by the orator to a custom known to all his auditors; but what is embarrassing and seized with some trouble is the idea or feeling that gave birth to that custom. To all grammarians ~~and~~ have thought it well to record and explain the term in question, the one expressing himself with most precision is Eustathes, a scholiast of Homer. He writes; & "The loutrophore was placed on a tomb to show that he who was buried there had died without taking the nuptial bath and without having married." ¹ Yet it would appear at first sight, that the vase recalling the nuptial bath would have been better in place on the tomb of one that had taken that bath, that it must rather have signified the marriage; but to explain the peculiarity of the method taken, it is necessary to recall the complaints of the heroines of tragedy, such as Antigone and Iphigenia who were doomed to die, and lamented to have to descend to the tomb without having known the joys of the conjugal union. To erect on the tomb the urn that would have brought to the young girl or the young man too soon struck by fate, the water announcing the marriage, was to offer this shade a sort of reparation and posthumous compensation. The subterfuge is ingenious and subtle; but it is much in the spirit of Greek taste.

Note 1.p.670. Eustathes. Ad Iliadem. XXIII, verse 40.

Otherwise according to all appearance, it is only in the course of the 5th century, that perhaps by the effect of the suggestions of dramatic poetry, a father and mother being cruelly struck by the premature death of their infant, thought thus to express their grief, to recall those hopes which this death had destroyed. The loutrophores on which were recognized the preparations for the nuptial festival are all vases with red figures, and most are of the entirely free style. On the contrary, they are funerary scenes that are represented on all loutrophores of which fragments have been found. In vases of the type that we have described, like that of the loutrophore, two kinds are to be distinguished. There is that of the vases on which the brush has represented with the procession of male and female mourners, the exposition and transportation of the corpse, the prothesis and the ecphora. On the other hand, there

are the group of vases where all the paintings of the neck and body recall the gayety of the marriage festival. The spouses show themselves surrounded by relatives and friends, that for various reasons are associated in these enjoyments. Between the two fundamental themes of this decoration is an absolute opposition, a marked contrast.

The loutrophores with black figures and paintings of funerary character can only be those, which Demosthenes had in view and that are also meant by the scholiasts. Nothing there, near or far, directly or by irony alludes to marriage and its rites. Those loutrophores are only the continuation, the posterity if I may so speak, of the great vases of the Dipylon, of those in which the Athenian Eupatrides of the 8th and 7th centuries placed on their tombs.¹ When under the influence of Ionian and Corinthian models, taste had commenced to be refined at Athens, they rejected the heavy and bulging forms that had been adopted at first for the durability which they seemed to guarantee. At the same time, for the entirely schematic silhouettes that contented primitive decorators, they desired to substitute figures that should approach the correct proportions of the human body, should reproduce its movements and render the effect of the fabrics in which it was draped. Better than any other the vase called nettos allows to be divined the appearance assumed in the 7th century by the amphora placed over the tomb in place of the stele or together with it.² In the second half of the 6th century in the workshop of Nicosthenes the forms are freed and also made lighter. Then when men desired to erect on the tomb a vase of clay, which for the time at least should evidence the piety of the survivors, they assumed the habit of giving to this vase the form of the loutrophore, as we have defined it (Fig. 365). This was slender and tall and was seen farther in the cemetery than had been the short and massive amphora, which served for exports of oil and wine. It was further, aside from the absence of the bottom, the exact copy of the vase which the women went to fill at the fountain, and which was either placed on the head or shoulder in returning to the house (Fig. 187), or held in their arms (Fig. 367).

Note 1. p. 871. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII, Figs. 4-8, 42, 50, 52, 87

Note 2. p. 871. The same. Vol. X. p. 89-75; Figs 83-85.

These hydrias were used by the women for bringing to the house the water intended for the ablutions prescribed by custom at certain solemn hours of life. There was the bath of the fiancée; but there was also the bath of the dead. Details are wanting on this subject; but it must have been soon after the death that the women of the family washed the corpse, to remove the stains of the sickness, and the traces of wounds in case of a violent death, before the exhibition of the body. As for that, after perfumes had been scattered over the corpse, the face was painted and they frequently placed a crown on the brow. This final lavation is mentioned in more than one ancient author;¹ but ceramic painters did not comprise it in the traditional programme of the representation of the representation of Attic funerals, of the different successive ceremonies there. If we possess one image of it, the only one known to me, this is not found on one of the vases with funerary scenes that we study here. It is noted where doubtless it would not be sought, in a painting that represents the adventure of Actaeon.² The pyxis that it decorates appears to belong to the series of vases, where in some belated workshops, the black figure survives the triumph of the red figure. The decoration forms a long band at one end of which is seen Artemis armed with the bow, who departs with her dogs, the instruments of her vengeance, and at the other are two men, an old man the father of Actaeon, who makes a gesture of despair, of a peasant carrying a basket on his back; he has discovered in the forest the corpse torn by the pack of hounds. We reproduce here only the middle portion of the painting (Fig. 369). The body of Actaeon, which still drops blood from its wounds, lies nude on a rock which the painter has only indicated by two lines carelessly drawn beneath the head. Two women stand erect near the head and the feet. One washes the wounds with a sponge, whose pores are represented by little holes that the point of a needle has pierced in the coating of black color. The other holds a piece of cloth with which she will wipe the body. Behind her another woman unrolls a bandage that will serve to fasten the members, while behind the person armed with the sponge a veiled woman presents a flask that contains the perfumed oil, which she will soon sprinkle over the corpse.

Note 1.p.672. Plato. Phaedo.p.115 c; Euripides. Phoenician women. Verses 1329, 1861; Hecub.. Verse 805; Lucan on Mourning.11.

Note 2.p.672. -ktæon (Athen. Mitt. 1890. p. 240-242 Pl. VIII).

It was not as here in the forest, the scene of the accident, but it was in the house of the family that the women at Athens thus washed the body of the dead before clothing it for the exhibition. It is easy to understand that the custom was introduced of representing the preparations for the funeral rites on a vase entirely similar to that, which had played this part in that last toilet received by the dear remains. During the rapid and brilliant progress made at Athens by the formative arts in the course of the 6 th century, the painted vase did not cease to take the part that the stele of stone or marble in the external arrangement of the painting of the tomb; but it was on vases of elegant appearance, on a slender amphora or hydria that the brush placed those funerary scenes, which had been reproduced by the ancestors on the colossal cratera or massive amphora of the Dipylon. This was originated the loutrophore with black figures, which is represented by a certain number of fragments in the collections of Athens. If we have given scarcely anything of them, this is because there is hardly more than fragments, whose art interest is small.¹

Note 1.p.673. Collignon and Couze. Catalogue des vases du musée d'Athènes. 1902. Nos. 888-890. In the cemetery of Trachones at the foot and west of Hymettos have been found numerous fragments of these loutrophores with black figures. See Couze. Vase con rappræsentæ etc. (Annali. 1884. p. 183-189. Monumenti. Vol. VIII, Pls. 4, 5). Furtwängler. Beschreibung. 1887-1889.

When men were accustomed to find in the erection of these vases on the tomb a means of showing to the dead the memory retained of his life and death, they did not voluntarily renounce that custom. The fabrication of the loutrophore with funerary paintings was carried on after the appearance of the red figure, at least during the first half of the 5 th century. Happily, some of these loutrophores of the new style were less reduced to little bits than their more archaic predecessors. Of them remain at least fragments of real beauty, if not an intact piece. It has been possible to restore the whole of one of these vases at the Louvre (Fig. 365). Of the images which

decorate it and of those ornamenting a vase of the same type possessed by the national museum of Athens, there remains sufficient that one can appreciate the expression of sincere emotion, which the Attic ceramist put into the paintings by which he covered these vases, companions and guardians of the tomb. Further, none of them bear the mark of a potter or painter. These vases were not intended to be exhibited in the sale rooms of the correspondents, that the principal manufacturers of Athens had in Sicily, Campania and Etruria. Then they did not have to recommend themselves to purchasers by a signature well valued on the market; but to judge of them by the two vases of this kind from which we have made some borrowings, these vases were often required from the best workshops of Ceramicos, from shops that might have been those of Euphronios, Hiero or Brygos.

The vase that came from Athens to the Louvre belongs to the age of transition, to the period when the potter was not yet weaned from the black figure, and persisted in retaining a place in his decoration for it beside the red figure (Fig. 365). At the bottom of the amphora and below the principal painting extends a band of small height covered by dark silhouettes of cavaliers riding and armed with spears. There is a distant reminiscence of the files of chariots occupying the same place on the amphoras of the Dipylon,¹ and a more direct souvenir of the motive, that the painters of loutrophores with black figures placed on that part.² Moreover, the artist has treated this band in the archaic taste. The painting of it is enhanced by violet touches and incisions accent the details. There are other traits which recall the old traditions of the workshop. For example, such is the serpent that coils around the neck of the amphora and the flat handles. Now it appears already on the pottery of the Dipylon,¹ and we have found it placed in a detached sketch on a loutrophore of the lod style, a sketch in which is represented in brief an Attic tomb (Fig. 363). There is the effect of an association of ideas that was established early. Between the posthumous life that the dead lead under the earth and the life of the serpent, who appears in the day only to conceal itself at once in holes in the ground and to disappear from the eyes, men perceived some vague analogy. The serpent became a funerary emblem.² Finally, when the potters

of the Dipylon confusedly mixed all the episodes of the obsequies, a rule was adopted by those of the 6th century to place on the neck of their amphoras only the male and female mourners. As for the scene of the exhumation, it developed amply on the body of the vase.³ It is also thus on the amphora with red figures, which we have taken as the type of the loutrophore of the 5th century. Finally, a last peculiarity proves the persistence of the methods applied in the fabrication of vases of this species. On the vase of Nettos are no handles (Fig. 63). Those are replaced by two richly decorated plaques attached to the body of the vase. The handles are not suppressed here. They are represented by two rings with small openings inserted beneath the lip of the mouth; but the stem that connects these rings with the body is joined to the long neck by two tablets ornamented by rosettes. These rudimentary handles are there for show. The loutrophore in question could never have served to bring or to contain a liquid.

Note 1.p.874. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Figs. 7, 43.

Note 2.p.874. Furtwängler. Beschreibung. No. 1887. Mon. Ined. Vol. VIII, Pl. 5).

Note 1.p.875. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. VII. Figs. 51, 82, 23.

Note 2.p.875. Pottier. Art. Draco in Dict.des.antiq.of Sallo.

Note 3.p.875. This is observed on the three amphoras of this kind, that were found in pieces by Fauvel and Gropius, in the cemetery of Trachones near Athens, and that are now restored and belong to the museum of Berlin (Furtwängler.Besch.1887-1888).

If the painter remained faithful to tradition by reserving the neck for the images of mourners, there is still felt in the composition the progress of taste. On certain more ancient amphoras the potter has placed there as many as three women close together, and that all make the same movement.⁴ He has placed only two here, who are thus more at ease.(Fig. 370). At the left a female mourner carries her hands to her hair cut short, as if to tear out what remains. This is the gesture consecrated to lamentation; but at the right is another woman, that is not the exact copy of her neighbor, as on the more ancient examples. She is clothed in a long tunic like a chiton and has a mantle thrown over her shoulders. She holds in both hands and carries to the tomb a loutrophore, whose curvature

resembles that of the amphora on which is painted these images. The bottom of the vase is concealed by the hand that holds it; but it is seen to end in a point. The vase represented here certainly had at this lower end a flat base allowing it to rest on the ground. It could only be stuck in the earth, or indeed be placed in a terminal orifice of a support.

Note 4.p.685. Furtwängler. Beschreibung. No. 1887.

The representation of the prothesis extended entirely around the body.¹ There was at one side the chorus of men, that caused to be heard cries or a song of sorrow, extended the right arm and raised the hand, as if in an appeal addressed to the corpse; but of all that portion of the painting comprising five persons, there remains so little that we have not thought of reproducing anything. The other painting where four women of the family surround the bed of death has also suffered much. Fortunately, there remains of it what we could detach, forming the centre and chief interest of the painting (Fig. 371). It is in memory of a young girl that this loutrophore was dedicated. "The dead lies on a state bed, whose posts are made lighter and are decorated by palmations overlaid, terminating in a double Ionic volute. This is the ordinary form of the funerary bed. There are perceived the mattresses and the embroidered cushion on which rests the head. Except the face, the body is strictly concealed by a covering made of cloth spotted with little dots. Before the bed a woman, the nearest relative, supports the head of the dead in both hands according to the rules of the ceremonial, and that face inclined toward the dead seems to address farewell words to her. The places assigned to the other women are conformed to traditional customs. One of them stands at the head of the bed, A third as in the second plane is behind the couch of the dead, while the last places her hand on the covering. All lay their hands on their hair, cut in token of mourning. They seem to await the beginning of the funeral dirge."² In the three other figures given here remains nothing of the antique --- it is assumed on the original --- but some scraps of drapery, two heads and the arms.

Note 1.p.678. Monuments and memoirs. Vol. I. Pls. V,VI.

Note 2.p.678. Collignon. The same. Vol. I, p.56-57. Collignon elsewhere says of the dead. The head by this drawing appears

to me rather to be that of a young woman. Nothing prevents one from believing it to be a very young man.

To judge of the merit of the painting, it is then necessary to keep to the two persons that time has injured least. "This figure of an immovable woman holding in both hands the head of the corpse borrows from the drawing a real character of grandeur. In spite of a certain archaic awkwardness, the painter has known how to give a very personal appearance to this face with accented lines, fixed eyes, lips closed and as if contracted by grief. The other figure whose eyes are closed is no less worthy of attention. The artist has applied himself to make the profile sharp with the emaciated lines of a face stiffened by death, and he has done this with a rare power of expression. He has even emphasized a detail that appears here for the first time. Besides the crown of leaves, he has indicated by a red line the fillet that supports the chin, an accessory of pitiless truth, but which the painters of white lecythes always eliminate from their compositions, conceived in such a marked feeling of euphemism." ¹

Note 1. p. 877. Collignon. *Monuments et Memoires* Vol. I, p. 57-58.

Still more interesting is another painting or rather what remains of it, which decorates the body of a loutrophore possessed by the national museum of Athens.² The themes imposed by tradition on the painter of these vases were the same which his predecessors had treated; but this artist is superior to the one to whom is due the amphora of the Louvre. He did not content himself by repeating certain figures with costume, movement and grouping given by the routine of the workshop. He introduced variations into the composition that seem to belong to himself alone, and he thus renews the subject. Also he draws with more precision and boldness than the only one of his predecessors to which we can compare him. He has a freer and more expressive line.

Note 2. p. 877. Collignon and Couve. *Catalogue des vases peints du musee national d'Athenes*. 1902. In *Bibliothèques des écoles francaises d'Athens et de Rome*, part 85, No. 1187.

"This beautiful vase of finished work belongs," says Collignon, "to the most beautiful epoch of the severe style." In the last visit that I made to the museum of Athens in 1907, I was

struck by the beauty of these fragments, and I regretted that only a very mediocre reproduction of them had been given in Plate V of Vol. VII of *Monuments inedite*. I have been happy to be able to fill this lack, at least in part, by an excellent photograph by Alinari lent to me by the precious *Bibliothèque d'Art* of M. Doucet, and by the faithful drawing that my friend M. E. Laurient has courteously executed for me from the photo.

There remain only fragments of the decoration of this hydria, like that of the amphora of the Louvre. There is not one complete figure.

However, in what one sees of the arrangement of the different paintings, there is divined in the artist the desire felt by him for retaining some independence and of introducing there some variety, while respecting the principal lines of the programme to which he has held himself to conform. According to custom, he has placed four mourning women on the neck; but while on another loutrophore from the same find all these women are shown in profile and turned in the same direction,¹ Here one of them is seen in front view and the other two look at each other. It is the same for the rear side of the body, which represents the funeral procession. The painter has brought into this painting the cavaliers that cover a lower band on the amphora of the Louvre, absent here, and the men that take their part in the mourning on all other vases of the same kind. There are five of these persons, whose beards and hair are carefully curled. The figures of the cavaliers show no less endeavor. They are two that go side by side. They wear the Thracian cap of fox skin; the short tunic of plaited cloth and boots with tops of spotted skin. A mantle with rich border floats behind them. They hold spears with the points lowered. The horses have short and upright manes, plain heads and a high gait.

Note 1. p. 678. *Monumenti inediti*. Vol. VIII, Pl. V, 1 f.

Here fortunately as on the amphora of the Louvre, the best preserved piece is the principal group, which gives to the entirety of the decoration its tragic signification (Pl. XVIII). The dead is a young girl with head ornamented by a crown with rays, lying on a state bed. The top of one post is seen, ornamented by an elegant palmatum and an Ionic volute. The head of the dead rests on a cushion decorated by a zigzag design.

the rich fabrics hang at the side of the bed. At the right is an old woman with short hair, who bends over the head of the dead. At the left and before the funeral couch are four women that lament; but on the fragment that we have reproduced, there is seen only the head and arm of one of them, then the entire upper part of the body of the mourner nearest the head. The latter has her hair loose and floating over her shoulders.

In the aged woman is divined the grandmother. The painter has known how to indicate there the decrepitude of age as clearly as did Pistoxenes in the image of the old slave woman accompanying Hercules to Linos (Fig. 336). The mouth has receded, the lips no longer having any teeth to support them. Deep wrinkles furrow the cheeks and brow; but this is not a truth pushed to caricature, that tend here these clear indications. There is an expression of concentrated sorrow in the entire attitude, in the movement of this aged body leaning over youth struck down in its flower, with the two hands that hold the head of the dead, as they would do with that of a child, that it is desired to prevent being disturbed in its slumber.

One is disposed to recognize the mother in the woman standing before the dead. Slightly inclined, she fixes a look of despair on this dear face that she will soon cease to see. Her mouth is closed; she has not strength to address to her daughter those words of farewell, that other voices will cause to be heard. There is something wild in the nervous gesture of her hands that are buried in her hair, which she has not yet had time to cut. She appears to desire to tear out her hair by handfuls. As for the dead, whose long tresses are kept in order by the fillet enclosing them, she sleeps with closed eyes and opened lips. Her profile is elegant of its kind and pure. There is a pathos by which will be touched whoever has passed through tests of this kind, and that has known the bitterness of those vigils near the bed of death.

This vase appears to be some years later than the *loutrophore* of the Louvre. If we attribute the latter to a contemporary of Euphronios or of Euthymides, that of Athens would have been decorated by a painter of the school of Douris and of Brygos. We must regard it as the masterpiece of a kind, the *loutrophore* with funerary scenes, whose origins date back to the very first

attempts of Attic ceramics. It does not seem that this kind survived the changes of fashion and of taste, that operated about the middle of the 5th century in the Athens of Pericles. All the loutrophores of the ancient type possessed by the museums are with black figures or with red figures of the severe style; we know that may be of the free style. There is reason to believe that the type that came from the amphora and the craters of the Dipylon fell into disuse a little after 450. With the very realistic presentation that it gave of death and its sorrows, it no longer corresponded to the feelings and the hopes of generations, which differed from their predecessors; it no longer agreed with the life beyond the tomb that poetry and philosophy sought to produce in the minds. We find the reflection of this conception in the marble steles of the 5th and 4th centuries for sculpture, as for ceramics in the paintings of lecythes with a white coating. On the marble as on the clay, the eyes of the dead are no longer closed. The dead live. Seated on their tomb or near it, they chat with the survivors, receive their offerings and their affectionate homage. The loutrophore which presented to eyes the sorrowful spectacle of the corpse has yielded to the competition of the lecythe, to the charm of its tender and melancholy serenity.

Yet by the effect of long habit, the loutrophore seemed so well adapted to the tomb, that it was decided to banish it from the cemetery once for all and in absolute fashion; but it retained a place only in new and quite particular conditions. The loutrophore as we have recalled it, served for both the bath of the fiancée as for that of the dead. Under the power of a feeling not without analogy with that inspiring the decorators of the white lecythes, men thought to erect on the tombs of young girls and young men dying unmarried a loutrophore, but one on which was represented the marriage festival instead of the ceremonies of the obsequies. To all those disinherited was thus offered the image of those joys, that had been refused to them.

We have proved that this practice existed by a text of Demosthenes, and by some accessory evidence was in constant use in the Athens of the 4th century, and what gives reason to think that it was not established before the second half of the 5th

century is the study of the monuments of ceramics. There is no lekythos with nuptial scenes, which was decorated by black figures or by red figures still tinged with archaism. Those of whom we have transcripts that permit appreciating the execution are of the style of Aison and of Meidias, i.e., of an entirely free style. Whatever their merit, then they cannot enter into the space within which we are obliged to remain.

After having described the signed vases, we have presented a selection of these anonymous vases, that fill in multitudes the glass cases of our museums. With these as with others, we have studied this painting with light figures in reserve on a black ground to which were devoted the most skilful decorators of clay that Athens had in the first half of the 5th century. These are those vases which were then of value to Attic ceramists in the entire basin of the mediterranean, being a sort of monopoly. However the history or rather the historical sketch that we have sought to trace in its great lines will not be complete if we should pass in silence another method of decoration, which at about the same time the manufacturers of Ceramics also attempted to practice with talent and success. It remains for us to speak of vases on which on the white coating are painted in black lines figures on which are sometimes laid vivid accents by touches of yellow and of red.

CHAPTER XXVIII. ATTIC VASES WITH WHITE GROUNDS.

1. *Lecythes* with entire White Coating.

We have studied the two types between which from the 7th to the 5th centuries is divided the activity of Athenian manufacture, vases with black figures on a light ground and vases with light figures reserved on a black ground. We have stated the reasons that decided our Attic potter about the end of the 6th century to prefer the latter technics. Whatever choice he made between the two methods, the black dominated in the appearance of his vase. He darkened the effect of the entire vessel. Some chiefs of workshops seemed to perceive this, and it suggested to them the idea of seeking something different from that constant opposition of lustrous black glaze and the red of the clay heightened by a light transparent glaze. The most fertile and most inventive of the potters of the ending 6th century, Nicosthenes, imagined the projecting of his figures sometimes on a coating of yellowish white.¹ Little unsigned vases designated by the improper term of *lecythes* of Locres show the same technics. They must be of nearly the same time.

Note 1. p. 683. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 266-267; fig. 176.

When he took up this method, Nicosthenes merely returned to methods already ancient, that had been practised particularly in Ionia, but which dated back much farther. "The primitive potters to whom we owe the vases of the list termed Mycenaean, had already sought to cover their pottery with a coating of a uniform tone, white or yellowish; but it appears that they succeeded very badly in this. The Cypriotes on their part voluntarily attempted this technics, but without inventing anything but a gray and dirty tones, not stable. Then it seems that they tired of those fruitless experiments. Then they attempted to give to the clay by polishing or by the addition of a finer clay laid on the outer surface of the pottery, a very neat and uniform appearance. Even the skin of the vase took the place of a coating and they painted directly on this natural ground. This procedure persists during the entire period in which reign what is called the type of the islands. The series of vases of the Dipylon, which is placed with much probability about the beginning of the 7th century B.C., continues and perfects this system." 1

Note 1.p.884. Pottler. B. C. Mell. 1890. p.370-379.

In Asia Minor at the time of the great flight of that Ionian art but very imperfectly known to us, the potter resumed the experiments attempted by the most ancient ceramists. They combine the two methods, the external polishing of the clay, which permits the safe application of the colors laid on a supporting ground. At Rhodes, cups with feet and plates mostly belong to the system of monochrome painting executed directly on the polished clay, while the oenochoes with zones of animals present a mixture of black and red tones applied on a solid white coating.² The same creamy coating is observed on the pottery of Naucratis.³ This taste for the light coating, we have found everywhere that we have met with workshops, whose products feel the influence of models presented by the vases decorated at Rhodes, Miletus, and Phocaea. We have mentioned it at Melos,⁴ Delos,⁵ and at Cyrene.⁶ Finally, what completely shows how much the Ionian ceramist was attached to this technics, is that in spite of their great dimensions, the so-called sarcophaguses of Clazomenae were all covered by a white coating on which was painted the decoration.⁷

Note 2.p.874. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p. 428, 435, 443-444; Pl. XIX.

Note 3.p.884. The same. p.381, 384.

Note 4.p.884. The same. p. 470.

Note 5.p.884. The same. p. 481-482.

Note 6.p.884. The same. p.493-494; Pl. XX.

Note 7.p.884. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. p.284.

Ionian or ionizing workshops, such as those whose works we have found in the islands of Greece and in Etruria, must be the first to make the little vases that ceramographs have commenced by calling them vases of Locres. They have been so designated because the cemeteries of southern Italy and those of Locres in particular have furnished many examples of them;¹ but since then they have been found in great numbers at Athens and Corinth, or better said, at all points of the ancient world. Some of them have clearly revealed their Attic origin by the character of their execution and by the inscriptions used on the field. It is not doubtful that in the course of the 6th and during the first half of the 5th centuries, these vases

were not those currently supplied to commerce and by the industry of Ceramicos. To convince one's self of this, it suffices to note the place held by them in the national museum of Athens.² The series of these vases is there formed of pieces collected in Attica or adjacent provinces, in the Isthmus, Megaris, Boeotia, Euboea and especially at Eretria.

Note 1.p.685. O. Gahn. Vasensammlung zu München. Introduction. p. 34, 173.

Note 2.p.685. Catalogue des vases peints du musée national d'Athènes, par M. Collignon et L. Couve. 1902. Nos. 1014-1092. In *Ceramiques de la Grèce propre*, Vol. III, p. 51-53, A. Dumont gives a list of 23 vases of this sort, that he has studied in the museums and private collections of Athens.

These vases are mostly lecythes, many of which by the swelling of their bodies approach the type designated by the term araballic lecythe. There are also alabasters. In both the coating is very resistant and well burned, of close grain and presenting a yellowish white tone. The figures are traced by the aid of a color that is sometimes black and very lustrous, sometimes is lighter and of a golden yellow.³

Note 3.p.685. These vases have been the object of a special study, that has taken the form of a nearly complete catalogue, Athenian lecythoi, etc. by A. Fairbanks. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 1907. The author would have better placed in his title; on yellow ground. Thus he would have avoided all confusion. He does not comprise in his list the funerary lecythes of the second half of the 5th century, those which have a truly white ground, obtained with milk of lime laid on the clay.

Two groups are distinguished in this series. There is a number of these vases on which the persons are presented in opaque silhouettes; certain details there are engraved in line. This is the technics of the black figure with the sole difference that this figure is here detached on a light coating and on the red of the clay. These lecythes are certainly the most ancient; in general, they must date back to in the 6th century. In other vases which date from the first half of the following century, there are no longer either opaque silhouettes or incisions. The images are outlined by a black line, and as in the system of the red figure, some light strokes of the brush indi-

indicate the details of the muscles and the accessories. For the drapery are sometimes retouches of reddish violet.

Various uses were made of these vases. They served for the toilette, for that of the living as well as that of the dead, and also sometimes for the anointing of athletes. They likewise had access to the hall of the repast, where they brought condiments intended to enhance the taste of the foods. Otherwise these lecythes, where the style of the decoration was more or less advanced all had this in common, that the surface offered by them to the painter was too restricted, that there could be developed a scene taken from the tales of epic poetry. He could scarcely place there more than a single figure or three or four figures. This number was rarely exceeded. Those figures sometimes recalled some abridged popular myth. Also frequently was found there only the isolated image of a deity or that of a winged genius.¹ Elsewhere the painter has represented an ephebe and his horse,² a woman seated or walking, playing on the lyre or holding a basket,³ a bearded man present at a cockfight,⁴ or a figure of a warrior.⁵ These are motives of pure decoration, where fancy has free career. When inscriptions are perceived on the lecythes of this series they have no sense. These are letters placed by chance in the field to fill it. No names of potters' sometimes the words kalos or kale are cast on the field, but rarely with the name of a favorite. These vases generally are 5.91 to 9.84 ins. high, rarely attaining 11.81 ins.

Note 1. p. 686. Fairbanks. p. 26, 36, 38, 40, 43, 44, 48, 72.

Note 2. p. 686. The same. p. 33, 34.

Note 3. p. 686. The same. p. 38, 39, 47.

Note 4. p. 686. The same. p. 24.

Note 5. p. 686. The same. p. 31, 49.

What appears most ancient in this series are the lecythes on which, as on the hydrias and amphoras of Amasis and of Exekias, the figures are detached as opaque silhouettes on the ground, the details in their interiors being indicated by incisions. thus was executed the decoration of a lecythe on which the theme is the dispute between Ulysses and Ajax concerning the arms of Achilles (Fig. 372). Several vases that have been frequently reproduced, represent the Greek chiefs gathered under the pres-

presidency of Athena and voting on the disposal of the arms.¹ What the painter has represented here is the moment preceding the acceptance of that arbitration (Fig. 373). Brandishing in one hand their swords and in the other the sheath from which they have drawn them, the two furious heroes throw themselves on each other. They menace each other by voice and gesture. To each antagonist are attached two companions that restrain them by the waist and seek to prevent them from moving forward, but what separates them better still is interposed between them the tall figure of a person that by his entire attitude commands peace. He holds the shaft of his spear in his hand. He that intervenes there as in other paintings of the same subject is a master, is Agamemnon, the chief of the army, whom none in the camp except Achilles has ever dared to brave.

Note 1. p. 687. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 339, note 1; Figs. 308, 309.

It is again a vase with black figures, the lecythe on which is seen Achilles dragging around the walls of Troy the corpse of Hector (Fig. 374). What is curious there is, that behind the chariot the painter has placed the winged shade, the eidolon of Patroclus, the friend of Achilles is thus the witness of the outrage suffered by the body of his murderer. He knows it and feels himself avenged. There will be noted behind the chariot the silhouette of the tuxulus in which will be interred the ashes of Patroclus.

Here is a third lecythe of the same kind (Fig. 375). It represents the combat of Hercules against the hydra of Lerne (Fig. 376).² Behind Hercules stands his devoted protectress Athena. Then comes Hercules who is fighting with the monster, and on the other side of the latter is Iolaos, the faithful companion of the hero with helmet on his head. Hercules has seized one of the tentacles of the hydra, to whom the painter has given the appearance of a colossal cuttlefish. He is armed with a sickle with which he successively cuts off the heads of his multiple enemy; but these could form again under the scar. Hence Iolaos is engaged in preventing that danger. He holds in his hand a burning brand with which he cauterizes the bleeding flesh as Hercules cuts off a head. On the ground behind him is a burning fire from which he can take other brands. get-

Between the legs of Hercules is seen the crab, that according to the legend was allied with the monster and had attempted to bite the foot of the hero to distract him from his task. The marsh from which rises the beautiful spring of Lerna was sufficiently near the sea to explain here the presence of that inhabitant of the salt waters of the gulf of Argos. Another amusing detail; to be more free in his movements, Hercules did not wish to drag behind himself on the ground that lion's tail whose skin served him as clothing. He has raised and passed the end through his girdle.

Note 1.p.687. The three lecythes above come from Eretria.

The painting is composed with too much care for one to believe in any reason to give the honor of it to even the painter of the lecythe. All collaborators of the second class, the chief must have given the charge of making and decorating the vase of this kind. These bore the mark of a very careless industrial fabrication. They are badly fired. On nearly all by the effect of the oxydizing flame the black glaze has been burned. It has turned to red in places. For the theme of the decoration, they did not take the trouble of invention. It was a fresco that they had under their eyes, or some beautiful amphora executed in the same workshop, that the workman charged with the decoration of the lecythes borrowed the data for his little painting, the symmetrical grouping of the persons, the division of labor which divided between Hercules and Iolaos the task of reducing to impotence the monster and his destruction. The indication of accessories like the crab creeping on the ground and the smoky fire that supplied arms to one of the combatants.¹

Note 1.p.689. There may also be cited as coming from the same technics a lecythe, on which is represented the adventure of Ulysses among the Sirens (Jour.Hell.Studies. 1892. Pl. XIII). Also likewise a man accompanied by a cock. (Rev. arch. 1893. Pl. 4).

By the technics that they reveal and the style of drawing, these lecythes with opaque silhouettes announce themselves as contemporaries of the vases signed by Amasis and Exekias. As on other vases one finds there touches of violet and which intended to accent certain details, besides the lines engraved with the point; but because of the negligence that we have

mentioned, these overlaid colors have frequently left only faint traces on the clay. The pieces composing this series appear to date chiefly from the second half of the 6th century; but about the end of that century Athenian potters introduced a new mode of painting, that of the light figure reserved on a black ground, and the lecythes like the alabasters which they made in Ceramicos could not fail to feel the change, that operated in the habits of the chiefs of workshops. Men were accustomed to give to these lecythes a light ground and did not think of departing from this practice; but they thought of a very simple means of applying to the decoration of these little vases the methods of drawing, caused to prevail by the adoption of the system of the red figure. The equivalent of this was found in the figure drawn with black lines on a yellowish coating. As well as on the orange tone of the clay, the drawing in line lent vases altogether to clearly accent the contours and to indicate with precision the details of the internal modeling, the inflexions and folds of the drapery. One could at will make this line more or less firm or light. If it were desired to enhance the appearance of the vase by adding to it some touches of vivid color, this showed up better on the light coating than on the dark covering of black glaze.

Moreover, here as in the series of vases of great dimensions, the new technique was not substituted for the old at the first stroke without resistance. Just as on certain amphoras from the workshops of Andokides and of other contemporary potters the black figure is a neighbor of the red figure.¹ And there are lecythes on which a part of the decoration is executed in opaque silhouettes, while the rest of the image is profiled in line. Here are some examples of these vases that may be called vases of transition.

Note 1. p. 690. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 272-279.

It is sometimes the principal figure that the painter has treated in the former manner, while for the accessories he is satisfied with the line. For example, here is a lecythe of the national museum of Athens on which is seen a winged genius, doubtless Eros, that flies while holding in one hand a lyre and in the other a phiale (Fig. 377). His image is detached in solid black from a ground filled by elegant palmations borne

on light and sinuous stems; but with the line are drawn the great wings of Eros as well as the verticals of the lyre, while the palmations are black.

Elsewhere, the contrary has been done. See on a lecythe of the Louvre, Hercules conquering the lion of Nemea (Fig. 378). The painter has drawn the image of Hercules in line; but for that of the lion as for the arms and clothing of the hero suspended on a tree, he made use of opaque black.¹

Note 1.p.691. One can also cite as an example of this mixed technics, a painted vase of the Cabinet of Medals on which is represented a warrior in which it has been desired to find a memory of a celebrated statue of Cressilas. The body of the warrior is an opaque silhouette. His helmet and shield are drawn in line (De Ridder. Catalogue des vases peints, etc.No. 299). Also see the description of a lecythe on which is represented a seated woman that plays on the lyre, perhaps Sappho. Before her is a dog. There it is the body of the woman which is drawn in line. The clothing and the dog are in black silhouette (Athen. Mitt. 1889. Plate X).

Sometimes in the same figure the painter used at the same time line drawing and black laid on the clay in large areas. this is observed in an entire group of lecythes and of alabasters with white ground, that by the singularity as by the uniformity of their decoration, have attracted the attention of archaeologists.² There are seen repeated with variations of no importance the figure of a person clothed in a short tunic girded at the waist and trousers that reach the ankles. He sometimes has a quiver fastened on the back at the height of the loins; but always brandishes a hatchet with the right hand, and on the left arm carries a fringed shawl folded double. What indicates his nationality is a palm tree standing near him. In the field and near the foot of the tree is a rectangular article, in which may be seen a box or an altar.

Note 2.p.691. W. Fröhner. Deux peintures de vases grecs, etc. 1871. Heydemann. Deux peintures, etc. (Arch Zeit. 1872. p.35-36); Winnefeld. Alabastra mit Kefardarstellungen (Athen. Mitt. 1889. p. 40-50); E. Bethe. Zu den Alabastra mit Kefardarstellungen. (Athen. Mitt. 1890. p. 243-245).

To this person inseparable from the palm tree, the painter

has sometimes given a head that resembles all the heads that he was accustomed to draw, a profile of Greek type (Fig. 379); but much more frequently he gives it a negro face, characterized by short and crisped hair, by a flat nose and thick lips. (Fig. 380).¹ Further in both cases he is dressed in the costume that the Greeks never wore. His legs are enclosed in this anaxyrides that ceramists attribute of the Thracians, Phrygians and Ethiopians. The cloth of this clothing is streaked by those lines of colored dots that the same artists like to scatter over the clothing of all barbarians, when a place is given to them in their paintings.

Note 1. p. 292. Heydemann, besides the alabaster published by Fröhner, describes three other nearly similar alabasters, on which is found the same negro head).

Concerning the little vase whose series is represented here by two examples, a conjecture has been expressed that seems to merit taking into consideration.¹ With this palm tree and negro figures, this decoration was applied to flasks destined to contain oils and unguents of Egyptian origin highly esteemed in Greece by persons that cared for their toilettes. The alabasters in question had been made for the merchants that carried on the commerce in perfumes, and this image had been like an illustration placed on these alabasters to indicate to purchasers the contents of the flask offered them. Today on the bottles containing wine of the best quality and on the vials holding a fragrant essence, is frequently pasted a label with the name and address of the proprietor and a view of a chateau or winery. Ancient industry had at its disposal neither paper nor processes, which permitted the indefinite multiplication of an image by means of copies made by a machine. If in those distant times publicity was still in its infancy, it was yet necessary to arrange and inform patrons, that they should know what was the article offered to them. It could only be very advantageous to attract the eyes and excite the curiosity of the public. This was understood by the dealer in perfumes that ordered these alabasters from one of the potters of Ceramicos. These negro heads and exotic costumes were an advertisement, a puff that did not fail in its effect. The flasks thus decorated have been found everywhere, in southern Italy, Megara, Boetia, at

Athens and in the island of Rhodes.

Note 1.p.883. The hypothesis is that of Winnefeld (Athen. Mitt. 1889. p.49).

Note 2.p.893. See the texts of the comic poets of the 4 th century cited on this subject by Athenaeus. XV. 39).

This negro type that stands in the attitude of combat near the palm tree with shade familiar to him, was this type that the commerce of Athens distributed in the entire basin of the Mediterranean, was it the invention of the potter that received the order? We do not know; but one would rather be tempted to believe that the painter borrowed it from some one of the frescos, which on the morrow of Marathon and Platea came to commemorate on the walls of the edifices of Athens the battles, that the city was proud of having won. All gives reason to think that in these paintings, the painter tried to distinguish by clothing and armor the barbaric warriors from the champions of Grecian independence. Now in the groups that represent the army of the invaders, negroes must have represented one of the contingents mentioned by Herodotus, that of the Ethiopians "who dwelt above Egypt," i.e., south of Egypt.¹ Those negroes were known at Athens through Egypt. From all time, negroes from the Soudan were numerous in Egypt. As mercenary soldiers, slaves, servants and laborers, they occupied there sufficient place that the foreign traveler confused them with the people of the country. Being given a very marked character by their traits, sculpture found there a type conveniently adopted when it desired to bring on the scene the dwellers along the Nile. On the Ionian vase on which Eusiris was slain by Hercules, it is a black guard that the painter has shown hastening too late to remove the cruel tyrant of the shores of the Delta from the blows of the hero.²

Note 1.p.894. Herodotus. VII. 69.

Note 2.p.894. Histoire de l'Art. vol. IX. p. 524, Pl. 254. Also see a cup by Eupictetos, vol. X, Pl. 210.

Other alabasters than those that the palm tree inform us of the favor enjoyed by its type of the negro armed with a hatchet and clothed in a costume with spots and stripes.² In one of these examples, between two persons so equipped is seen a panther, another memory of Africa. This taste for African exotism

is explained by the very close relations maintained by Athens, after the Median wars until the treaty of Cimon, ~~with~~ ^{it} Egypt which had supported in the efforts which this people, much attached to its traditions and independence, continually made to escape from the domination of the Persians. We have elsewhere the proof by a cup of Douris, that the painters then took pleasure in taking from the military paintings of Panaenos and of Micon, figures that recalled to the Athenians ~~the~~ emotions and joys of the great struggle in which they had repulsed the attack of the forces of all Asia.¹

Note 3. p. 694. *Athen. Mitt.* 1889. p. 43, 45.

Note 1. p. 695. *Histoire de l'Art.* Vol. X. p. 547-548.

In line was executed the decoration of these alabasters like Egyptian; but they were made in haste, by hundreds to satisfy the needs of a very great and active export; thus the line that defines their contours is thick and heavy. Then it is not by these specimens that it is proper to judge the work of the painters, who continued to produce vases of this kind, and adopted new methods after the triumph of the red figure and under the influence of that figure. Certain patrons demanded careful alabasters or lecythes, which a young man of fashion could show at the gymnasium or place on his couch in the festal hall, without having to fear the vicinity of the crateras and cups that came to the house of the man in good style. For example, here is the lecythe of the Louvre that does not lack a certain elegance (Fig. 381). A woman, perhaps a muse with hair close beneath a richly embroidered cap, passes her fingers over the strings of a lyre. Only the bust of the musician is represented. It is detached on a sort of architectural facade composed of three Doric columns that support a fanciful entablature decorated by a fret. The type of the player of the lyre recalls that of the Pallas, whose head appears till 430 on the coins of Athens. The same almond eye, same very long nose, the same full and strong chin. That archaic character of the image is very marked. All is in line, the profile of the woman, the lyre and the columns. Black has been employed in flat tints only for the hair, and on the entablature, a red ribbon connects at their ends the strings of the lyre.

Note 1. p. 696. See Plate X in colors from Rayet-Collignon.

Histoire de la ceramique grecque. Several lecythes with white coating, on which are also represented female busts drawn in line have been reproduced by Winter. Arch. Zelta 1885. p. 182, Pl. XII, 2. One would easily believe that all these pieces came from the same workshop.

The style and procedure are nearly the same on an alabaster of the Louvre on which are seen facing each other, two women separated by an altar (Fig. 382). One holds a phiale and an oenochoe. The aiguiere is detached in solid black on the yellowish ground.

Nearly the same technics are on a lecythe of the Louvre (Fig. 383'). No other person than a woman, who with the right hand presents a phiale from which is poured a stream of liquid, and with the left hand raises a torch in the air, whose flame emits a dense smoke that the wind waves in a long train. On this woman is recognized Artemis by her hair that hangs loose on her nape and especially by her quiver, that is suspended behind her in the branches of a tree. To be more free in her movements while she makes the libation, she has relieved herself of it for the moment. A very young bull bounds before the goddess. The bull has an opaque silhouette; but the entire figure of Artemis is drawn in line. Her hair alone forms a black mass. Finally, to attract attention to the wine that she pours on the ground and to the smoky light of the torch, the painter has placed there some touches of reddish brown.

These touches of red are found on most lecythes on which was adopted the method of drawing in line, at least entirely for the execution of the principal figures; but during the first years that followed the change of system, the decorators of these vases seem to have made only a discreet use of a liberty which they had never renounced. Yet at length they wearied of that reserve. Perhaps they followed the example of the painters of the light figure, who like Erygos about the middle of the 5th century sought to brighten the appearance of their paintings by the use of which and of the dark yellow produced by the very dilute black, of red tending to violet and of gilding. Then according to all appearance, in the workshops in which men worked for the perfumers, they commenced to supply these patrons with lecythes on which colors other than black were spread over

a great part of the surface within the contours of the figures.

As a type of those little vases distinguished by a true polychromy may be presented the alabaster which bears the signature of the potter Pasiades or Iasides. The first letter of the name is uncertain; it has been affected by the fracture (Pl. XIX). The little vase was found at Cyprus;¹ but all is Attic, the style and inscription, as on the lecythe with light figures on black ground, very much later, which came from the same excavation. These imported vases are distinguished at first sight from the local Cypriote pottery, that we have studied elsewhere.² With the heaviness and strangeness of its forms, the paleness of its colors, the poverty of its repertory of images, this insular ceramics was a primitive ceramics. It could have prolonged its entire existence very late; but before expiring, it had ceased to respond to the taste of those Greek princes that depended on Athens, mistress of the seas, to contend against the Phoenician element and to render itself independent of the Persian empire.

At an early date, these princes and their subjects at Salamis and in other cities had commenced to derive from Athens the articles of luxury, that must contribute with the language spoken to maintain among them the tradition of the Hellenic life and culture.

Note 1. p. 697. A. S. Murray. Two Vases from Cyprus (Jour. Hell. Studies. 1887. p. 317-323; Pls. 81, 82).

Note 2. p. 697. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. III. p. 684-732; Pls. III, IV; Figs. 485-531.

On the body of the alabaster, the painter has represented two women facing each other and separated by a bird, in which is recognized a crane by the plume on his head. The woman at the left stands at rest. Her right arm is extended and holds a phiale. The other woman advances running or rather dancing. Both her arms are separate from the body as if to produce equilibrium. Each of the two hands sways a branch of laurel. This dancer is a Menad. What characterizes her thus is the vivacity of the movement which recalls that of the ceramic painters in their paintings of Bacchanals have given to more than one follower of the god. It is a peculiarity of the costume, the skin of a spotted deer, that is bound around the girdle with the ends

hanging in front. Nearly with this detail, both women have the same costume of a long tunic, over which is cast a mantle with its middle placed on the shoulders and its ends rolled around the arms. For the officiant this tunic descends to the feet. On all other women by the effect of the dash that throws the body forward, it rises to the middle of the leg. Thus different in pose and in costume in a certain measure, the two women do not have the same coiffure. What we have called the Menad has her hair concealed under a sort of cap recalling the kerchief used by the women of the people at Bordeaux. She that seems to offer the libation has her head bared. Her hair is gathered and raised above the nape in a tuft on which was placed a plume enlarged into a fan shape. Was that a sacerdotal coiffure?

In this little painting are again very sensible traces of archaism. If in the image of the crane the drawing is perfect in ease and truth, it still remains conventional in that of the two women. While the bust presents itself in front on its entire width, the face and legs show themselves in profile; but it is scarcely that this incoherence is noticed, so much is one accustomed to it in works of contemporaneous ceramics. It does not prevent one from appreciating what there is of skill in the composition of the scene, in which the two women form pendants while opposing each other in their attitudes. One is also struck by the correctness of the movement and the elegance of the coiffures; but what is most interesting there is the discreet coloring of the painting. On the ground of creamy white, what is most freely detached is the black tone of the crane and of the hair of both, and the strongly marked folds of the drapery. A softer note is given by the tint of reddish orange, that the brush has spread over the tunic. By the contrast of this tint, the mantle drawn in line is distinguished at first sight from the tunic. Its fabric coils with suppleness around the arms, and behind the dancer it is tossed by the wind and follows the movement of the body. A darker red than that of the tunic marks the bosses of slight projection, which serve for holding and handling the flask. It is little with this little vase, and many other works of the same kind, that must be left to the workshops of Pasiades and of his riv-

rivals, to be distributed in various directions in the entire basin of the Mediterranean; but by the refinement of the drawing as by the sober use of color, there is felt the mark of a sure and delicate taste, that of the painters who lent their aid to the potters of Athens, of Epictetos to Douris and to the decorators that worked for Brygos. One cannot forget also one peculiarity which completely places beyond doubt the Attic origin of this alabaster. On the flat border of the mouth is read the inscription, o paiskalos. This flask dates from the time when before Brygos, Attic ceramists lavished this exclamation on all vases supplied to their patrons, even without taking the trouble to give the sense by the addition of the name of a man to the traditional formula.

The presence of an inscription of the same kind permits the attribution to the same workshop and the same epoch, of a lecythe found at Camisos (Fig. 384);¹ The execution is less careful than on the alabaster of Pasiades, and the drawing is more summary; but the painter has used there in the same spirit, black, red and white, and has mingled in the same fashion the line with flat tints. What this painting represents is easily stated. Above a richly ornamented bed, similar to the couches that in more than one painting we have seen arranged for the feast,¹ there are two cavaliers borne by their galloping horses and flying through the air. These are the Dioscures that ride through space to go in the midst of tempests to calm the waves, and to bring to the sailors the presage of a fortunate voyage,² or to appear in the midst of battles as auxiliaries of the side to which ^{it} was desired to give the victory.³ The idea that the painter desired to suggest here is that of a rest which the divine riders wish to take beneath a friendly roof between two of these circuits. The Dioscures passed for freely accepting the hospitality of those men, who by their piety had merited having them for guests. This is stated by Herodotus. In the list that he makes of the pretenders to the hand of Agariste, daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, he mentions Laphanes Acanien, son of that Euphorion "who received in his house the Dioscures, according to the tradition of the Arcadians."⁴ At Sparta, a tale collected by Pausanias recalls one of those visits that by caprice the Dioscures sometimes made to mortals.⁵

We have the invitation that the poet Bacchylides addresses to the same deities, whom he invites to come to share his repast: "He says," you will find at my house no quarters of beef, vases of gold, hangings of purple, but a good heart, charming songs, and an agreeable wine in goblets from Beotia."⁶ Finally, a relief of the Louvre found in Beotia represents the same scene as our lecythe.⁷ It shows the interior of a temple ornamented by two pilasters. An elevated couch covered by a mattress with pillows and a cover is placed there, and in front is seen a table on which are laid several cakes. In the first plane is a little altar, near which are seen two persons, one of whom lays an offering on this altar, while the other raises the arm in sign of adoration before three deities who swiftly arrive. These are the Dioscures clothed in a short tunic girded at the waist, and a mantle that floats behind them. They come to be present at some combat, where they caused their favorites to triumph, for they are accompanied by a Victory which flies above them with outspread wings and a crown in her hands. On the foot of the stele is an inscription "to the great gods," and the names of the dedicators.

Note 1.p.699. Fröhner. Deux peintures de vases grecs, etc. 1871.

Note 1.p.700. Figs. 291, 344.

Note 2.p.700. Homeric hymns. XXXIV, 8-10.

Note 3.p.700. Jason of Thessaly attributes one of his victories to the personal intervention of the Dioscures (Polyaenus. Stratagicon. VI. 1-3). Among the Romans, to their appearance was attributed the victory obtained over the Latins near Lake Regillus.

Note 4.p.700. Herodotus. VI. 127.

Note 5.p.700. Pausanias. III. 18-2, 3.

Note 6.p.700. Atheneus. XI. p.500^a.

Note 7.p.700. Fröhner. Deux peintures, etc. Pl. III.

The painting of the lecythe is less complex. It is like an abridgement of that of the stele. No prepared repast; but the couch is covered by rugs, one of which by the tint laid there by the brush announces itself as one of those purple rugs, that Bacchylides regrets not having to offer to the celestial guests that he invited. On this bed are two cushions of the same color

and a flynet. Here likewise are suppressed certain accessories elsewhere comprised by this theme, and the execution of the painting bears the trace of the same taste. What this lecythe shows us is a sketch brushed in with a skilful hand, but much hurried. The painter desired to indicate that the crosspiece of the bed was decorated like the posts, that it had a file of animals; but he was satisfied to draw one of these animals and one of the rosettes that interrupted the procession. He has done likewise for the bands of ornamental motives that ornament the rugs. One of the two cushions is only half colored red. The painter has also placed these cushions in a singular fashion. Instead of being laid flat on the couch as on the relief, he lays them only on their points; they are as if in the air. One would say that the artist has played with them, that he raised them as if to serve to fill the field and to enclose the group of cavaliers. In spite of these negligences, the whole has a pleasing appearance. The cavaliers have a youthful air and are well seated on their mounts. The horses have fine and handsome heads. The creamy white of the ground, the black and the reddish brown give a harmonious scale of tones.

Like Pasiades, the decorator of the lecythe of Camiros has not failed to place here the acclamation which announces the Attic origin of the vase; but the formula that is abridged by Pasiades has here its entire extent. To the commendatory epithet is joined the name of a woman. Beneath the couch, the brush has traced these words; "Mouche (fly) is beautiful, long live Mouche!" In this familiar name can only be seen a name given to one of those women, that made the joy of the youths of Athens, when the vase was placed on sale. Thus on the psykter of Euphronios (Fig. 239), one of the courtesans playing the cottabus is called "the little one." The use of H for E in kale informs us that this vase is contemporaneous with those vases described here that are least ancient. In the course of the 5th century, much before a decree of 403 substituted in official documents the ancient orthography for the old Attic orthography, Ionian letters had begun to be introduced into use. In inscriptions the chisels of the engravers on stone, and on vases the brushes of the ceramists frequently mixed these letters in very capricious fashion with the characters, that were used at Athens

by stone cutters and painters of earlier generations.¹

Note 1. p. 702. See in Kretschmer (*Die griechischen Vasen Inschriften*, etc. for the painting on p. 405, entitled *Wothfiguren* (die Vasen mit gemischten Alphabet)).

This fabrication of lecythes with yellowish ground, which commenced after the time of the black figure, thus continued at Athens under the reign of the red figure until the time when for the decoration of vases of this type, there will prevail a different technics, that of the white funerary lecythes. With those which it seems appeared about the end of the 5th century, and which perhaps mostly date from the 4th century, we do not have to occupy ourselves for the moment, and it is for us a regret not to be able to reproduce here some of those vases, where in the paintings executed by these workmen of whom Aristophanes speaks with a shade of disdain, that reflect the beauty of Attic art, which with the statuaries and painters contemporaneous with Phidias arrived at its perfection. All that can be done at this time is to mention certain lecythes, which by the character of the composition and style form the transition from the so-called lecythes of Locres to the funerary lecythes.

As a specimen of the pretty vases that form this series may be cited a lecythe discovered near Athens (Fig. 384). It represents the chase of a hare. This occurs before a tomb at the foot of a little hill indicated by a light contour. The hare scampers off at its fastest pace. The dog that pursues it is pushed on by a nude young man whose right arm shows the direction of the pack, while his left arm on which is folded the mantle raises a long staff. At the left is another young man, that also has no clothing but a mantle thrown over his shoulders. He has placed his foot on a rock. With the right hand he throws a stone at the hare, while his left hand allows the staff to hang. The lines of this painting are in dark brown. The body of the hare is painted in a more diluted brown. The hair of the persons is black; for the caster of the stone, the drapery is red. To judge by the correct drawing of the eye, the vase cannot be earlier than 450.

The subject is curious as a genre scene and for the landscape, of which it presents a summary sketch. This is what made us choose this vase to represent an entire group of lecythes, some

of which may be contemporaneous with the lecythes for a funerary destination, but which however should not be confused with those which we have examined with some attention. According to the archaeologist who first studied funerary lecythes, with the care which they merit and with all the delicacy of his taste, here are the peculiarities that distinguish between the two series:— the technics of the style are entirely different. The white coating of the funerary lecythes is of a milky color; it is even a snowy white on the careful lecythes. It shines little, is fragile, often crackled or scaled. The coating of the so-called vases of Locres is always of the dirty white tending to yellow; it is lustrous and firmly adheres to the clay of the vase. The funerary lecythes are painted in lines of red color, yellow, sometimes blue, more rarely brown or black. The vases of Locres are always in black or brownish black lines, and frequently the persons are painted inside in the form of opaque silhouettes as on vases with black figures. Finally, the great majority of the white lecythes are ornamented by funereal subjects; on the vases of Locres are mythical or familiar subjects. The difference then depends on the nature of the coating, the color, the technics of the drawing, and the subject represented. It is very important to make this distinction, for the white lecythe is only found in Attica; it is the product of an art of a well determined era. On the contrary, the so-called lecythes of Locres are found nearly everywhere; in Italy, Sicily and Greece. Thus they do not have at all the same importance nor the same interest as historical documents."¹

Note 1. p. 704. E. Pottier. *Etude sur les lecythes blancs attiques*, etc. p. 4-5 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Part 30. 1883).

I will add that none of the lecythes that we have studied can rival as art works the white funerary lecythes. The latter defy all comparison, both by the nobility and the purity of the drawing, and especially by what this drawing has of expressive power, by what it presents of touching images, and by the indefinable charm of a tender and melancholy grace.

2. Cups with white ground.

The genre works of the lecythes that we have described were of a nature to cause the makers to understand what resources

the arts of clay could find to renew and vary their effects, in the technics of the decoration on a white ground. However, not without some hesitation did the potters decide to use them, who at the moment when the red figure was going to triumph, they devoted their principal effort to the cup. In the group of potters for whom Epictetos and his rivals worked, they do not seem to have been tempted to apply this procedure to the ornamentation of cups of the new model. We know only one attempt made in that way. This refers to a cup signed by Pamphaios. There is seen in the interior of the bowl the figure of a cavalier hunting. It is painted in black lines with red touches in the drapery and on a white ground.¹

Note 1. p. 705. Arch. Zeit. 1884. p. 239-240, Pl. XVI, 1.

With the second generation of decorators of cups, with that of Euphronios and the master painters that succeed him, is seen to appear an entire series of cups marked by very particular characters. On the entire interior of the bowl is a light coating. On the examples that have come to us, this is of a white a little blended and tending to yellow. Before having been soiled by a long stay in the earth, this white must have been of a purer and fresher tint. On this ground are some figures drawn in line. This line is both firm and very fine, and it has mostly changed to russet (Plates XX, XXII). On the hair, clothing and certain accessories, the brush has placed tones of a brown more or less dark, and sometimes of reddish purple for the drapery (Pl. XXI). On this brown or red, he has indicated by touches of white, which raise in slight relief a certain detail that he wished to mark, as for example, the great folds of the fabric or the embroideries that ornament it. Where jewels are represented, such as diadems or necklaces, is found the trace of discreet gilding, which calls attention to the elegance of these feminine ornaments. Those of the cups of this series that appear most ancient have a white coating only in the interior of the bowl. The outside has red figures on a black ground. Later it will be believed, that there must be renounced this decoration partly doubled. Figures are no longer placed except in the bowl. As for the exterior, it is sometimes covered by a black glaze, whose dark lustre forms a happy contrast to the gayer tint of the cup.¹

Note 1.p.706. Hartwig in 1893 gave a first list of cups with white ground known until then (*Meisterwerke*, p. 499). A second one is found a little richer in Pottier. *Monuments et Memoires*. II, p. 42. There should be added to this list two cups figured and described by Hauser in *Archaische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 114. One, whose fragments were found near Egine in the excavations directed by Furtwängler, even at the place where it served for the libation, represents the adventure of Europa. There remains of it a pretty female head with a very elegant arrangement of the hair. The other cup, on which were represented Demophoon and Aethra, was more injured by time.

Of the vases of this style that we possess, that which can be regarded as first in date is the cup from the workshop of Euphronios.² He had signed it as potter. The museum of Berlin possesses its fragments. It had in the bowl on a white coating two persons opposite each other, a woman standing and an ephēbe seated. There remains of them only the heads and a part of the torsos; but what remains of the painting has sufficed for an agreement not to recognize there the same hand of Euphronios. The contour of the images here has less vigor than in those on which Euphronios placed his signature as painter. The breasts of the woman are no less awkwardly presented than on the psykter of the courtesans (Fig. 239); but they have a different shape (Fig. 386). The difference is especially marked in the type of the face. Here the brow and the nose form a line less straight. The chin is fine and almost pointed on the Amphitrite and on the Athena of the *Theseid* (Plata X), is very round and rather heavy on the two heads of the polychrome cup, as that of Douris and Brygos. Finally, the eye is more open than in the paintings signed by Euphronios. On the outside, that has also suffered much, the brush had represented the preparations for a chariot race.

Note 1.p.706. Hartwig. *Meisterwerke*. Pls. 51, 52. Text, p. 484-494. Furtwängler. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894. p. 141.

If the heads of the horses of those and their drivers show that the painter knew his trade, there are in other parts of the painting inaccuracies that seem to betray a certain negligence. The muscles are scarcely indicated, and where they are so, this is without accuracy. In the letters C M F A read in

smaller characters beneath the signature of Euphronios, there are perhaps the remains of the signature of the painter. He would be called Diomedon. The name is found in several Attic texts of the 5th century; but it is not yet found on any vase. On the outside is read *Glaukon kalos*. Two vases associate the name of Glaukon with that of his father Leagros, and according to what is known of the career of the two persons, it was about 460 that Glaukon might have been the favorite in fashion.¹

Note 1. p. 707. Klein. *Vases mit Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 70, 155-157.

There have been compared with these cups the fragments of two other cups of the same type. One was found at Naucratis,² and the other on the Acropolis of Athens, but outside the bed of rubbish created by the conflagration kindled by the Persians. (Fig. 387).³ On both cups the profiles of the heads recall by the roundness of the chin the profile of which the cup of Berlin offers a double example. But on the fragments from the Acropolis, the drawing of the eye is not the same as on the cup signed by Euphronios. It is much more advanced; it recalls the appearance which this organ presents in the best works of Brygos. There is no longer found that minute indication of the lashes executed separately, which characterizes the eyes of the two figures on the cup of Berlin. Excepting this, the procedure does not differ. The same use for the hair of a diluted black in which the bends of the tresses are marked by thick lines and a darker black. Same use of brown and red for the drapery and for other details. If it be desired to attribute this cup to the workshop of Euphronios as proposed, it is then necessary to recognize that the two cups just described were not decorated by the same painter. The cup of the Acropolis would be later than that of Berlin. The figures on it would have been executed by an artist, who had profited by the progress of the new generation of decorators had realized in the representation of the eye seen in profile.

Note 2. p. 707. Hartwig. *Meisterschalen*. Pl. L, text, p. 494-499.

Note 3. p. 707. J. Harrison. Some fragments of a vase, etc. (Jour. Hell. Studies, Vol. IX, p. 143-148, Pl. VI). In the plate executed in color after the watercolor of Gillieson, it has been attempted to group the six fragments found in the places that they occupied.

Note 1.p.708. In what remains of the signature placed on the cup of the Acropolis, the sigma has three branches, while it has four on the cup of Berlin; but there is no cause to infer anything on the subject of the relative antiquity of the two cups in the first half of the 5 th century, the engravers of steles like the painters of letters, almost indifferently employed the two forms of the character, according to the caprice of the moment.

In the interior of the cup whose fragments were collected on the Acropolis, the painter had shown Orpheus struck and thrown to the ground by a Thracian woman. Unfortunately, this vase had been so maltreated by time, that it is impossible to restore the entirety of the group. Here is what the fragments found permit to be seen. Orpheus falls with one knee on the ground, mortally wounded. His left hand aids in sustaining his failing strength. With the right arm raised, he lifts to heaven the lyre whose harmonies did not succeed in calming the fury of the insensate band. This is like a mute and pathetic protest of the inspired singer against the violence of which he will be the victim. What has been best preserved is the head of Orpheus with the first five letters of his name and the top of the lyre. There remains the head of the murderess on another fragment, the beginning of an arm, which was armed with an axe, and the bottom of the robe. It seems that one of the feet of the woman trampled the body of the dying Orpheus. On a very small fragment are distinguished the two letters O N, the end of a word. On the cup of Berlin is the name Glaukon. It might be that this same name of kalos was inscribed on the cup of the Acropolis.

The outside of the cup was also covered by a white coating and on it was seen a procession of cavaliers. Nothing remains of that painting except one of the palmations placed beneath the handles, except four legs of horses and the bust of one of the persons. The latter has a cap with a cover for the nape. His long beard floats on his chest. His tunic is ornamented by strange embroideries that assume the form of letters (Fig. 388). All denounces the barbarism in him, a near relative of the senseless persons under whose blows Orpheus has perished. This decoration was by the same hand as that of the vase. What it

indicates is, that the eye is treated in the same fashion as in the painting of the bowl.

Whether on such slight indications, one credits or not the workshop of Euphronios with the cup, several pieces of which were collected in the rubbish on the Acropolis, it would perhaps be more correct to attribute to that maker another cup with white ground, that entered the Louvre with the Campana collection.¹ Very mutilated, it had suffered unskilful restorations. The image opposite only gives all that remains of the ancient drawing (Fig. 389). There is seen Hercules seizing by the hair and overthrowing on his couch a man, to whom there remains only the foot, the right arm thrown backward and a part of the head. It can scarcely be other than Iphitos, son of Eurytos, who can be identified with this person surprised in his house and slain by the hero. If one compares what remains of the painting with the cup of the exploits of Theseus, which is signed by Euphronios (Figs. 246, 247), he cannot refuse to find some resemblance. The hair of Iphitos, the pose of Hercules, the drawing of his open mouth find analogies in the group of Theseus casting Skiron from the top of his rock. The exterior of the cup is covered by black glaze.

Note 1.p.710. Pottier. Deux coupes a fond blanc de style attique, Fig. 3 (Monuments et memoires, Vol. II, p. 39-58).

The name of the favorite Glaukon is read on the cup with white ground by Euphronios. It is believed that the trace is found on one bit of the cup of Orpheus. It is then proper to place here after these two cups a third cup found at Camiros, that comes from the same technics and on which is very well preserved that exclamation in honor of Glaukon. If this cup did not leave the same workshop as the two others, it certainly dates from the same time from the years after the second Median war, when Cimon attempted the role that Pericles will play later. (Plate XX).

There is a decoration only inside the bowl of this cup. There is seen enclosed within a slight black fillet Aphrodite carried by a bird, which resembles a goose more than a swan. Her right arm extends behind the neck of the bird and the hand holds a slender and curling stem, that terminates with the flower of the honeysuckle. The fingers of the left hand, that rests on

on the hip, are closed as if they held the object of which remains no vestige. The goddess is clothed in a long tunic, whose fabric is spotted by little crosses. This tunic is bordered at the neck and bottom by a band of reddish brown, on which the brush has traced a fret in yellow. Cast over the shoulders, the himation is of the same red. The wrap covers the entire middle of the body. For shoes are sandals, that allow the nails of the toes to be seen, drawn with great care. The hair is concealed under a cap that a narrow fillet holds in place. In the profile the eye is nearly normal. The roundness of the chin recalls the manner of Douris. Behind the head is read the inscription *Aphrodites*. This use of the genitive instead of the nominative is rare in such cases. To explain it may be understood *eikon*, "the image of Aphrodite." Below one wing of the bird is *Glaukon kalos*, that name of an ephebe which assigns to the cup an appropriate date and which recalls the memory of an entirely similar inscription placed on the cup with white ground signed by Euphronios.¹

Note 1.p.711. On the era of Leagros and of Glaukon, see Pot-
tier. *catalogue des vases antiques*. p. 700.

If the attribution of this cup and the fragments from the Acropolis to the workshop of Euphronios is only probable, the signed cup suffices to show the use which this master had made in his production of cups with a white coating. It informs us of the favor which those cups then enjoyed in the great world of Athens and among those foreigners, that prided themselves on following the fashions of Athens. This is what came yet earlier from other cups, that date from the same time within a few years. Here is a cup, whose decoration was understood in the same fashion as that of the cup on which is read the name of Euphronios.¹ In the interior of the bowl is a white coating with figures drawn in line. On the exterior are red figures. No signature, but the entire work bears the vivid impression of the style of Brygos, according as the most competent judges agree in proclaiming.² The theme is also one of those most readily treated by that artist.

Note 2.p.711. Furtwängler first expressed the idea of crediting Brygos with this cup of the museum of Munich (*Athen. Mitt.* 1881. p. 113, note). Hartwig has adopted this opinion without

hesitation (Text, p. 316-317). When Furtwängler published this beautiful cup as well as he could, he maintained with even more assurance the attribution which he had proposed (*Griechische Vasenmalerei*. Pl. 49).

By the entirety of the composition as by many characteristic details, the Bacchanal of the exterior recalls other paintings of the same kind that Brygos signed; but the Menad should alone occupy us here, whose image is traced on a coating of an ivory-tint and fills the interior of the vase (Fig. 390). According to the editor himself of the Plate reproduced opposite, what the photograph has been unable to render in spite of its fidelity, are the effects that the decorator had derived from from a skilful use of the diluted black. According as the color was more or less diluted, that gave to the firing a great variety of tones. For example, here men knew how to obtain a golden blond for the hair. This blond has been changed by the cut into a dead black. It has likewise thickened the fine and light lines, that indicate in the original the folds of the fabric.¹

Note 1.p.712. Furtwängler had the cup in question under his eyes in Munich and thus describes its appearance—"On the white ground the lines of the drawing produce more effect than in the ordinary technique on the porous surface of the clay. On this less penetrable surface the glaze shines, and according to the degree of its thickness, it passes from a warm reddish brown to a lustrous black. There is a charm in this scale of tones that can only be felt before the original.

In spite of these alterations by the lens, the image has its beauty. Doubtless there is felt here a certain persistence of archaic conventions. The head and the lower portion of the body are presented in profile, while the bust is developed in its entire breadth in front view. The eye is still almost of almond shape. Finally in places, the rendering of the drapery is not exempt from faults. In her rapid course the Menad agitates the air. This is what the painter has wished to indicate by causing to float behind her that loosened hair and the ends of the shawl thrown over her shoulders; but these ends of the himation have been extended and reduced beyond measure by him. On the contrary, on the arms and legs the light cloth of the tunic

accompanies and outlines well the movement of the members. Beneath that covering is divined a body both robust and supple. Tense without stiffness, the left arm holds a panther suspended with head downward, which her hand has seized by one of the hind paws. The other arm is bent and balances a thyrsus, whose top is covered by the leaves and berries of the ivy. On more than one vase, we see the adder coiled around the arm of the Menad. Here the painter has given that serpent another function. It encircles like a diadem the brow of a Menad, before which rises the hissing head of the reptile like a strange jewel. Over the himation is cast the skin of a panther, whose paws are knotted together like a cravat around the neck of the Menad. There as beneath the left arm the spots on that skin of a wild beast appear in vigor on the uniform tint of the doubled vestment. Thus everywhere on this image are found happy and picturesque details in which is revealed the hand of a master. The mouth is slightly open as if to emit a cry of joy. In the figure painted on a white ground as in the painting of the exterior, there is found in each line of the brush this impassioned movement, this sort of transport, that characterizes the drawing of Brygos according to his signed works.

The artist's name has not been proposed for another anepigraphic cup of the same type, that also belongs to the museum of Munich;¹ but it is certainly of a little later date than the cup attributed to Brygos. The eye in all these heads is opened at its internal angle and very nearly attains that appearance, which it must present when seen in profile. There is likewise a correct accord then on the other cup between the presentation of the torso and that of the lower members.

Note 1. p. 714. Furtwängler-Reichhold. Gr. Vas. Pl. 88, p. 24-28.

On the exterior in red figures of rather cold correctness, Triptolemus is seated on his throne equipped with wings and wheels and receives there ^{from} the hands of Demeter the ears of grain that are to spread cultivation in the Greek world. Near him is Persephone, then the female and male relatives of Triptolemus, whose names were mingled with the legends, that treated of the foundation of the mysteries of Eleusis. This painting had only a secondary importance in the mind of the master; he seems to have executed it with a certain haste. His entire ef-

effort was devoted to the decoration of the bowl. As this fainter in whom Brygos is thought to have been recognized, he placed there only one figure, that of Hera, whose name is written in the field. This image has something of the pose and majesty of a statue of worship. This might be a free copy of a statue of Hera earlier than the celebrated chryselephantine statue by Polycletes (Pl. XXI).²

Note 2. p. 714. This type of an image of Hera which would date from the first half of the 5th century. Amelung has believed that the recently found in many copies of the Roman epoch (Röm. Mitt. XV. 1900. Pls. 3, 4). This type presents a sensible analogy to that offered by the vase. The only difference is, that in the original from which are derived the monuments studied by Amelung, the head of the goddess is enveloped in a veil.

Hera is standing. She leans on her sceptre with her lefthand, that is ornamented by bosses of gold. The right arm is bent and concealed under the mantle. Although the feet are shod with sandals and are both placed flat on the ground, the left leg is slightly bent and the knee raises the drapery. In the tunic is divined the suppleness of a fine linen fabric, and it is only visible at the bottom of the legs. Everywhere else it is concealed by the mantle, which gives the impression of a heavy woolen fabric, only drawn in some great folds. This mantle is crossed by wide bands of purple, on which are detached sober ornaments in yellow. The head of Hera is encircled by a high diadem decorated by palmations.³ She is crowned by abundant hair. That falls behind on the nape in long floating tresses, while in front it surrounds the brow with little close curls.

Note 3. p. 714. In form and ornament, this diadem resembles that placed on the head of Hera on the coins of Argos and of Elea, a head which is doubtless that of the Hera of Polycletes. The statue by Polycletes was later by fifty years than the cup of Munich; but when Polycletes modeled that image he must have conformed to tradition, and have retained in the new image that he placed in the sanctuary, some of the traits under which the great goddess of Argos had long presented herself to the veneration of the faithful.

The drawing has much precision and purity in the tracé of the profile of the head, and that of both feet, of the single arm

and hand that are visible, but what is especially striking in this work is the diversity of the tones. In the parts of the image where there is but one line, that is red; this red of the line leads to greater delicacy, and it is in better harmony with the ivory ground than the black line of the other cups of the same kind. On the mantle are two reds, that of the bulk of the fabric and that of the cross bands; there are also the yellow ornaments. Finally, what completes the brightness of this entirety are the touches of gold, which is laid on the little bits of clay in relief, are prominent and gleam on the black of the hair and of the sceptre as well as on the rich necklace that surrounds the neck. This is no longer the violent polychromy of the Corinthian ceramics with its hard contrasts of black, white and violet. It is no more the slightly severe monochromy of Athens with red figures. It is something that makes one think of monumental painting, such as practised then in ancient Greece. With the whiteness of the field on which it rises, this sober and elegant decoration of the cup has something of the variety of a fresco and of its softness.¹ The white glaze has the thickness of .04 inch and is very hard. It resists the point.

Note 1. p. 715. This decoration slightly recalls to Furtwängler the effect of the Japanese engraving on wood, where a part is given to color.

The same mode of decoration is on two other cups, one belonging to the museum of Florence and the other to the British Museum. On the outside are red figures. The scenes represented are commonplace and are executed with a certain negligence. Inside on a white ground are figures treated with great care by the same procedures and in the same taste as the Aphrodite of London and the Hera of Munich.

On the cup of Munich is Hera raising her sceptre in her hand, like a statue in the rear of her temple. On the cup of Florence, we find a young woman whose name has not been written or at least is no longer read on the cup; that has been broken into a number of pieces, and the glazing has suffered much.² This woman is seated on a very elegant chair with a very high back. (Fig. 391). Before her is a censer. This is a metal stem fixed at the middle of the cover of a casket in which is preserved

the precious perfumes. The stem then terminates in a plate on which are placed the burning grains of incense, whose fragrant smoke is diffused in the air. Behind the seat as one of these coffers in which women keep their jewels. They are frequently seen represented on the steles of funerary lecythes. To deities are usually given by the painters these richly ornamented chairs, real thrones. The presence of the censer is even more significant. It is certainly a goddess that is represented here, and this goddess can only be Aphrodite. How can it be doubted? At right and left on the field are two winged genii; two Eros advance toward the goddess while holding little pands toward her, by which they will decorate her as statues are ornamented. On a vase that must date a little later than these cups, we have already seen Cupids thus forming a procession for Aphrodite (Fig. 277).

Note 2.p.715. Malini. Monumenti scelti del museo archilógico di Firenze. 1905. Pl. II. We thank M. Milani for the courtesy with which he has been willing to send us an excellent photographic proof on which certain details are distinguished better than on the phototype plate of his atlas.

The painter has made this goddess of beauty as charming as he could. He has drawn her pure profile with a clean and fine line. He has enclosed her abundant hair by a diadem above the brow, and it falls on her back in close tresses. As clothing is the long Ionian tunic with light and sinuous folds, it rises in sleeves and descends to the feet. Over this simple linen fabric is cast a mantle over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm free, then draped broadly over the bottom of the torso and the knees. Both arms are raised and hold an object, which the condition of the glaze, very much injured in that place, renders it difficult to define. Is it a veil or a crown? It is unknown.

The vase is anonymous. It is not an artist potter or painter who must be seen in this Ayandros, whose name is inscribed on the outside. This name is accompanied by the epithet kalos and is read on a lecythe of the museum of Bologna.¹ We should have in this cup, if it were better preserved, one of the best works of polychrome painting on white ground. The scenes of the palaestra represented on the outside have also suffered. They further lack interest.²

Note 1.p.718. Klein. Lieblingsschriften. p. 157.

Note 2.p.718. The drawing of it is given by Milani's Monumenti scelti. p. 8.

It is the same for the scenes of the palestra or rather of the riding school, which decorate the exterior of a cup of the British Museum, formerly found at Nola.¹ In the bowl, the painter has represented the toilet of Pandora, who is called here Anesidora. She stands between Hephaestos, who has chased the diadem which he is going to place on the head of Athena, who fastens the peplos over his shoulder. It seems that the artist borrowed from Hesiod the theme of his painting.² The figures are drawn in line. The draperies are painted brown with retouches in white. No legends other than the names of the three persons, written on the field over their heads. If we do not reproduce this painting, it is because it has really been too maltreated by time. There is only Hephaestos that may be nearly all antique. The two heads of Pandora and of Athena as well as the arms of the last goddess have been restored in pencil.

Note 1.p.717. Catalogue.Vol. III, p.4. Murray. White Athenian Vases. Plate 13.

Note 2.p.717. Theogony. Verses 575-580.

On the cups that we have just described, only in the hollow of the bowl has the clay been covered by the white glaze on which are detached the figures drawn in black lines with retouches of brown, red and gold. As for the exterior, the light figure reserved on a dark ground remains master. Doubtless it

plays there only a secondary part. The scenes represented are commonplaces of the painting of the time, and the execution of the images does not appear to have been entrusted to the best artists of the workshops. One divines that particularly on paintings with white ground, on the gayety of these tones and their variety, the potter counts to make the fortune of his work. Yet whatever confidence he may have in the effect of this polychromy, he has not dared to take a frank part. He has not renounced retaining a part of the surfaces at his command for the mode of decoration practised by the most famous contemporary painters, from Euphronios to Brygos. Further, in all respects for the entirety of the proportions, for the handles and the foot, the form of these cups is the same as that of t

the cups of Hiero and of Douris. The cup of Aphrodite on the swan and that of the majestic Hera with the golden sceptre was then the result of a sort of compromise to which it is believed, that certain chiefs of workshops adhered, who were not resolved to break abruptly with the habits of their patrons, and yet desired to offer them something new.

On another cup, it is in a different fashion that the potter has divided between the two technics the surface that he had to decorate.¹ The red figures on a black ground were placed in the interior of the cup. On the exterior he placed a coating of light yellow; here he placed the figures in line. The painting in the bowl represents a young man with growing beard that kisses on the mouth a beardless ephebe, whose hand holds a lyre. On the exterior are two drinkers, one seen in front view and the other in profile, lying on mattresses and embroidered cushions. There the draperies alone are in full black with incised lines. The line drawing has faded much. The cup was found in Attica, in the canton of cape Colias that passed for supplying the potters of Athens with their best plastic clay.²

Note 1. p. 718. The cup has been described by Heydemann (*Annali*. 1877. p. 279-290. *Tabola d'aggiunta*, Q. *Monumenti*. Vol. X, Pl. 87?

Note 2. p. 718. *Atheneus*. p. 482. *E. Macrobius*. *Saturnales*. V. 21-10. *Suidas*. Word *Kolias*.

The efforts made by some potters to bring into fashion the figures in line on a light glaze seem to have succeeded, for one finds these polychrome cups both in Attica and Eretria, as among foreign purchasers, for example at Rhodes and in Italy.¹ This success decided the potters of Athens to become bolder, to create a type of cups, which sensibly differed from all which they had produced hitherto. These cups announce themselves by various indications as a little more recent than those that so far have been studied. Some of them are signed by the potters Sotiades and Hegisiboulos. Others have reached us without the name of the author. What is striking at first is the truly extraordinary lightness, that the potter has succeeded in giving them. Due to the extreme thinness of their walls, they scarcely present more than the thickness of a sheet of paper to the hand that lifts them.² The form also distinguishes them from ordinary cups with feet. The handles are much larger than

customary and detaching themselves from the body, form a double curve that extends boldly and its elegance charms the eye. On the cups signed by Sotades this handle terminates in a sort of button by a little disk with a central projection (Fig. 392). The firmness of this attachement corrects what might have been a little slender, the extreme lightness of the handle. On others of these cups the base is reduced to a simple circular projection that ensures equilibrium like a plate (Fig. 393). On all the cups of this type are no figures on the exterior. The brush has laid there only a glaze, whose lustrous black enhances by contrast the whiteness of the bowl of the cup. More rarely the same light coating has been applied both inside and outside the vase. In the interior of the bowl, in these cups as in those forming the beginning of the series, there is frequently an isolated figure, never more than two or three. To the group just defined belong two unsigned cups of the Louvre, which by the entire character of their execution appear to place themselves between the cup signed by Euphronios and the cups on which are read the names of Sotades and of Hegesiboulos.¹

Note 1.p.719. At Athens according to certain statements or at Eretria according to others, were exhumed in 1890 the entire series of light cups on which are read the names of Sotades and of Hegesiboulos. Fröhner (*Catalogue de la collection Van Branteghem*, Nos. 159-167) indicates Athens as the source. What renders very probable the attribution to Eretria is, that men have affirmed to Pottier that it is true, that about this time were made excavations at Eretria, from which came many vases of antique fabrication, among others being a number of lecythes with white glaze. At Xola was discovered the cup that represents the toilette of Pandora.

Note 2.p.719. It was already known from Pliny that the Greek potters sometimes endeavored to show their skill by reducing to the minimum the thickness of the walls of their vases. (Latin). (J. H. N. XXXV, 181).

Note 1.p.720. Pottier. Deux vases, etc. (Mon. et Mem. Vol. II, p. 39-56, Pls. V, VI). In regard to these two cups, Pottier reviews the entire history of this technique. He had already sketched this history in an Article in *Bulletin de Correspondence hellénique*. 1890. p. 376-382.

On both cups, the exterior is covered by black glaze. In the interior of the vase is only one figure, that is seated in one cup, and stands in the other. It has been proposed to recognize the Muses there. The name given them is of little importance. The two figures are well posed and graceful. The image of the seated young woman is most successful in all points (Pl. XXII). She has for seat a stool with turned legs. She appears to apply herself with attention to read musical notes or verses in a diptych laid on her knees. She supports with the left hand a lyre placed on her left leg, while with the right hand she prepares to prelude. Her head is enclosed by a fillet. Her long hair extends down her back and falls over her shoulders in front. She wears a necklace on her neck and a bracelet on the right arm. She is clothed in a long and light Ionian tunic, that like a sleeve covers a part of the arm. Her himation is cast over her knees and envelops the entire lower part of the body to the middle of the leg. In the field are suspended at the right a hand mirror and at the left a crown of flowers.

In the bowl of the other cup stands a young woman, her head leaning on one shoulder. She holds in her left hand an inclined lyre, and she plays with her right hand by striking the strings of the instrument. The face is seen in three quarter view. According to the very awkward drawing of the mouth which is placed askew and opened, the painter seems to have wished to indicate that the musician sang and accompanied herself (Fig. 394). She is clothed in a Dorian tunic, that is folded on the chest, leaving uncovered the entire arm and even a part of the right side. She likewise wears necklace and bracelet. A crown of flowers is placed on her long floating hair. A plant loaded with flowers rises at the left.

In both cups is the same technics. The color applied on the white glaze was a black more or less diluted, which in the opaque parts has remained very dark, in the thinner parts having turned entirely to a yellowish brown or reddish. The violet or red was perhaps used to enhance the lower border of the mantle and some lines of the lyre, diptych and seat. Further, the ceramist has employed a sort of white paste to stipple it on certain parts of his drawing, which thus found its relief and must have been gilded. The gold is preserved in few places; but the

projections indicate that it must have ornamented the entire diadem, the lobe of the right ear, the necklace and bracelet, the right key of the lyre, and symmetrical points placed on the vestments and the body of the instrument. On the first cup there was also gold on the flowers of the plant.

It seems that there was a potter, who made a specialty of making polychrome cups. On a little canthara with red figures first appeared his name;¹ but in these later years it has been read on four cups with white grounds, sometimes complete and sometimes more or less mutilated, but always accompanied by the verb *epoisen*.² There are also several other cups on which is no longer seen a trace of the signature, but which in form and technics as for the style of drawing of the figures are so similar to the signed cups, that one cannot hesitate to credit them to the same workshop.³ Sotades seems to have had in a higher degree than any other Greek potter the intuition of the effects that pottery should require from color and what it could obtain. There are several vases by him on which he has sought to derive from the bringing together the frank and vivid tones all the decoration which he desired to give to the clay. These are two pateras or phiales and two of those goblets, which the Greeks called "breasts" by reason of the shape given to them by the wheel. On one of those pateras, the inside is painted a dead white; the edge and boss are covered by a brilliant black, and on the boss sits a cicada in pale clay without painting. (Fig. 390). The exterior is finely moulded. As many as eight concentric mouldings are counted, alternately painted red, dead white and black. On the outer edge are read the two first letters of the name of the artist, incised with the graver. As for the goblets, they have no ornament other than those concentric mouldings with the alternation of warm colorings. It is otherwise with the decoration of the cups. There to please the eye the painter counted only on the combination and harmony of the tints given to the clay. He has placed inside the bowl figures that he wished to make interesting by the action in which they were engaged and by the style of their drawing. Everywhere there in the choice of subjects as in the arrangement of the scenes and in the character of the drawing, there is something no longer entirely what we have been accus-

accustomed to by the art of the masters of the red figure. There is less simplicity; one cannot even say less research.

Note 1.p.722. Klein. Vase mit Melatersignaturen.p.187.

Note 2.p.722. Collection Van Branteghem, Vases peints.1892. Nos. 159, 160 (the signature is complete there), 164, 166.

Note 3.p.722. The same. Nos. 161, 162, 163, 165. At the sale of the collection, most of these cups were acquired by the British Museum (Catalogue. Vol. III, D, Nos. 5 - 10). There are some of them in the museum of Cinquantenaire in Brussels.

As well as we can judge by the few works issued from that workshop which have come to us, Sotades seems to have occupied himself in arousing and exciting the curiosity of rather surfeited patrons, which might be wearied by always seeing the same themes pass under their eyes, that some variations without importance did not suffice to renew. He seems to have been in quest of subjects that should leave the commonplace repertory current with contemporary ceramists. There is a certain myth figured on one or another of these vases, that we find on none of the innumerable paintings of vases with black or red figures. This is the case of the diviner Polyeidon who resuscitates Glaucos, son of Minos, by means of an herb indicated to him by a serpent, a myth known to us only by some words of Apollodorus.¹ the mythographer relates that Minos had shut the diviner in the tomb of his son with the corpse. Polyeidon would leave that prison only if he found means to restore life to the infant. The names of the two heroes of the adventure are written on the field here in very fine characters, and the location of the scene is very clearly determined (Fig. 396). It is a tholos, one of those tombs with a dome made known to us by Mycenaean architecture. It is surmounted by a tripod. As we have already seen by a lecythe of the Louvre (Fig. 374), when the Greeks of the classical age wished to represent a tomb of the heroic age, they gave it either the appearance of a tumulus or of one of those domed chambers constructed by corbelling, which they had under their eyes at Mycenae, Orchomenos and elsewhere.² They saw in those monuments, those treasuries as they were called, a legacy from a mysterious past treated in epic poetry and afterwards by tragedy. When they thus reproduced the outline, they gave what we term local color. The superposed

causes are indicated here with care. Perhaps it is necessary to see an intention of the same kind in the pose given to the child wrapped in his himation. Men might have found in some old tomb opened by chance that the dead crouched thus. There is a mode of burial which was in use in distant times among several peoples. Here are noted the little stones scattered over the ground in the tomb. Across those pebbles slipped the two serpents to reach Polyeydos, that are shown at the bottom of the painting, and whose acts and movements reveal the secret of the magic remedy. He is on the point of striking one of those serpents with his rod. At the top of the field are read the letters ades, the remains of the name of Sotades.

Note 1.p.724. Apollodoros. III, 2-3.

Note 2.p.724. British Museum. Catalogue. Vol. III, D, 5; Murray. White Athenian Vases. Plate XVII.

There are also myths of which we have no translation in the paintings of vases other than those figured on two cups from the same source and which can be placed in the same series. One of them is anonymous. The exact resemblance of the fabrication permits attribution to Sotades. The other has the same form; but the style of drawing is not entirely the same and there is read on the field the last letters of an unknown painter, who was certainly not Sotades.

On the first of these two cups, it is believed that the painter has represented the death of Archemoros, who was killed by a serpent, and in honor of whom was founded the Nemean games. (Fig. 397).¹ Of the three actors in the scene, there remain visible only the serpent and the hunter, who is going to slay it with a blow of his club. This person has a conical cap of felt.² On the second cup is a more complex composition; it represents a scene, that within our knowledge has been treated by no other ceramic painter, the flight of Nephele.³ There are five figures, each of which has its name inscribed near them. To make this painting understood, it is necessary to repeat the legend briefly. Athamus, king of Orchomenos, had two wives, a mortal one Ino that he repudiated at order of Hera, and an immortal Nephele, by whom he had two children, Phryxos and Helle. Having learned that her husband did not cease to see and to love his wife, Nephele left him; they Phryxos and Helle were

exposed to the spite of Ino, and resolved to flee from the paternal mansion in their turn.¹ All the persons of the legend are represented on the cup. At the left is Ino standing near a chair and putting on her mantle. Before her is Athamus, characterized by his beard and his royal sceptre. He appears to speak to Helle and Phryxos who occupy the right side of the painting, standing and making gestures of supplication. Above this group is seen a very small winged figure that soars in the air and regains the sky. She is followed by a quadruped that resembles a dog more than a ram. However it is known that the legend gave a companion to Nephele as a ram with golden fleece, on whose back she caused Phryxos and Helle to journey through space to remove them from the hatred of Ino. The explanation of the painting leaves no doubt by the inscriptions. Without them, one would have sought a long time.

Note 1.p.725. Apollodoros. III. 6-4. Roscher. Lexikon mythologicum. See word Archemoros. It is possible that he did not seek so far, and that he has there Cadmus fighting the dragon at Thebes.

Note 2.p.725. Collection Van Branteghem. No. 165. British Museum. Catalogue. Vol. III, D, 7a White Athenian Vases, Pl.18.

Note 3.p.725. Fröhner. La collection Tyskiewicz. 1892. Plate XII. Doubts have been expressed on the subject of this piece; but Hartwig, who saw and studied the original, believes in the authenticity of the vase. (Berl. Phil.Woch.1894.p.1531-1533).

Note 1.p.726. Roscher. Lexikon.

If Sotades and his rivals, when he desired to decorate their cups, seem to have taken up the task of avoiding well worn subjects; they yet sometimes have taken the themes of their paintings from the scenes of familiar life. Thus with one cup, entirely similar to the cups of Sotades by its form and thinness, which represents a young woman that plays with a top (Fig. 399). The whip that she holds in her hand indicates that this refers to a sport analogous to that meant and described in a comparison of Virgil.² This is what our children term a pegtop.

Note 2.p.726. Virgil. Eneid. VII. Verses 378-382.

Without believing myself obliged to think of the garden of the Hesperides, I think that the scene is one of the same kind, observed from nature, which it is necessary to recognize in the

painting on the cup signed by Sotades, where is seen the gathering of the fruits in the orchard.³ In the middle of the field is an apple tree, whose branches rise to the top of the panel. (Fig. 399). At the right is a young woman rising on her toes to pluck a fruit from the highest branch. At the left was another figure, which has left scarcely a trace on the glaze. There is divined only the outline of the lower drapery and two leaves of a second shrub. Below these leaves is the enscription *Mevisi*, doubtless the name that the painter gave to that person. of the name of the gatherer there remains only three letters *ado*. Fortunately the contour of the figure is better preserved than the legend; it permits us to appreciate the style of Sotades or of his painter. There was certainly grace in the movement of the young woman, in this body and the arm that extended to reach as high as possible; but this grace is not exempt from some coquetry, I would almost say affectation. See the flexure of the left arm that bends behind to wrap the drapery about the loins and the curve described by the fold of cloth that has just been wrapped about the lower limbs. One would say that the young woman felt herself observed. To charm the eye of the spectator she has thus stretched her youthful members and she causes to appear at her hips and ankles the suppleness of the shawl. Perhaps one could find some traces of this slight affectation in the figures of other cups of the same series. Thus the hunter of the serpent does not fail to have some air of a bully. (Fig. 397).

Note 3. p. 728. Catalogue Van Branteghem. No. 184. British Museum. Catalogue. Vol. III, D, 8. White Athenian Vases, pl. 17.

On the other hand the drawing is here more disengaged from archaic conventions, freer and more advanced than on even those cups with red figures which have appeared to us as most recent. This is not only the eye, which as far as can be judged from the smallness of the heads, has its normal appearance in the profile. Progress is also marked in other traits. For the gatherer of the apples, the two breasts are seen in perspective. The right one rises with the raised arm which draws up the chest. The body turns well, one of the legs covering the other, which is but partly visible. Elsewhere this skill of the draftsman is no less apparent. With the hunter of the serpent, see

the hatchings that model the mantle thrown over the left shoulder. They approach and close in one place, in the hollow formed by the hand holding the club, and in another toward the outer border of the fabric. They cause one to feel the roundness of the arm beneath the drapery.¹

Note 1. p. 728. This is what Pottier has well seen and mentioned. (*Mons. et Mems.* Vol. II, p. 48-47).

By all these signs, the taste shown by the choice of subjects, by the ease of the drawing and its slightly affected elegance, it is recognized that the vases of Sotades and of his school are later in date than the date at which we have stopped in the history of painting with red figures. We have been led to pass beyond this date to complete the study of the series that ends with those cups. The hour when the workshop of Sotades launched these cups on the market is perhaps nearer the end than the beginning of this century, when we did not wish to pass beyond its middle.

We return backward and ascend a little earlier with a pyxis found at Eretria, which particularly by the subject is one of the curious monuments of this technics.¹ Like the alabasters and the lecythes, the pyxis was a toilet article. Women placed their jewels in it. This little box of very careful execution was perhaps a wedding gift (Figs. 400, 401). The festival of marriage is represented in the painting which extends entirely around the little casket. We have there a sort of pendant of the celebrated Roman fresco known under the name of the Aldobrandine marriage. At the centre is an altar on which burns the fire, on which the incense and libation are poured. At the left of the altar is a woman, the *nymphetria* or the *pronuba* of the Latins, who leads the entire ceremony, raising and flourishing two torches. Behind her is an *ephebe*, the *nympheutes*, who seems to regulate his steps by the playing of the double flute that he carries to his lips. Then comes the bridegroom whose riper age is indicated by the long hair falling on his shoulders. In the left hand he holds a knotty staff terminating at each end in a hook. With the right hand he holds the wrist of the bride and leads her forward. She has her mantle raised over her head like a veil. Behind this group are some women, two of whom are distinguished from the others by their attitudes

and costumes. The hair of one is massed on the nape in a very projecting knot. On each of them the long tunic that descends to the feet is dotted by points, little sketches like those which Brygos loved to sprinkle over his fabrics. She who follows the bride raises the right hand as if with a gesture of admiration. The left hand holds a sceptre ending at top in a flower. The woman nearest the altar offers a fruit or an egg. That pose, that embroidered dress and that coiffure which differs from those of the other women, all concur in attracting the attention upon those two persons, and to show that they play an important part in the ceremony. Are they the two mothers of the spouses, which for this occasion are decorated by their most beautiful attire? One cannot tell. Of the two other women, one with a graceful gesture lifts the bottom of her tunic and the other brandishes the torches. The whole in its novelty must be brilliant and gay. Like the flames of the torches and the fire on the altar, all the mantles were colored purple. The sceptres and staves, the bands enclosing the heads of the women were gilded.

Note 1.p.729. British Museum. Catalogue. Vol. III, D, 11. White Athenian Vases, Plate XX).

In this decoration of the pyxis, the figures are sometimes slender, the attitudes are simpler than in the paintings which ornament the interiors of the cups of Sotades. The pyxis is a little more ancient. We freely believe it contemporaneous with the lecythes and cups of Douris and of Brygos. If we have held to reproduce it here, this is particularly to show what diversity of types is presented by the vases on which the potters of Athens have placed on a white ground a painting in line, enhanced by touches of vivid color. They appear decided to apply this technics only to pieces of small dimensions. The cup is the largest of the vases on which the white coating acquired the freedom of the city, if one may so speak. Scarcely more than one vase can be cited to form an exception by its height, only one vase for which the Attic potter diverged from the rule that he seems to have traced. This is a cratera found in Italy and which belongs to the Gregorian museum at Rome (Fig. 402). The entire exterior of the vase between the handles and the lip is covered by a white glaze, and this light ground is limited

by a double row of palmatiums and by a fret. The subject is taken from the myths of the infancy of Dionysos. Scarcely had the young god been extricated from the thigh of Zeus, than Hermes carried him away to confide him to Silenus and the Nymphs of Nysa. On the principal side of the cratera is seen Hermes respectfully presenting to Silenus seated on a rock the young god wrapped in his swaddling clothes. Silenus makes a gesture of welcome, and two young girls are present at the presentation. On the other side is another nymph between two of her companions, who plays the lyre to celebrate the arrival of the divine infant. Even by the choice of the subject and particularly by the character of the drawing, it is recognized that the vase belongs to the period of the free style.¹ Perhaps it only dates from the end of the 5th century. If we have brought it onto the series, this is to give an idea of the efforts that the potters of Athens imposed on themselves constantly to put variety into their productions and to keep alive the curiosity of their vast patronage. In spite of the assured market for their beautiful vases with light figures on a black ground, they long persisted in attempting experimentr in a way, which was not t that to which led the tradition of the workshops and the habits assumed by the public. This is still attested by a pretty pyxis of the Louvre that represents Perseus preparing to slay the Gorgon; the bistre line is there relieved by some touches of purple.² This pyxis seems to be even later than the cratera d described above. After the 4th century, painting on a white glaze will no longer be practised except for the funerary lecythes, and those to our great regret remain outside our scope. For the other vases of the toilette and of luxury, to which this procedure had been applied, it will be replaced by painting with red figures enriched by colors and rich gilding.

Note 1. p. 732. Rayet-Colliignon. *Histoire de la ceramique grecque*. p. 224-225.

Note 2. p. 732. *Monuments grecs publies par l'Association*, etc. 1878. Plate II.

When Attic cups with white grounds were much sought after by amateurs of Attic vessels, both in their own country as in Italy, in Sicily and Asian Greece, when the chiefs of workshops found purchasers for their cups, why did they abstain from using

the same methods for decorating crateras, amphoras and hydrias? It is believed that the motives for this omission may be divined. The potter and the purchaser were equally interested in being able to count on the stability of the decoration of the vases placed on sale or of which they were buyers. Now if the glazing of the cups and of the lecythes that we have described adhered very closely to the clay, so that it did not form the friable coating that milk of lime would deposit on the bodies of the funerary lecythes, this mode of painting yet did not offer the same guarantees of resistance and duration, as the opaque silhouettes obtained by means of the black glaze, or those light figures reserved on that black glaze. It seems that the firing was there a more delicate operation and more difficult to fully succeed, than that of vases with red figures. Men had difficulty in making the gilding and retouching colors adhere. As for the light line traced by the point of the brush on the coating, and which gave the contour of the figure as well as its details, even its delicacy made it perishable. If it faded slightly and was effaced, scarcely anything of the image remained. That is what happened to most of the cups of this series. In places, the drawing evaporated or vanished. Everywhere the black has turned to russet (Plate XXII).

These difficulties in execution were doubtless for much in the method taken by the Athenian potters. They must have concurred in preventing them from undertaking that fabrication on a great scale, to make for it in their workshops the same place as that of the vase with red figures. With that were less defective pieces.¹ At least the cost of amphoras was obtained, which without being exposed to not arrive in good condition, would serve to carry abroad the oil and wine of Attica, hydrias that one feared to place under the jet of the fountain, crateras that in the festal hall would not risk being handled and rubbed by the slave charged to pour the drink for the guests. There was also the power of fixed habits. There was the black figure, then the red figure, which made the reputation of Attic ceramists. These had given them the means of offering to the Athenians in the paintings by which they decorated the vases, which ornamented their houses and tombs, such a faithful mirror in which was reflected the art of the sculptors of marble from

Antenor to Calamis and Myron, like that of the famous painters from Cimon and Eumares to Polygnotos and Micon. Also in the paintings executed after one or the other of these two methods the Etruscans and other foreigners had learned to interest themselves in the Hellenic myths, the gods and heroes that were protagonists in the scenes most frequently represented on Attic vases. There also their curiosity sought to divert itself by the image of the life led by the most civilized of all Greeks, the Athenians, in the gynaeceum and gymnasium, in public and private festivals, in the festal halls where they gathered with their companions of pleasure, those sons of family whose elegance and beauty were celebrated by the legends which the brush loved to place on the clay of the vases which it decorated.

Note 1.p.733. Hartwig is also of this opinion. For him, what prevented this technique from prevailing and becoming in general use are the uncertainties of fabrication, the difficulty of making this white glaze adhere well. Thus he explains why the experiments made in this way were pursued only during a very limited time. Cups with white grounds did not enter into current use; they were only articles of value, simple ornaments. (Meisterschalen, p. 484).

Further, all those patrons of Athenian industry were accustomed from before the beginning of the 5th century to the freedom of the effects produced by the red figure on a black ground and by the firmness of the drawing that it included. Their taste was not wearied. They did not incite the workers of Ceramicos to a change of fabrication. It was not thought to require of them to renounce a technique which had given such beautiful results. On the other hand, we have seen that when some one of those potters in quest of innovation and progress thought of applying to vases such as cups a mode of decoration, which their predecessors employed only for little vases intended for the uses of the toilette, they had to count with the resistances of the material. They could not perceive failure and danger, that in spite of the precautions taken were inseparable from the use of the procedure in question. The white ground and the image in line painted there with retouches of gold and color had a freshness and gaiety that made the charm; but on the other hand, this charm was very fragile. It was too much that one could

think of sacrificing to it a technics, which while giving the artist the means of showing himself a draftsman of rare talent, ensured to his work a sort of perpetuity. In these conditions the cup with white ground neither was nor could be for the manufacture of Athens anything but an article of fancy, to speak the language of business. It was in invitation addressed to amateurs, such as it has always been and always will be, who have a mania for novelty; they hold to acquiring the furniture or the jewel, which is the latest model, as one says. To correspond to the desire of this vanguard of patrons, a master like Euphronios launches on the market cupw with white grounds and signed by his name; but he retains a place for those red figures on black ground to which he owed his reputation. A little later, others went farther in that path. They changed the form of the cup and placed no longer any other decoration than the figure in line on a light ground.

Since the discoveries that have augmented the number of cups with white grounds known to us, and that allow us to follow a the evolution of this type, until about the end of the 5th century, a question is proposed. Were those cups intended to render the same services as the cups with black and with red figures? Like them did they pass from hand to hand around the tables and beds, filled with wine? Would not the fresh whiteness of their ivory ground have risked being very quickly soiled by the frequent and prolonged contact of thick and strongly colored wine? This doubt appears justified when we examine those monuments of this series that seem to be most recent, the cups signed by Sotades and those resembling the products of his workshop. As these cups approach the period of the so-called vases of the free style or enter it, they seem to become more and more unsuitable for the current uses of the table. The extraordinary thinness of the walls of the cup and the exceptional slenderness of the handles give the impression of dangerous fragility. cups of this model would have run many risks in the hands of guests, that frequently at the end of a repast no longer had all their coolness. One imagines these cups as rather destined to ornament the hall of the feast, like those musical instruments and other utensils that in many paintings are seen suspended on the wall by hooks. In favor of this

hypothesis may also be alleged the arrangement of the support. It is not so well suited as the foot of the other cups to allow the vase to be grasped or passed around. It seems intended to be placed permanently on a tablet or fastened on a partition, the bowl turned toward the spectator.

The calling that furnished these objects of luxury and articles of price was undertaken early by the Attic potter. From the 6th century he had known how to make and decorate those alabasters, lecythes, pyxes, all those pretty toilet vases, which we have made known by some select examples; he clothed them with a light coating that is almost always a glaze, that is not scratched by the point of a knife. There the ceramic painter had already renounced those monochrome images that are the rule in current fabrication. On the lecythes and later in the cups, on the field furnished to him by the workman that shaped the vase, he applied himself to imitate the polychromy of the fresco. If he used only two or three colors for this purpose, yellow, brown and red of varied shades, this is perhaps because certain other tones like blue and green would have risked resisting not as well the fire of the kiln.

The Attic ceramists did not allow themselves to be arrested by these scruples or fears, who about this time when they aimed at the last refinements in the execution of the cups that we have studied, commenced to make for the decoration of the tomb those lecythes with white glaze, whose paintings almost always treat the mystery of death, either representing the bringing of the funereal offerings to the stele, or expressing the ideas that the people of Athens formed of the posthumous life and of its various incidents. Some of the paintings that decorate these vases, by the touching simplicity of the composition and especially by the purity of the drawing, merit being placed opposite the most beautiful reliefs sculptured by the art of Phidias and his immediate successors, they bear the comparison, but we cannot think of describing them here or even of presenting for admiration some select examples.¹ What deprives us of that pleasure is that to date from a time when were effaced even the last vestiges of archaism. The industry that left to this legacy flourished from 450 at earliest until about the end of the 4th century, and all ceramographs are agreed on t

that point. However badly defined is the limit in this history of ceramics, where we must stop for the time, we should have left it too far behind if we had here touched on the study of the white funerary lecythes. Yet these belong very near the vases with white glaze, whose series opens with the cup of Euphronios; they directly continue its fabrication. There was then reason to indicate at least in brief fashion, by what peculiarities these lecythes differ from the cups and vases of different forms to which we have compared them.

Note 1.p.736. The best monograph that may be consulted on the subject of these lecythes is still, though it dates from - already more than thirty years since, the Essay in which E. Pottier precludes the numerous works that we have so frequently had occasion to cite. E. Pottier. *Etude sur les lecythes blancs funéraires*. 1883. (part 30 of *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*). There have been published since 1883 lecythes unknown to the author of the *Etude*; but no one has better defined the original character of these vases, has better indicated their interest, nor better appreciated their charm.

A primary difference is, that the painters of these funerary lecythes have a palette richer than that of the painters of cups. They do not trace with black glaze the line that describes the contour of the figures, but with red or brown. They use red much, a red that under their brush passes through all shades from rose to vermillion, from lilac to dark violet. Speaking of violet means that they also use blue, that blue long lavished by architect and sculptor in the decoration of edifices. From the time that they employed blue, nothing was easier for them than to mix it with yellow. on several of these vases are found traces of green. As for black and brown, they diminished or increased their intensity by diluting the coloring matter. Sometimes to draw an ornament, they placed some touches of white on a dark tint. By this variety of tones they succeeded in obtaining an effect of the whole, that must be even better than the decoration of the cups, be very near attaining the effects of fresco. There is a certain lecythe, like the very large lecythe of the Louvre that has been so well described in the *Monuments and Memoirs*, whose painting it seems to us, would have given a very faithful idea of Apollodorus, the skiagraph, or

of Zeuxis, if this painting were not effaced in many places, and if even where it remains, the dampness of the soil had not everywhere changed the colors.¹

Note 1.p.737. M. Collignon. Deux lecythes attiques, etc. (Monuments et Memoires. Vol. XII, p. 29-54. Pls. III, IV). On these great lecythes, with a series of loutrophores with red figures, that play an entirely similar part to the family interment, also see Furtwängler. Beschreibung. Nos. 2684-2685; Girard. La peinture antique, 216-218; Curtius. Jahrb.X. 1895, p. 58; Winter. 55 th Programm zum Winckelmann'sfeste. Berlin. 1895.

The decorators of lecythes then have been bolder than those of cups. This imitation of monumental painting in which the latter have ^{not} failed to show some timidity, was pushed farther, and since they had seen produced under their eyes the most accomplished works that sculpture had created at Athens, they frequently gave to the paintings of their vases the stamp of the grand style of the contemporaneous masters; but on the other hand the potters who furnished them with these vases to paint showed themselves less careful and less expert in good work than their predecessors had been. The white glaze which they placed on the clay did not have the firmness of that which lines the interior and frequently covers the exterior of cups. It is thicker and very friable. Firing has not incorporated it with the clay. It is easily detached, carrying with it the colors for which it had served as support. Thus there is nothing rarer than to find a lecythe that has retained its decoration almost intact. Among most of those which leave Attic tombs, the gray clay of the body of the piece appears bare. Scarcely does there still adhere in places some scales of the coating, like the rags of torn clothing, in which are distinguished with sadness the feeble remains of a contour not continued, of the broken profile of a charming head, an arm or a foot of supreme elegance.

There is something which does not fail to astonish at first. One is surprised at having to verify on the same vase this perfection of art and of insufficiency of the trade. The explanation of this inequality or rather contrast is found in the different destination of these two series of vases. If as we have assumed, the cups with white ground were for a use less current

than the others, it was still necessary that they could at need on certain occasions receive in the interior of the bowl the wine for the repast or the libation, which was possible if the coating was well fixed to the clay by the fire of the kiln. Quite otherwise were the conditions given to the lecythes by the part, that then had to play in the funeral rites. For them the coating was applied to the exterior. A first and strong firing had rendered the grain of the paste sufficiently close, that later in the course of the ceremonies in which the vase figured, perfumed oils could be poured through the narrow mouth. Was it before this passage to the kiln that there was spread on the clay the black glaze of the neck and the coating of milky white, sometimes of snowy white, that covered the entire body? One would be tempted to doubt this. The black glaze has adhered badly on many examples. As for the white coating, as soon as these vases are moved, it almost always is detached and falls in scales. We then incline to think that the light coating and its decoration were joined to the paste only by a light firing to which the vase was subjected after its completion. Thus they obtained only a very weak adhesion between the paste and this superficial layer of the coating; but men were satisfied by this because of the particular nature of the services required from these vases.

As indicated by a verse of Aristophanes that is often cited, it was not for the living but for the dead that the makers of lecythes labored.¹ Unlike the cups and oenochoes, the alabasters and pyxes of the same technics, these lecythes did not have to suffer a repeated contact of the fingers, which handled them in the festal halls or the chambers of the gynaeceum. They did not even remain long exposed to the open air. On the morrow after the death, they were grouped around the bed on which reposed the corpse. They then went to range themselves on the steps of the stele or were attached to its mouldings; later they were buried with the ashes in the darkness of the pit. There alone remained visible those great lecythes, nearly 40 inches high, which like the enormous vases of the Dipylon, formerly seem to have been sometimes placed as a sign on the summit of the tomb; it is probable that to protect from the action of the air and rain the very careful paintings which decorated them, they were

enclosed in little structures only open in front, like many tombs in our urban cemeteries; these were a sort of chapels; but pieces of that height were rare.² Usually the lecythes of small and average dimensions scarcely left the dealer except to show themselves at the obsequies and to disappear then in the tomb; hence the maker did not care to take useless pains for them. He attached but a mediocre importance to the parts beneath the decoration, to that part which ensured the duration of the ornament and the image, when he was very careful. His lecythes sold well, provided that the glazing was lustrous, and that on this light ground, drawn with elegance and illuminated by vivid colors, were detached expressive figures, faithful interpreters of the hopes of the mourning family. Those vases without future, purchased only to follow after a brief delay the dead into his subterranean habitation, recall those light jewels unsuited for the toilet that are often found in the tombs, those ear pendants and necklaces made of this sheet gold, that have come to represent there the rich ornaments which the deceased wore in his life, and which his heirs decided to retain.

Note 1.p.739. Aristophanes mentions a person (Greek)(Assembly of Women, verse 998), and he makes it understood later that these vases after the death were placed with the dead (verse 1032. Greek).

Note 2.p.739. One point to be noted is that these lecythes did not alone differ in dimensions from the lecythes of average and small height, which were made in much greater numbers. In the latter, the potter covered with black glaze the mouth and the foot of the vase. He employed this glaze to draw the palmatus that frequently decorated the shoulder, and also the fret which usually limited the field of the body at top. Here is nothing like that. From top to bottom the vase received the white coating. No use was made of the black glaze. Collignon inclined to see in the decoration of these lecythes with entirely white grounds a sort of imitation of the paintings that ornamented the reliefs of those loutrophores of marble, the fashion of which was introduced in the 4th century and became general in the following century.

By these charming and imperfect works, exquisite and careless, closes the series of Attic vases with white coatings and poly-

polychrome decoration. These do not form in our museums a series, that by their extent and the variety of the themes of their paintings can be compared to those which are composed of vases with black figures and those with red figures. They are scarcely met with except singly or in small groups in some favored galleries. Yet we have no less believed that in this history of Greek ceramics, there should be made a place which at first sight may seem not in relation to the very limited number of pieces furnished by this technics. This is because by its originality, this has appeared to us as worthy of special attention. The ceramist in the workshops of Ionia, Corinth and Athens, indeed tried methods to diversify the appearance of his painted pottery; but in those continually renewed experiments, however inventive he was, he scarcely used more than two colors, red and black, retaining a marked predominance of the darker of these two tones.

This so skilful artisan, so marvellously endowed, however seems to have had at times, first in Ionia and later in Athens, a vague suspicion of the defects of his programme, of the point in which his first conception erred, that formed of the resources of his art and of the effects that this art could propose to attain. He had the transient intuition of a ceramics that differed much from that in which he had acquired his mastery, and a ceramics in which the decorator became emboldened to rival the painter of frescos by the variety of the tones employed; he made experiments in this way that evidence his initiative and taste, experiments that would strike us far more if a happy chance had brought us in a good state of preservation one of those great lecythnes, that formerly served to crown the tombs, if this vase had come intact with all its purity of its free line drawing, and with its ornamentation in brilliant colors. Why did not the potter push farther in this course, after learning what that mode of decoration could give? Several motives of various kinds concurred in causing that abstinence, that sort of recoil. There was at first an entirely material reason. The Greek potter succeeded in the Rhodian plates and the Attic cups in making a light glaze, that strongly united with the clay; but the white coatings that he placed on dark tones have always lasted badly; he did not know how to [

give more stability to yellows, blues and lilacs that he placed on lecythes. He did not feel sure of those overlaid colors; not being able to be responsible for their durability, they did not decide to reject them for tones that inspired more confidence, for this lustrous red and for this beautiful black glazel, whose formula was so early discovered, which in spite of their researches modern chemists have not succeeded in recovering.

The technics of polychrome decoration then offered to the ceramist difficulties, that could contribute to divert him from the effort which he had to make to learn thoroughly a new trade, while he practised as if sportively the one, whose procedures were transmitted for two centuries in the workshops. However careless his fabrication, with this he could guarantee the quality of his products; but to create a pottery on which the durability of the image would not be compromised by the brilliancy and variety of the tones, he would have had to lose many pieces before obtaining good results. In those conditions he must have been tempted to adhere to traditional methods, to those giving the least trouble, and which would cause him to run the least risk. This sort of embarrassment and of indolence does not suffice, we believe, to explain how and why even when taste was most refined in Greece, the potter always remained obstinately faithful to the system of decoration, whose principal he had established from the time when he made his apprenticeship in the school of the geometric style. The secret of this so decided and persistent preference must be sought especially in the innate disposition of the Greek soul, in the original character of this esthetic sense. In art matters, this soul seemed to have been always more sensitive to beauty of form, to the correctness of proportions, the nobility or the grace of its contours, than to the splendor or charm of colors. Sculpture was the most sincere and the highest expression of its genius.

We judge this sculpture by the pieces, a number of its most memorable works have reached us. As for painting, that of Polygnotos, Zeuxis and Apelles, what represents it today are monuments such as the painted vases and the frescos of Campanian villas. To complete and determine the idea which we could form of those monuments, we are compelled to refer to the statements

of Greek and Latin writers. Those inform us how at a certain time and after having long been contented with flat tints analogous to those laid in Egypt on the walls of tombs and of temples, the painter undertook to seek the modeling of the body, how he obtained it even in the parts of the image in shadow, either by reducing or heightening the tones or by making the hatchings closer.¹ What the authors prize most in the artists, of whose masterpieces they boast, is the refinement and decision of line, the clearness with which in a certain celebrated painting, this line by tracing the lines of the face or the gesture, could express feeling and passion, reveal to the spectator the mystery of a moral state; but in all this evidence is found nothing that gives reason to think that any of those masters was particularly interested in the play of light, that he amused himself with the variations that it produced, according to its quality, direction and intensity, modified the tints of the flesh, of the fabric or the ground. We cannot doubt that the best painters of Greece were marvellous draftsmen; but it does not seem that any one of them proposed to himself to become a colorist in the sense in which we understand this word.

Note 1.p.742. On this subject for the explanation of the ancient texts that relate to the rendering of the modeling by the indication of the shadows, and for the comments that can aid us to understand the texts, see particularly the Article of Collignon cited on page 737, note 1. Also see P. Girard. *La peinture antique*. p.201-202, 210.

Perhaps one would not depart much from the truth in affirming that among the Greeks, painting was not an autonomous art in the same degree that it is in the modern world, where it depends only on itself, and has no advice to receive from others to know how to interpret nature and life. One would be almost tempted to regard this Greek painting as a secondary kind, as a derivative from sculpture, like a sculpture in which the body has only two of its three dimensions, the brush changing itself to indicate the thickness. The dominant preoccupation of this mixed art was to render the integrity of the form by the virtue of the drawing itself, but of a drawing in which color played the role of a useful and pleasing auxiliary. Color was not loved for itself, for the infinite variety of its

hues, for the magic of its harmonies and its contrasts. How could the decorators of clay, those collaborators of the potter, that we should rather class among artisans, suffer an allure-ment escaped by those great painters so much admired by the Greeks? How could they have conceived ambitions refused by the masters of the works from which they demanded their inspirations and models?

More than anything else, the examples of those masters disposed the ceramic painter to understand his task a little differently from his rivals among other peoples equally endowed for the arts. By the themes traced by the brush, the pottery created by him spoke to the intelligence, the paintings that he lavished on his vases aroused in him an entire host of poetic and religious memories. At the same time, by the lively feeling for the beauties of the living form that was masked in that imagery, he continued the effort of the statuary and of the historical painter, who had their eyes obstinately fixed on the human body, and knew not how to detach themselves from it; but if when he took this method, the decorator entered into the tastes of his patrons, he thus condemned himself to sacrifices that may be regretted.

If it be a category of works of industrial art, that by reason of the office which they fulfil, seem to appeal to the harmonies and gayeties of color, it is indeed those vessels of luxury which will decorate the house and ornament the table of the repast among joyful faces and festal clothing. This did not entirely escape the Greek ceramist. We have shown what a place he arranged in his compositions and what importance he gave to these motives of ornament, that served him for enclosing his paintings. This ornamentation did not suffice in spite of its elegance and diversity to modify profoundly the character of the work. One must judge this work especially by the products of the Attic workshops, with which it attained its perfection. Its author, for from this point of view may be regarded as a single man all the master potters that succeeded Ergotimos and Brygos, has mistaken to a certain point the exigencies of what may be called the genius itself of the arts of clay and of fire, the conditions suited to fulfil the destination of the pieces which he shaped and decorated. Perhaps it may be

said, that he understood them less than the ceramists of modern Europe have done, than before them those of the extreme Orient had done.

CHAPTER XXIX. VASES IN THE FORM OF FIGURINES.

From the most ancient times, we have seen that when man exerted himself to invent types of vases, he yielded to the temptation to give the vase that he created something of the traits that characterize the human form, and particularly the female form. The head is clearly indicated; the breasts are shown; sometimes necklaces complete the image by representing the larger jewels by which women were decorated. Vases are cited that imitate the form of the hedgehog, the pig and the sow.¹ This arrangement was already very apparent in the primitive ceramics of Troy, and was still more so again in Cypriote ceramics; there are found vases in the form of quadrupeds, of the rhinoceros and the goat;² but what especially abounds are vases that present the traits of a woman, her diademed hair, pendant tresses, necklace and her breasts recalled by two projecting knobs.³ The head of Hercules decorates a little aryballa.⁴ Finally, on an oenochoe of Curium, a statue of a woman in high relief is seated on the shoulder of a vase; with the right hand she holds a very small jar that is inclined as if to pour the contained liquid into the great vase. Here the ceramic painter has appealed to the modeler to place this addition on his vase.⁵ Finally, let us recall those objects in glazed faience that were collected at Camiros; there is the helmeted head of a warrior, and a female head surmounted by a neck; perhaps it is necessary to see there rather an experiment made in some workshop of oriental Greece, as we are inclined to believe, than a Phœnician fabrication. What leads us to think so is the little vase modeled in the form of a dolphin, which bears the inscription:—*Pytheo emi*.¹

Note 1. p. 745. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VI, Figs. 391, 390, 392, 454, 455.

Note 2. p. 745. The same. Vol. III, p. 494, 502.

Note 3. p. 745. The same. Plate IV, Figs. 503, 504.

Note 4. p. 745. The same. Fig. 503.

Note 5. p. 745. The same. Fig. 508.

Note 1. p. 746. The same. p. 675, 684, Fig. 484.

The imagination of the potters of the geometric style showed itself poorer and less inventive than that of the primitive inhabitants of Troy or of the island of Cyprus. In this cold

and restricted style, the modeler but rarely and on a limited scale was invited to become the assistant of the painter. A bird is perched on the neck of an oenochoe; three little birds ornament a pyxis; a serpent decorates the handle of an oenochoe.² There is necessary the liberty of the 6th century for fashion to return to those mixtures of two adjacent arts, the enthusiastic concurrence of all arts lending a mutual aid to assist the painter in varying his forms, and by their complexity, by the effects derived from them, giving a charm to the pottery. The rhyton was indeed a vase. In regard to it, we have indicated what use the Greek potter could make of the elements supplied to him by the beautiful elements of the living form; but besides the rhyton, the potters of the end of the 6th century found a type that was perhaps a souvenir of the past, of a type that combined with the drinking vase the image of the human figure, conceived as an addition that decorated the neck of the vase, or that was substituted for its walls. In the last case, this is the appearance and breadth of a bust, sometimes single or double, that is sometimes enlarged to the point of causing to be lost to sight the primary destination of the vase, and of causing us to doubt, that it could ever circulate around the festal table.³ They even went farther, the drunken satyr, a surprise vase of the museum of the Louvre, is an example of the ingenious combinations by which the guests of the banquet were amused. The statuette was modeled separately and is the important part of the group.⁴

Note 2.p.748. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. VII. Figs. 44, 68.

Note 3.p.748. The same. Vol. IX. Figs. 169, 171.

Note 3.p.748. The same. Fig. 170.

The first chief of a workshop that attempted this mode of ornamentation was Nicosthenes, whom we have found under the Pisistratides, quick to seize and even to forward the variations of taste, trying all sorts of technics, attacking the study of all forms and renewing them in part. On the spouts of oenochoes and beneath the mouth by which the liquid flowed, he placed busts, here of diademed women, there of male persons;⁵ but these busts are not all the vase, as one will note; they do not determine its character. It is a simple ornament that is added to the oenochoe to give it more elegance. There is indeed a s

subject painted on the body, an Athena or another, and this attracts most attention.

Note 5.p.748. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. Plgs. 181, 182.

It is entirely otherwise in the vases bearing the signatures of Charinos, Procles, Kalliades, and that of the Louvre on which is read the exclamation kalos Epilykos, also many others contained in our museums. There were found in the rubbish of the Acropolis, that is believed to be the remains of the conflagration, very numerous fragments of similar vases.¹ Those vases were for the most part vases for balsams or perfumes. This is a variant of the alabaster and aryballa, a fashion introduced at Athens about the time of the Median wars; it was carried by Attic commerce into Italy and to all markets that it served.² The date of the appearance of this fashion is furnished to us by even the style of the sensibly archaic heads. (Fig. 403). The conclusions that can be deduced from the examination of these figures are confirmed by the inscription leagros kalos, read on a specimen of the museum of Athens.³ The name of Leagros is connected with the persons of Euphronios, Caenrylion, Oltos, etc.

Note 1.p.747. *Ephemeris*. 1894., p. 125.

Note 2.p.747. The vases that represent this series were mostly found in the tombs of Etruria.

Note 3.p.747. Hartwig in *Ephemeris*. 1894. p.121-128.

All the vases of this kind that are signed have epoiesen. The important thing is that the mould produced a mask, and this mould was the work of the modeler. The part of the painter was very secondary. It was limited to regulating the very simple polychromy of the face, to adding some lines on the hair and the bottom of the work. Thus the bottom of the vase of Procles bears a motive of a black incised figure, an ephebe playing with a little panther (Fig. 404).

We shall distinguish in these representations three states, three degrees of complexity. The first is simplest, and we have it in the vase of Procles; it is a single head, here that of a woman, elsewhere on the vase bearing the name of Leagros being the head of a negro. The head modeled by Procles seems oldest. If the serpents extending along the neck are a happy invention, the eyes are very large, the modeling of the face is more irregular

and the mouth is slightly askew. It is felt that here is a beginning industry.

It is an advance in fabrication that is represented by a vase belonging to the Louvre (Plate XXIII, 1).¹ "The female head in the round drawn from a mould in two pieces is a softened archaism. The face is well modeled in the cheeks, mouth and chin, has retained the slightly oblique eyes that reveal a still ancient epoch of art. They are outlined by a black line. The sclerotic has the natural tone of the clay; the pupil is indicated by a large black point surrounded by a black circle. The eyebrows are marked by a black line, thin and arched; the lips are a little heavy and are painted red. A darker red is laid on the hair separated into two wavy masses, that fall behind at each side. The rest is concealed by a very ornate cecryphale that comprises three decorative elements (Pl. XXII, 2);- 1, a ground of lozenges reserved in light on the black mass of the fabric; 2, a vertical band of black quadrilles that goes from the top of the head to the nape; 3, it is crossed at the middle by another narrow horizontal fret band accompanied by dotted lines, which extends from one ear to the other. This last accessory is evidently a fillet distinct from the rest, placed there to fasten the handkerchief, and which is fastened at two points by two hair pins, whose heads project from the fabric and take the form of a little cup ornamented by radiating black lines. A triple line forms these rays, and I freely see the indication of a little chain that connects the two pins after the fashion of our modern cuff buttons. A double black line marks the border of the fabric on the neck, and the ears are indicated at each side by a simple black volute line. The neck is slightly enlarged at the bottom base ending in a flat bottom, that formed the foot of the vase and is now wanting. The entire interior is made impermeable by a layer of lustrous black color." ²

Note 1. p. 748. Pottier. *Epilycos. Etude de ceramique grecque.* Pl. XI-XV. (Mons. et Mem. Vol. IX. 1902. p. 135-178).

Note 2. p. 748. Pottier. p. 145-146.

The wide mouth and the two flat handles at the side are those of a little skyphos. Here is a true drinking vase. This type was created for balsams, and by a fancy of the artists was also

applied to the festal cup. The external border of the mouth on the side with the woman's face is decorated by a subject painted in red figures with a slightly rapid and careless execution. There are seen two ephebes. One lies on his left side on a banquet couch; the back is supported by a cushion. He is draped excepting on the shoulder and the left side, and he lifts the left hand while lowering the right hand, as if he accompanied by a song the dance of his comrade, who is entirely nude and executes a step, the left hand suspended and the right hand extended, perhaps holding a vase; this hand disappears behind a great cratera with volute handles, surrounded by a black garland, which is placed on the ground between the ephebes. the other side of the mouth is decorated by three palmatiums reserved in red and enclosed in scrolls, the last of which at the left ends in a lotus bud. In regard to that ornament as well as the execution of the front painting, there has been pronounced the name of Cachrylion;¹ but these are analogies on which there is no reason to insist. The same procedures of decoration could be employed in different workshops at a certain epoch.

Note 1.p.749. Pottier. Plate 143.

So nearly the same time do we attribute the woman's head signed Charinos epoise. The chignon of the woman is ornamented in the same manner; a band of vertical frets succeeds with another band representing a file of small animals. Then come ivy leaves. We also have a unique head in that of a negro belonging to the museum of Athens and on which is read the name of Peagros; it was found at Eretria, while that by Charinos came from Corneto, like that of the Louvre.²

Note 2.p.749. Reisch. Vasen in Corneto, Pl. IX (Mitt.d.Arch. Inst. Röm. Abth. V. 1890. p.313-344).

According to the dealer, it was from Greece, perhaps from Eretria, that came the pretty vase of the Louvre on which is read on the border of the little mouth the inscription:—Epilycos kalos. The neck is flanked by two little flat and straight handles, that surmount the heads, expands in the form of a cup like the mouth of a white lecythe. There is no doubt that this is a vase for perfumes. At the base of each handle, a large palmatium with five leaves is reserved in red on the black fr-

ground. On the neck of the figure at each side is an owl with white eyes and painted in black silhouette. A line of eggs outlined in black encloses the base of the neck. The bottom is entirely flat and plane (Fig. 405).

"The woman's head at each side that forms the body of the vase belongs on the whole to the archaic type, known by the Attic statues of the end of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries. Yet this style is peculiar and is not closely connected to any of the monuments that we possess. The eyes are a very long oval with the sclerotic painted white and the pupil black, with an incised double circle and are narrow and askew like the Chinese. The eyelids of uniform thickness form a little projecting ridge accented by a line of black that follows all the contours. The lips are strong and accented by a black line, presenting an indentation at the centre. The junction is very straight and but feebly indicates the conventional smile of archaic figures; it is scarcely apparent in front. The modeling of the cheeks is nervous, and the bones have something thinner and more pointed than on the human heads. The hair is represented by the black cap that covers the entire top of the vase, and assumes a more real appearance in the part surrounding the brow and temples; the modeler has represented three superposed rows of curls by means of drops very regularly juxtaposed. This execution of the hair has much analogy with that of the painters of vases of the same time, on which the curls are also rendered by projecting black points." (Fig. 405).¹

Note 1. p. 751. Pottier. p. 131-137.

The two heads are rigorously similar, it can be affirmed that they came from the same mould. In fact, the small unsymmetries that can be noted in the face are repeated entirely alike on both heads. This fact is interesting to verify; for it implies the execution in a hollow mould, that could serve for the fabrication of many other similar vases. All museums possess analogous vases.

There is finally the vase made with two heads, but which are dissimilar, and which represent two different types. The collection of the Louvre also presents to us an excellent example of this fabrication. Here were employed two moulds, one of which represents the head of a negro and the other a woman's

head, which resembles the preceding (Pl. XXIV). The artist has adhered to ornamenting the woman's head, to give it the most elegance possible. On the black cap above the face are reserved in red two cocks facing each other and very finely executed; that one on the right lowers the head to the ground as if to pick. (Vignette at end of the Chapter). Below at each side is drawn a pretty palmation. On the neck at each side is repeated lengthwise the inscription kalos, painted black.

The woman's head came from a mould similar to the preceding, but which could not be the same; there are noted certain differences.² The mouth is painted in red like wine lees. The curls of the hair are indicated only by two rows of little projections. Finally, the general appearance is particularly modified by the handkerchief or cecryphale, of which the artist has only represented the edge in thick and wavy cloth, which projects from the brow and shades it in the most becoming manner. The underside of the coil is painted like red wine lees and the top in red vermilion. The face assumes a grace under this garb, a novel air of piquant beauty.

Note 2.p.751. Pottier. p. 138-139.

This coquettish face is contrasted with the negro's head opposite it. The modeler has tried to render with stern realism the flat-nosed and thick lipped face of a black slave. A curious thing is that he has changed nothing in the eyes, which in the young Greek and the negro are expressed in identical fashion, long and oblique, with the iris painted white over the black and the incised pupil. The same remark had already been made concerning the isolated negro head accompanied by the name of Leagros.¹ The modeler also employed the same procedure for executing the hair: he used the little drops of parbo-tine on the entire top of the head. These are close as a milled edge and abound on the front and sides: they imitate the crisped hair of the negro. The skin is naturally rendered by the admirable lustrous black then at the disposal of the painters of vases; but to avoid drawing the entire figure in that dark tint, the ground of the hair was relieved by a vivid tone of blue. The red of the lips and the whites of the eyes completed the polychromy of this figure, which reproduced the expressive type of the negro with astonishing truth.

Note 1.p.752. Hartwig.(Greek). Another aryballa, "a negro's head entirely similar in coloring to the types described above, was found by Orsi with the Locrians Epizephyrians (Notizie degli scavi. Vol. IX, supplement, Fig. 20, p. 18).

The mouth is damaged; but by the smallness of the neck it is easily recognized that it also was a vase for balsam. It may be asked from whence comes this use of the head of a negro. It will not seem out of place to renew a conjecture on this subject, that we have accepted for an entire curious series of alabasters. By the representation of the palm tree and a person in oriental costume sometimes representing a negro, those served the dealers in perfumes. They informed patrons that the vase in question contained scents from Egypt. What likewise added to the probability of this hypothesis were the relations that Athenians maintained with Egypt after the Median wars.² Perhaps it is proper to explain in the same manner the head of the negro on vases of perfumes. It would thus have indicated the origin of the merchandize which these vases enclosed. Flasks so characterized were found in Italy as well as in Greece.

Note 2.p.752. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. X. p.802-804.

Note 1.p.753. Besides the example from Athens with the name of Leagros, I find also mentioned two other examples of this negro head in the museum of Berlin. One came from Xola and the other from Athens. Furtwängler. Beschreibung. Nos. 2203, 2204.

This manufacture is continued by vases in which must be recognized rather vases for drinking;² They terminate in a little skyphos that bears an Bacchic subject (Fig. 407). The execution is late and negligent; the white retouches there date from the time of Hiero and Brygos. Below the painted surface is a great head of Hercules modeled in relief. The hair and beard form a black mass partly covered by the open jaws of a lion's head. A cushion painted red represents the interior of the mouth. Points of white color are enhanced by a more vivid red tone and imitate the pointed teeth of the animal, forming a crown around the face of the hero. The skin of the lion is rendered by scattered points, indents and little bands on the tone of the clay, falling at both sides of the head; it is knotted about the neck by means of the two paws. In all this mask is a seeking for effect in which is felt no longer the simplicity

of archaic art. Likewise for the woman's head that forms the reverse of the head of Hercules. This is like a recent enlargement of the isolated female head (Fig. 406); the face has a roundness that does not suffice to explain the rather unskilful restorations suffered by the head. The introduction of the head of Hercules on a drinking vase is further very natural. The type of Hercules, a great drinker, was popular in the 5th century; it gave rise to a number of satiric dramas or comedies. The female head is not named; it had long been a current decoration for this kind of vase.

Note 2.p.753. Pottier. p. 150-152.

To the same epoch, and perhaps of one still later, belongs a last vase of the Louvre, also double. One side is formed of a great mask of Silenus with ears erect, eyes opened under great eyebrows, mouth open and sneering with a fan-shaped beard.¹ The woman's head opposite it is reproduced in a softer and more advanced style than the type of the preceding vase. The hair is more irregularly massed in a double series of little projections, eyebrows are more arched, the black eyes are larger and the nose is finer and slightly turned up at the end, the mouth is more plump, the face is coquettish and alive, revealing a change made under the influence of sculpture in vogue during the second half of the 5th century. The white retouches and the little garland on the mouth also serve as an indication of the date to be adopted.

Note 1.p.754. Pottier. p. 152-153, Plate XIV.

This type of vase is very well known and is represented by numerous examples, either of the female head alone, or of the woman's head attached to that of a negro, a Hercules or a Silenus. It was applied to two purposes. Sometimes with a very narrow neck and little handles fixed against it, it served to contain perfumes. There was equivalent to the Corinthian aryballos the Attic form of this vase, a more elegant shape, which suggesting all sorts of piquant designs lent itself better to decoration.¹ It was sometimes utilized to vary the appearance of cups that loaded the table at the feast. Its upper part was enlarged into an ample skyphos, that allowed seizing conveniently the two handles very far apart, which at the same time adhered to the vase proper and to the head which it surmounted.

It appeared to me useless to seek to give names to the persons here represented, to speak of Alpheus and of Arethusa in regard to a vase of the Louvre.² It is natural that beside a Hercules is found the Silenus who personifies wine; consequently the woman joined to him as a parricida must be connected with the Dionysiac cortege, with the Nymphs and Menads.

Note 1.p.755. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Pls. 302, 303, 307, 315, 319, 321, 333.

Note 2.p.755. Bayet and Collignon. p. 281, Plg. 99.

The museums of Europe possess vases that are the exact replicas of other pieces preserved elsewhere.³ This is a proof of the somewhat mechanical fashion in which were fabricated these potterys. The artist intervened only for the production of the mould; that being once made, an indefinite number of proofs could be taken from it. There would be no other difference between them than in the coloring of the face and in the small amount of painting that composed the decoration of the upper part of the vase. For the rest is the uniformity of the work. For the rest is the uniformity of the mask. On the contrary, the painted vase never repeats itself. When they left the same workshop, they may resemble each other very much; but there is always something to distinguish them: each of them is in some fashion an original work; The two industries, that of the modeler and that of the maker and the painter of the vases, borrowed too much their technical procedures not to have many points of contact; but they appear not to be entirely confounded.

Note 3.p.755. The museum of Berlin counts two vases, that reproduce in the least details a vase of the Louvre (Furtwängler. *Beschreibung*. Nos. 4044, 4045; Pottier, p.152; Pl. XIV, 1, 2).

One adheres closely to the shaping of figurines of terra cotta, which assumes the use of the modeling tool and moulds. The other retains its independence; it was more disposed to avoid repetitions. This is what decided the making of a separate list of those artists called plastai, charinos, Procles and Kalliaides.⁴ There has been found an analogy between the woman's head on which is inscribed the name of Epilycos (Fig. 405) and the same head signed by Procles. There has even been compared the anonymous head (Plate XXIII) and that moulded by Charinos on a vase from Corneto. Charinos also signed a very insignificant

jar in London.¹ Kalliades appears to have been the potter of the vase painted by Douris, and that represents Eos carrying the corpse of Memnon (Pl. XI); but the name of Kalliades on the head of a satyr remains doubtful.² It is "no less demonstrated by the example of Charinos, that the potters engaged in supplying the marked aryballas and drinking vases in the form of human heads could also produce painted vases. That of these little vases was a secondary fabrication, which did not suffice to occupy a workshop. We are able to conclude from the examination of several vases, that it was prolonged during the course of the century; the needs and tastes satisfied were permanent.

Note 4.p.755. Klein. *Gle griechischen Vasen*, etc. p. 214-216.

Note 1.p.756. The same. p. 215.

Note 2.p.756. The same. p. 180, 216.

At the same time, as one becomes farther from the archaic period, the forms become more supple. They lend themselves to varied combinations in which the part of the modeler assumes increasing importance. Because of the style of the figure, men also must attribute to the 6th century the surprise vases of Corinthian origin and found in Boeotia, which served to amuse the guests at the feast;³ but a different character is presented by the numerous vases like the winged sphinx and crowned with flowers, like those busts of Aphrodite with the shell and Aphrodite seated on the knees of Adonis.⁵ The neck everywhere is added above the head of the goddess or indeed surmounts the entire composition, serves only to give it a freer and more slender appearance. It has been asked if these delicate and fragile vases could serve to contain perfumes. I freely believe that they contained nothing at all; like our ornamental silverware, they merely served to decorate the banquet table. What seems to prove this is, that on a charming terra cotta of the Louvre is found the same motive, a seated Aphrodite with her knees folded beneath her in a large shell.⁶ With the constant intention manifested to exhibit female nudity under its various aspects and its voluptuous forms, these figures always bear the stamp of the art of the 4th century. These are terra cottas that leave the workshop of the coroplate and have scarcely anything to do with the art of the painter of vases.

Note 3.p.756. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. IX. Fig. 170.

Note 4.p.758. Histoire de l'Art. Vol. IX. Plg. 172.

Note 5.p.758. Rayet-Collignon. Histoire, etc. Plgs. 103,105.

Note 8.p.758. Jamot. Venus a la coquille, etc. (Mons. et Mems. Vol. XI. p. 171-184; Pl. XXI).

Note 1.p.757. The history of this fabrication has been very well studied by M. L. Sechan in a *Memoir* entitled: - Leda et le cygne, etc. (Revue Arch. 4 th series. Vol. XX. p. 108-128). M. Sechan has added to this study a catalogue that mentions 57 pieces belonging to this series.

However, here is a vase that can be dated from the preceding century. It shows us Attic art orientated in the direction that it will take in a more decided manner in the following century, the ceramic painter aiding to decorate the vase, and the latter retaining its character in even its complex form.² It consists of a rhyton and the figure of a winged sphynx at rest beside the rhyton. there is an entire scene painted on the neck of the rhyton, and two detached figures are visible at the bottom between the paws of the animal (Plate XXV). The body of the sphynx, its face and wings, are painted white. The hair pore traces of gilding on the brow; the rest of the hair is enclosed in a vermilion cap on which are traced beautiful zigzag lines entirely in white. The gilding is also found on three Gorgon's heads that form a necklace on the chest. Some touches of yellow tint the feathers of the wings and are drawn on the chest.

Note 2.p.757. This vase was described in Jour. Hell. Studies, Vol. III, 1887, by Murray. A rhyton in form of a sphynx (p. 1-5). We reproduce the two plates accompanying his description (Plates LXXI, LXXIII). It had been mentioned at the time of its discovery in the Bullettino of 1872 by Helbig. Scavi di Capua. Hartwig had again recommended it to the attention some years later, finding it in the British Museum, which had purchased it from Castellani. One can compare it to a fragment of a great vase with reliefs brought from Susa by Morgan, on which is read the name of Sotades; two pieces of it remain, a foot of a horse and a wounded Amazon, with the rump of the horse. The name of Sotades would date it. Comptes rendus. 1902. p.428. Florilegium of Vogue, p. 505-508.

let us begin the examination of the painted decoration of the neck. There can be no doubt on the subject; this is an Attic

legend, that of the birth of Erichthonios, who is placed in the scene (Fig. 408). The infant had been restored to Cecrops; it is necessary to recognize him in the person whose body terminates in the coils and tail of the serpent; it is the Kekropsa speirasia ellissonta of Euripides.³ He holds the sceptre and a Nike offers him a libation. Before him are his three daughters, to whom he has confided the secret; but two of them, Aglauros and Herse have yielded to curiosity and have opened the basket; they have seen a serpent coiled around the members of the infant. Seized with terror, they have gone to cast themselves from the top of the walls of the Acropolis, where these were highest. It is necessary to recognize the two affrighted sisters in the two women in the suite of the Nike. Both run, the first with a great gesture with both arms, that seems to say;— "Here is what I have seen," and the other accompanying her; wrapped in her clothing, she is scarcely able to rouse from that stupor into which that news plunged her. In the sequence of the image one is present at another moment of the drama. Erichthonios has left the mystic basket. He is seated on the stone on the Acropolis; his head is still half concealed beneath the swaddling clothes that covered him in the basket. Before him, grave and calm, stands that one of his nurses who has remained faithful to the oath given; she has a sceptre in hand. There is no anxiety for the absence of unity. The painter has held to reunite the persons of the Attic legend. Cecrops receives the congratulations of the Nike, as if he had entirely succeeded in safely guarding the mystery of this birth. Erichthonios has left his basket and sits opposite Pandrosos. But on the other side of the Nike, Herse and Aglauros will yield to the fright that has struck them; they represent the punishment of disobedience to the order of the gods.

Note 3.p.757. Euripides. Ion. Verse 1183.

Note 1.p.758. Apollodorus. III. 14. 8-5. Pausanias. I. 13,2. Apollodorus adds to the tale of Pausanias the explanation of the presence of the serpent near Erichthonios, to make understood the panic terror that possessed the two sisters.

The satyr armed with his club (Fig. 409) and the female figure forming a pendant to him (Fig. 410) have no other object here, than to fill the space left uncovered by the sphynx. These are simple ornamental figures.

If one now seeks to determine the age of the group formed by the sphynx and the vase to which it is attached, he must take into account the two elements. In the pose of the sphynx, all that have spoken of this piece agree in recognizing a severity that touches on archaism. But these figures painted on the rhyton are particularly significant. They indeed have the attractions of full liberty by the entirety of the drawing; but one will note that the eye is not frankly placed in the profile. As on the cup of Douris, it assumes the form of a little round, a form that it also has on certain cups by Erygos. This is the last mark of archaism, which will only disappear on the vases of the end of the century.

Finally, if we consult the finds made in the tomb in which was collected the group in question, we find that there were exhumed in the same interment only two signed vases; one bears the signature of Hiero and the other that of Erygos. The latter is the vase of the satyrs, who under the eyes of Dionysos attacked Iris and Hera.¹ Is it not permitted to derive from that a probable conclusion? Is there not reason to suppose that these monuments found together are contemporary? In this tomb a rich Campanian had placed the products of the most recent art of Athens, deposited at the time on the market of Nola.

Note 1. p. 759. *Histoire de l'Art*. Vol. X. p. 580-585; Figs. 322-323.

All then combines to authorize us to fix the date of fabrication of our vases at about the middle of the century, in the vicinity of 460. It has been recognized that there is no example of black figures on pieces similar to this. This mixture of forms would have begun only after the revolution made in the system of decoration, and also many monuments to be cited will not be found to which could be attributed the age of our vase. The ceramic painter still retains the traditions of the masters and these suffice for him. Sculpture remains applied to great ornamental entreties, at most to serious subjects, such as religious and clothed statues. It is otherwise in the 4th century. The painter of vases still produces much; but he has lost his originality, he is lowered, he particularly recurs to these little objects decorated by gilding. On the other hand, the art of the sculptor places at the disposal of

makers of terracotta pleasing models, that show female beauty under the most attractive aspects. The Aphrodite in particular is nude, seductive and smiling. The modelers of clay are charged with furnishing to the luxury of society at Athens, in Italy, on the Bosphorus, pieces that amuse the eye and excite curiosity, and to develop it possess themselves of an invention, that had some success in the preceding century. They combine in the same article the type of vase and the female statuette; but they cease to give it a painted decoration, as their predecessors did. The article pleases, and there is an entire series of sculptured vases, on which figurines are ingeniously camped, to speak properly. The form of the vase is no more than a pretext for varying the motive, a sphynx crowned with flowers, a female statuette leaving a shell, or joined with an ephebe holding her in his arms.

Chapter XXX. Methods of Work of the Ceramic Painters and their Relations of their Art to Grand Painting.

If from the point at which we have arrived a glance is cast backward, if to measure the route passed over, one places himself successively before a cup of Epictetos and one of Brygos, he is tempted to doubt the chronology which he thought to be established on a solid basis. There is difficulty in believing, so many differences are noted between these vases, that during the brief duration of a human life of 50 or 60 years, the ceramic painters could so modify and enlarge their style; but to explain the rapidity of this progress, it suffices to glance at the entire history of the arts of design. In the evolution of sculpture there is such a short period, a certain half century in which the years count double, when a single generation of artists, served and sustained by the long preparatory labor, whose results they had acquired, seem to do more during that brief time that occupied the stage, than their predecessors had done in a century or two. The life of the masters who flourished in this end of the spring, in those first days of radiant summer, present a curious phenomenon. Between the works of their beginning and that of their maturity, there is such a marked distance, that were it not for the constraint of the written evidence, one would be tempted to attribute the two groups of works to two different artists. This makes it easy to prove by more than one example borrowed from the history of the Italian Renaissance. There is Raphael among others. Suppose that he had not signed his canvases, that we possessed neither Vasari nor other contemporary documents, what critic by the simple inspection of the paintings would be able to recognize in the prophets and sybils of S. Maria in Pace at Rome, a work of the author of the little paintings like those of Perugino executed at Urbino and at Perugia, or even the Belle Jardinier of the Louvre?

In painting as in sculpture, progress is accomplished in the same sense, and has been obtained by the same effort. When there is aroused in man the desire to reproduce the living form, and he commences to try this, he inclines to represent at the very first as he remembers it, according to its characteristic traits that have struck him most strongly. The primitive draft-

draftsman does not represent the form that he sees ; what strikes him is what he knows of it by his everyday experience. Two examples will suffice. For this artist at his beginnings, the body of a man is defined by the width of the torso, which is displayed in all its breadth with the attachment of both arms at the shoulder, with the robust projection of the two pectoral muscles, and with the white line that divides the abdomen into two equal parts. It is the same for the eye. When it is seen in front view and entirely open from the nose to the temple, with its dark iris detached in its roundness on the whiteness of the ball, the glance of the observer measures its dimensions, seizes its color and best appreciates its expression.

At the same time, from his primitive attempts in imitation, man is aided by the aspect of the shadow cast on a surface, when like a wall the body is interposed between the sun and this screen. If this body faces the wall, it gives only a confused mass on the surface. On the contrary, if it presents itself sidewise to the illuminating ray, if the legs are detached from each other in the attitude of walking, and the arms extend before the bust, the cast shadow designs a silhouette which details the forms, and preserves to the profile of the face its individual character.

The method taken by the painter at the origin on the images that he undertakes to trace was the result of a sort of compromise.¹ On the one hand, he had the suggestions of the visual memory, the impression that this had retained of the principal lines of the form. On the other hand, were the data furnished to this novice by the convenient process of transfer or of reduction of the silhouettes created by the cast shadow. This caused him to take the habit of adopting the profile view for the entire figure and the members; but with their opacity these silhouettes suppress the eye, whose existence is recalled only by the projection of the arch of the eyebrow. To render this organ which illuminates the entire face, the painter resumed all his freedom. Thus left to himself, he could only yield to the temptation of representing the eye as his internal vision recalled it; he drew it as seen in front view with all its opening and all its length from the nose to the temple.

Likewise for the torso. In the lateral view it is as if compressed; only the edge is perceived, and its power is not measured. The painter did not know how to solve this sacrifice. Without caring for the incoherence into which it ended, he will insert a torso shown in its full development between a head and legs presented in profile.

Note 1.p.762. Pottier. *Le dessin par ombre chez les grecs.* (*Revue des études grecques.* 1898. p. 458). We have added some examples to those given by Pottier and Delillard of the inversions, of the bizarre appearing results from the use of the procedure. p. 347-351, Fig. 158.

This entirely arbitrary mixture of partial forms that do not accord together, these additions and connections that impressions engraved in the memory introduce in the image, whose contours were taken from cast shadows, this is what occupied all the activity of the ceramic painters of the black figure and of the first that devoted themselves to the red figure; but soon the adepts of the new profession begin to realize the defects of this mode of drawing practised until then. As the architects said, this drawing was a variety of geometric drawing, very imperfect, and which for the representation of the body arbitrarily combined data from different sources, irrecuncilable by definition. Men came to recognize that these conventional traces corresponded to the reality. When the artist had before him bodies engaged in any action that connected them together, these bodies and their heads scarcely presenting themselves to his view in that typical attitude to which he had reduced the elements of the form by an entirely instinctive process of abstraction. In the mobile groups that he considers, it is only exceptionally that bodies and faces show themselves to him in pure profile or front view, cut in their entire height by a vertical axis, at the left and right of which the organs are all equally visible and are symmetrically distributed. Most of these bodies would appear to him at different degrees in the category of what are called three quarter views, by reason of the diversity of the angles at which they are perceived, in positions which vary more or less from the front or profile view. Their members were elongated or bent to accomplish the effort required from them. By the effect of this extension or bending, the front portion of the member came to cover the

rear portion and conceal it from the eye of the spectator. The latter might find himself so placed that on a bent or extended arm he perceived only the forearm or the hand and wrist. It was the same for the wrist. Then the figure is seen in perspective. This summarizes and abridges the form. These understood things and these abbreviations that he imposes, are what are termed foreshortenings in the language of the studio.

To pass from the geometric view to the perspective view, or better said, from the entirely conventional image that gives the impression of an exact image of the living form, seized in the fire of movement, such was the ambition of the decorators of clay after the generation of artists personified by Euphronios. We have followed these intelligent and industrious workmen hour by hour in the pains that they took, to shake off the yoke of traditional conventions and to attain the conquest of that sovereign freedom in drawing, no longer embarrassed by the transcription of any movement, however complicated it might be. Of the painters that we have named, there is scarcely one to whom should not be credited the merit of having given the example of some new difficulty conquered; but the one that knew best how to profit by all the preceding work, and to reach the aim so long seen, was that Brygos whose works close the series of the so-called vases of the severe style.

Note 1.p.784. J. Berchmans. *L'esprit decoratif dans la ceramique grecque a figures rouges* (Extrait des Annales de la Societe d'archaeologie de Bruxelles. Pl. XXIII, first and second parts, p. 38). M. Berchmans has studied with much penetration the procedures of drawing of the ceramic painters of Athens, and has applied them by the aid of numerous sketches borrowed from the vases. Much will be learned in his work.

One orients himself in another sense; the painters have sought before all the correctness of the external contour, or the revealing bend of the movement. Most of those movements are exaggerated; they are treated with much understanding of the dynamic character, that they exceed the truth itself. They appear true and possible only by the marvellous equilibrium that the artists have known how to preserve to them; but in reality in the sense indicated by nature, they go farther than nature itself. It is easy to show by numerous examples taken from the

nearest vase, what is the decorative spirit of Greek vases and in what it consists. At all epochs of Greek ceramics, the silhouettes of the figures, the drawing of the contours, were the care of artists and the great affair, so to speak. The internal muscles are often sacrificed and are frequently incorrect. (Vignette at end of the chapter); but it matters little, what the painter devoted himself to is the line of the external contour, a first trace by a rapid line placed in a breath, so to speak. "Convention and truth, one will never forget that the drawing of the Greeks was impressed by these two apparently contradictory characteristics, when it was most original and most beautiful." 1

Note 1. p. 765. Berchmans. *L'esprit decoratif*, etc. p. 41.

In the work of Brygos, which comprises too few pieces to our great regret, there remain only some almost imperceptible vestiges of constraints and deformations of former times, to discover them it is necessary to seek them among figures whose contour has a perfect ease and correctness. This slight perfume of archaism, far from obscuring the delicate amateur and cooling his admiration, makes it still more vivid. That increases there the esteem which he cannot prevent experiencing for the artist, who could attain this sureness of hand and this purity of lines only at the cost of brave and personal effort. In the vases of the following period, in those termed the vases of the free style are more inaccuracies; but one has the feeling that if the painter draws so well, there is no great merit in it; he has found solved all the problems of the accurate representation of forms and of placing them in perspective. The solutions were furnished to him by the instruction that he received in the workshop, and to lavish happy arrangements and beautiful movements, he only had to copy the models offered to him in the parts, in the paintings of Polygnotos as in the sculptures of the Parthenon. For a stronger reason the same connoisseur will be more freely interested in the successes and even in the partial failures of the artists of the ending 6th and beginning 5th centuries, than in the works of those of the 4th century, with their flowing style, the easy correction of their drawing which is not exempt from the commonplace. Although before there were academies, art had suffered

from the evil that in our time is termed academism.

This touching sincerity and this perseverance of effort among the painters of the red figure, nothing gives a more just idea than the painting drawn from the vases of the Louvre, that causes one to comprehend what a series of graded approximations, that come from showing the front eye in a profile face to the eye see in profile, as presented in a modern drawing (Fig. 201).¹ "Similar to a lens the eye first comprises a great black point, that fills the field or touches only one of the lids (Nos. 1-4). Then it takes a less regular form, the lines of the eyelids swelling at the centre and thinning toward the tear duct, the pupil frequently represented by a little circle marked at the centre by a black point.(Nos. 7-11). This pupil tends to approach more and more the internal angle of the eye, which is a step toward the true position of the profile (Nos. 8-20). A curious trait of realism, familiar to the workshops of Phintias, Euthymides and Euphronios, is the presence of eyelashes indicated all around the eye (Nos. 20-22). Finally the eye opens from the side of the nose (No. 21 and the following). This decisive phase is well prepared by Erygos, who frequently draws the eye in a triangle (No. 23). To draw the eye correctly, it only remains to suppress the little vertical line that closes the eye in front (Nos. 24-29). The definite progress will consist in introducing in the entirety rigid black lines, in establishing the contrast between the thinness of the lower eyelid and the swelling of the upper portion under the eyebrow arch. Finally is placed the closed eye of a corpse (No. 30)."² One follows likewise in that series of vases and can represent in the same fashion by another comparative table the progressive improvement in the drawing of the ear (Fig. 202).³

Note 1.p.788. We shall recall for the reader who desires to study the originals, indicated by the numbers in parentheses, that the figure often presents the drawing turned over, so that all the eyes may be turned in the same direction. In reality some of these eyes are turned from left to right (Catalogue,p.352).

Note 2.p.788. The same. p. 858.

Note 3.p.788. The same. p. 859.

It has been asked to what point is it proper to attribute to the activity of the ceramic painters themselves the principal

honor of progress, like that just mentioned. What borrowings have these artists made from monumental painting, and in what measure did they depend on it, both for the choice of subjects and for the procedures of execution, as for the quality of the fabrication? In what they have attempted and what they have accomplished, what part should be assigned to their initiative? All historians of Greek art have proposed these questions to themselves; but all must have recognized that it did not admit of one of those answers that close the debate. To arrive at certainty, it would be necessary for us to compare these paintings on clay with some of the paintings on plaster or on wood, that contemporaneous masters gave as decoration to the temples and the porticos of the cities of Greece; but we know only the names of those masters. All their works have disappeared without return. This comparison which would relieve us from doubt, it is impossible to make; there is lacking to us one of the two terms of the comparison.

In these conditions, the paintings of the vases are the only witnesses that we can interrogate. By the themes that they treat and by the procedures of composition applied to them, they are alone able to throw some light on the nature of the relation that we attempt to explain.

Here is a primary fact, which it is important to take into great account. In the decoration by which they covered their vases, Attic ceramists borrowed a very large part of the subjects from the daily life of the Athenian people, such as the scenes from the palestra and the banquet, reunions and eromenes, musical concerts, songs and dances, warlike exercises, women bathing, etc. Is there reason to think that the ceramists found models for paintings of this sort in the works of the painters preceding them or contemporary? On what themes were trained Eumares of Athens and Cimon of Cleones, whose innovations and examples could not fail to be beneficial, to the first by the decorations with the black figure, and for the second by those of the red figure? We do not know; but in the little that we do know of painting before Polygnotos, there is only a question of paintings whose subject was taken from history or myth. There was a battle of the Magnesians painted by Boularchos; the passage of the Bosphorus, that Mandrocles had

represented at Samos. A taking of Troy and a birth of Athena were shown in a sanctuary near Olympia and were attributed to Cleanthes of Corinth. For public edifices and for those consecrated to religion labored the masters of the first age of painting; why did they give them as decorations the figures of drunkards and courtesans, or even details of the various work of the gymnasiums, the gayeties of the shower bath taken in by ephebes or young girls, the preparations of the toilette and the tricks of female coquetry in the chambers of the gynecium. What the Greeks loved to find and to consider in the painted decoration as in all sculptured ornamentation of those monuments, which they did not enter without respectful emotion was sometimes, as in the Stoa Poikile of Athens, the representation of the exploits of their ancestors; it was most frequently that of the gods and heros, patrons of the city, of those gods and heros engaged in some of those marvellous adventures, whose recital formed the web of the national epics. If the brush would present to the Athenians, as if reflected in a faithful mirror, the image of the sports to which they devoted their youth, the tumults and joys of the feast or the pleasures of love, it had to seek other fields to give them these spectacles. The place of these paintings was on the vases that furnished the hall of the repast, and especially on the cup which passed from hand to hand while there resounded the Bacchic songs, on the cup filled for guests with noisy gayety, adviser to drunkenness and excuse for excess.

For these paintings whose realism sometimes went to obscenity (all our galleries of vases are required to have their reserve or secret chamber), the ceramic painters must have scarcely found aid in the works of the historical painters. They could take lessons in drawing; but with that exception for the execution of a painting of that kind, they must count only on what they had seen around them, on what their memory had retained on the wing, or on what their pencil had noted in rapid sketches of the attitudes of groups seen in the street, in the apartment of the women, at the bath or the gymnasium, among the tables and couches of those banquets, where as proved by the example of Smicros these artists were not least impressed. For all that part of the work, they depended only on themselves.

on their own imagination. Doubtless they found the advantage of being thus aroused to the observation and interpretation of nature, as well as to an effort of invention; but this freedom which they enjoyed in such a case did not fail to have also its perils and its inconveniences. For those of their paintings with subjects taken from mythology, the ceramists had models in the grand pages of monumental painting. Even when they seemed to depend least on these, when these episodes of the legend other than those which had been shown in the paintings under their eyes, all were at least inspired by the beautiful arrangement of the entireties offered to them by the works of the masters of fresco; they learned there to group persons and to compose.

It was not the same for familiar scenes. There were more examples that formed authority, which would aid the decorator in disposing his figures and regulating the movements. There resulted for the latter an embarrassment frequently betrayed by paintings of this sort. The composition is there usually colder and arranged less well than in paintings of heroic and religious history. "The painter contents himself very frequently with isolated with isolated figures, as in the bottom of cups. On the outside he groups persons, drinkers, singers, athletes and soldiers, without seeking to unite them by a visible bond. There must also one place without peer the works of some artists beyond comparison such as Euphronios. For example, we mention the signed cup that represents a komos,¹ or again the cup of the dispute between drinkers, which it has been desired to attribute to Euphronios.² Those are the masterly works that in the science of composition equal the most beautiful paintings of mythical character, but frequently in works of that species, the persons are aligned with monotonous uniformity."³ The cup of Euphronios is signed by him as potter. The inscriptions in the interior of the cup are Euphronios epopiesen (sic) and kalos o pais, on the outside being Panaitios kalos, once with the sigma with three branches and once with the sigma with four. The image in the interior represents two persons, a flute player and a dancer in motion. The proportions are rather slender; the figures are about seven heads high, which is normal (Fig. 411). The composition on the exterior displays a sort of round;

there are eleven drinkers, six on one side and five on the other, all faced in the same direction, celebrating the end of the feast with cups, lyres and flutes (Fig. 412, 413). Two dogs accompany them. There is a sensible symmetry, that has already been noted in the preceding works of Euphronios, between the figures of the round and the groups that they form. There is here a rhythm. These persons appear to yield themselves to irregular movements, and yet one feels a secret correspondence between their members. Arms and legs do not intermingle by chance; they attract and respond to each other. Here is "something of this artistic feeling for forms that is manifested on the pediments of the Parthenon, and that makes of them groups of the most perfect sculpture, that the world has known." ¹

Note 1.p.770. Van Branteghem. Catalogue of objects of Greek ceramic art exhibited in 1888; Catalogue des monuments artistiques, vases peints, terres cuites. Pls. 10-14; Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Pl. 47.

Note 2.p.770. Hartwig. Meisterschalen. Pl. 19.

Note 3.p.770. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 838.

Note 1.p.771. Hartwig. Text. p. 485.

One will note the individual character of the heads; he would say as much of the portraits. The nose does not continue the brow in a straight line, as in what it is agreed to call the profile. In most figures they are separated by a very apparent hollow, beyond which it is pronounced, very thick and short at the end. There is even one head where it has all the appearance of the face of a drunkard; if color played a part here, it would have a wine color. This is for the person who is staggering and ready to fall to the ground, but to support himself snatches at the lyre firmly held by his comrade. In these faces the eye concurs in the expression. Let the great round eye of this person be compared to that of the bearer of the lyre. He that has arrived at the last degree of drunkenness rolls a staring eye, while the other that has retained his coolness regards his partner with rather a mocking air. These are indeed Athenians, that the painter of vases has observed and seized when leaving a feast.¹

Note 1.p.772. In the first mention ~~he~~ made of this cup, I treated "as slightly commonplace" the images of this cratera.

(p. 435). I had not examined with sufficient care; I hold to correcting that error.

The drapery is indicated with some negligence, but with accuracy. With Euphronios it is observed that it is not at the extreme of the nude. Still here is a sensible advance from the first works of the master, it commences in this painting to adapt itself with a certain flexibility to the body that it envelops.

The representation of these scenes: of drunkenness assumes a character more realistic than on the cup of S. Petersburg. It had been first compared to the cup of Wurzburg, where Brygos in a similar scene had placed a similar group inside the cup; (Fig. 325); but it seems that it was at Athens the ordinary ending of the many feasts. Further, the painting of Brygos has not the same brutality at all as here; all passes with decency; save the episode of the stomach that relieves itself, which shocked nobody at Athens, one is among well mannered people (Figs. 326, 327). Finally, and this is particularly the mode of clothing the figures that differs. With Brygos, the drapery follows the outlines and movements of the body; he traced separately all its folds. Here the drapery is cast on the arm or shoulder of the person and is merely an accessory and of no great importance; even for the woman, the only person of that sex that appears in this painting, the artist has restricted himself to representing by some lines traced in haste the tunic and mantle which cover her. It is entirely the same summary procedure as on the cup signed by Euphronios. Thus we do not doubt that it is necessary to attribute it also to the workshop of Euphronios, although it bears no inscription other than *o pais kalos*. The care for the flutes suspended in the field of the two parts forms another resemblance (Fig. 414).

The exterior further represents entirely a different thing from the procession by which ended the feasts given by the city; (Figs. 415, 416); what it appears to represent is a brawl among Athenians on the public way; this is indicated by an olive tree. None is sober, they come from a place where they led a joyous life. We are informed of this by the presence of the female flute player, who teases two of her companions, and the basket of provisions borne by a young man. The painter desired rather to take for the subject of his painting a rustic part, such as

the Dionysiacs of Brauron. This was not the best society of Athens that frequented them; it is very probable that the gaiety of the repast there degenerated into fights, that ended in the country. Thus without improbability, we might call this painting:— "the return of the Brauronians."¹ It is a fact that no other painting presents to us a picture as bold with the habitual coarseness of the common people abandoning themselves without restraint to the violence of all their instincts, loosened by wine. That makes one think of the Flemish masters, of the kermesses of Rubens and of Teniers. The artist adheres to showing his persons as they are with the ugliness of their contracted faces, with their traits of vulgar expression. No Greek profile. Some have great and short noses, even more than on the Van Branteghed cup. This is almost caricature.

Note 1.p.774. Hartwig, insisting on the character of this painting, proposes this name (Text, p. 473). Aristophanes in Peace (verse 454) alludes to this rural feast. A gloss of Suidas (I, p. 454) gives us this note (Greek).

On the other hand, the artist excels in painting the movements of all these bodies affected by passionate action. One will note the persons seen from behind. The group that forms the centre of the picture is particularly curious. The assailant strikes with his sandal his adversary beaten down at his feet; the latter avenges himself by an attack which Aristophanes in his *Plutus* most clearly characterizes.¹ On the whole, all actors in this scene have come to a point, where one no longer knows why his head is broken, why his nose bleeds, who is his friend and who is his enemy. The crowns that enclosed their brows have fallen on their shoulders and hang untied. It is remarkable that symmetry persists in the representation of this brawl; each group frankly separates from its neighbors. Euphronios knew without effort, how to retain the feeling of rhythm that we have indicated in his works.

Note 1.p.775. It results from the text of Aristophanes (*Plutus*, verse 955), that there was an unfair attack, practised only among the lowest people.

This painting is interesting from another point of view. The heads are expressive, the painter has not allowed gestures alone to express the feelings of rage that animate the combatants.

For example, see the man whose adversary seizes him by the waist, his face in front view corresponds very well to the movement of powerless rage, that makes him carry his arm above his head (Fig. 415). Likewise in the group of the overthrown person, his nose bleeds and he seems to suffer painfully, as cruel as his vengeance. The lips of all these persons are separated; they utter cries of anger, that we believe we hear. This is indeed the work of the painter who painted the Anteus of the cup of the Louvre. On the cup of Sosias, Patroclus allows to appear on his face a lively sorrow, while Achilles expresses an intention not to make his victim suffer unnecessarily (Fig. 285). There are also some expressive heads of Brygos; but it is particularly by the movements of the body, by the gestures, that painters later than Euphronios have succeeded in expressing the feelings of the persons which they use. It seems that no painter has desired to carry as far as Euphronios the modeling of the face, and has not counted on it so much to make apparent all the movements of the soul.

We have emphasized these paintings because they represent, with some others, a realistic vein that did not persist in ancient art. The representations of the palestra and of the komos in being multiplied, also ended in taking a certain uniformity with Hiero, Douris and Brygos. The ceremonial of these courteous contests and of these customary feasts is fixed by tradition. When the painters treat these subjects, they henceforth seek effect and success in the happy balancing of the groups, in the novelty and beauty of the movements, they do not occupy themselves in giving an individual expression to the faces. Euphronios had been present at many popular scenes; he renders them as a faithful artist, who desires to embellish nothing, who is frankly interested in these vulgar faces that relax in the happy smile of drunkenness, or are exasperated in the confused brawl of a combat, which none know why it occurred. With Euphronios, we have the thing seen, the tale.¹

Note 1. p. 778. We should like to cite the cup of Munich, that also bears the name of Panaetios (Arch. Zeit. pl. XIV. It has not been accurately published, the heads of the exterior are all restored (Hartwig., p. 462). It is also that the persons seem to us much less connected together; they concern less our demonstration.

Again to the credit of the artist, for his imagination and taste, it is proper to carry the ornamental part of the decoration of his pattern, figures and fictitious beings, of wild beasts and birds, hunts and files of racing cavaliers, frets and scrolls and palmetums, garlands of flowers and of leaves. The use of certain motives here recalled, could have been suggested by the designs of those oriental fabrics, hangings and rugs, that from Hæmeric times, Phœnicians and Lydians imported into Greece; but other motives seem to have belonged properly to the Greek ornamentist. Whatever the source of each element entering into those entires, the ornamentist always knew how to bend to the forms of the moulded clay the motives created by the weaver and embroiderer, to place them in harmony with the character of the paintings for which they served as frames, and to ally them with those born from the genius of their race. There again in the work of adaptation and fusion, it made proof of singular ingenuity, and a mind truly inventive and very fertile in resources.

There are indeed vases, sometimes of the first order, that do not owe to the sole talent of the ceramist all that they possess of beauty, the theme and the figures of their paintings as well as the ornaments which enclose them. The masters of fresco collaborated there only in a very indirect fashion in the result obtained; but the case was the same when the decorator of the clay demanded from the repertory of national and local myths the subject of his paintings. Those myths with which poetry had familiarized them from infancy, the Greeks loved to see them everywhere recalled by the arts of design. Now the great vases such as crateras, amphoras and hydrias, offered to the brush of the ceramist spacious fields, that lent themselves very well to the figured expression of all these related beauties. the cup itself did not object to adopt this sort of images, for the little which in examples of choice and luxury, it enlarged its sides beyond ordinary proportions. For this sort of paintings, the ceramist only had to look about himself. Either in the edifices of his native city, or in those visited on the occasion of those Panhellenic festivals in which he was present at Corinth and at Nemea, at Delphi and Olympia, he admired the masterpieces of monumental painting, in those he found

models by which he could not fail to be inspired. The difficulty is to know what he took for those models and what he left, what independence he retained in the imitation.

When this question is proposed, to reply otherwise than by airy hypotheses, there is first to take a great account of the habits of the Greek artist, in so much as they are explained by the character of the tools at his disposal. This artist did not know the processes of mechanical reproduction that moderns employ currently, even before the invention of photography. He was ignorant of engraving that by the contact of the plate with the paper gives hundreds of copies of a painting, all alike each other. For sculpture he did not make his moulds in such fashions like our founders, so that they could furnish a great number of identical proofs of a bronze figure, on which the graver had to intervene only for insignificant retouches. His work was a perpetual improvisation. He seemed less tormented by the desire of innovation than the modern artist; he repeated the traditional types without being wearied; but whether he decorated potteries or modeled figurines of terra cotta, in each work that left his hands he introduced some trait, that one would have vainly sought in other works whose fundamental data were the same.

Two apophoras are sensibly the same form and the same dimensions. The paintings have there the same subject and the same frame. From one to another, the execution presents such a resemblance, that it is scarcely possible to avoid regarding the two vases as having left the same workshop. Yet there is no need of very sustained attention to prove that there are differences more or less marked between them in the arrangement of the figures and in the execution. If likewise you survey an entire series of Tanagra statuettes, several of them by their entire pose will leave on you the impression, that they were made with the aid of the same mould; but each of those images will be distinguished from its congeners by some variation, which the work of the modeling tool may have placed there, by a detail of the ornamentation or of the clothing, by the omission or the addition of a certain accessory.

If it did not occur to the mind of the ceramic painter to copy servilely the patterns that he had in his portfolios, nor

to copy his own works, when occasion offered itself to resume a theme that he had already treated, for a stronger reason he must use very freely models supplied to him by great paintings. This was how his inclination tended, his professional education and all the practises of the workshop. Further, had he desired it he would have been strongly prevented from attaining the minute fidelity of a literal transcription. Frescos from which he might be tempted to borrow, covered very large surfaces in the porticos and temples; but the largest vases fashioned by the potter did not offer to the brush fields comparable to those left to him by the entire length of a wall. Those ample pictures of mural painting, our decorator could not think of transferring in all their development to the shoulder and sides of his amphora or on the sides of his cup. Thus he had to detach some figures from those entireties, some groups at most, those that seemed to him most interesting. Like a critic who makes extracts from the work of a poet, and who thus composes an anthology, what he derived from the masterly pages that unrolled before his eyes was a series of selected bits, as men have said.¹

Note 1. p. 779. Pottier. catalogue, p. 837.

These figures and groups of which he took possession, in order to appropriate them, the ceramist had to separate from their surroundings, with which they were connected in the model by the complexity of the composition. He had to adapt them to the requirements of the frame within which his paintings were included. To make this separation and adaptation, he was induced to exert himself, to place his own there. Here was a movement to be modified, so that in spite of the suppressions imposed, the scene should lose nothing of its clarity. To make an opening there, to add an accessory, to insert a figure. This deviation thus produced between the original and the copy, here is what also tended to increase it. With the four or five decided colors that charged his palette, the artist who painted on plaster enjoyed facilities not at the disposal of the artist who painted on clay. The former had to represent in some close action like a combat of warriors or the chase of a wild boar, bodies of men or animals, who pressed against each other and were partly covered, nothing was easier to him than to distinguish

them by a difference in tone. All confusion was thus prevented; but the ceramist did not have this resource, or at least he voluntarily deprived himself of it, after the appearance of the red figure. With the violet and white retouches then so freely used, the painters of the black figures could in such a case get out of the difficulty by varying the tints. (Figs. 3, 79, 115, 139, 150, 154); but all changed when these medleys had passed out of fashion, when men found pleasure only in the simplicity of the figure, that was detached in reserve on a dark ground. Thenceforth the artist had no more than two tones at his command, the local tone of the red or orange clay, the lustrous black of the field from which rose the image, and the more diluted black of the lines of the brush, from which he required the external modeling of the body and the details of the clothing. In these conditions, it became much less easy to entangle the figures without confusing them, to make them pass before each other. A skilful workman did not fail to succeed in that by means of various artifices, when the data of the theme required an arrangement of that kind; thus the light of the nudes was projected on a drapery darkened by the abundance of fine and close folds. There was still a real difficulty for the ceramists. Most of them found it more convenient to isolate their figures, and to obtain that result, they must frequently resolve to decompose too compact groups found in monumental painting.

Like the narrow limitation of the fields, the obligation imposed on the ceramist to content himself with monochrome images caused him to take great liberties with the paintings when he desired to imitate the admiration which they had received. Those famous paintings whose work is lost to us, the ceramist depended on them for the themes which they suggested to him, by the influence of their style exercised on his own, by the movements that they taught him to render, and by the groupings of which they gave him the idea. In this measure could one apply himself to divine and recover a reflection of their mastery in the decoration of clay; but it would be vain and dangerous to seek something more there. It does not appear that any painting of a vase, however careful and beautiful it was, could be regarded as an exact copy of any certain celebrated work of

Eumares or Cleanthes, of Micon or Polygnotus.

Thus all concurs in representing to us those collaborators of the potter as artists of very independent procedures. Prepared by family traditions for the office that they had to fill, they worked from infancy as apprentices at freehand drawing; then the practice had become familiar to them, called to supply the needs of a very active production, they listened to all suggestions, and they took their own wherever they found it. Their curiosity was always aroused and their lively minds drew from everything, from the fictions of poetry, the creations of sculpture, the very varied spectacles presented to them by rural and by urban life. Those decorators were brought up in an atmosphere in which were disseminated the sense and taste for beautiful forms. These presented themselves to their eyes under the most varied aspects, here with the ephebe and the adult man, uncovered in the courts of the palestra and in the arenas where were celebrated the gymnastic games; there with the young girl and the woman, elevated and as if ennobled by the severe elegance of drapery, which followed and accented the inflexions, and concealed the flesh. Better to draw the principal lines of the framework of the body and to render more apparent the rhythm of its movements. The nude itself did not always conceal herself from view of those interested in studying it; the license of feasts gave more than one occasion to expose this entirely to the view of man. We know elsewhere by more than one example, that the courtesans did not have to be begged to pose for the altogether; as men say in the studios, before sculptors and painters.

Note 1.p.781. G. Perrot. De l'étude et de l'usage du modele vivant, etc. (*Memoires d'archaeologie, d'epigraphie et d'histoire*. 1875. p. 3-8).

Aided by these helps, the painters of Ceramicos were always ready to execute the orders given them by the potters for whom they worked. The choice of the subject and the manner of treating it did not cost them long reflections. If they had to represent a scene in real life, they drew from memory or the sketches that they had provided. If they were required to represent some episode of the myths that the cyclic poets and Homer had recited, they were no more embarrassed. Men are mistaken in i

imagining that before tracing their sketch, they went to consult the rolls of papyrus on which were preserved the texts of the Iliad and Odyssey, the Cypriote songs, the little Iliad and the Thebaid. Those texts existed only in rare copies, which they did not have under their eyes; they did not reread them at the moment of commencing work; as would be done today, on such an occasion, a designer charged with working on the illustration of a poem or a romance. One is easily convinced of this by studying this kind of pictures. Among these paintings are but very few, where the painter appears to have had the care to conform scrupulously to the data of the tale from which he took his theme. Here an important person has been suppressed, no one knows why, there are fanciful persons that have been added to fill the composition. Certain episodes are thus reduced in the representation presented; on the contrary, others are extended and complicated by arbitrary additions, by borrowings made from some different version of the same adventure. It is the same with the names inscribed beside the figures. Near those furnished to the artist by the poem aimed at by the image, one finds others that the painter has thrown in as if by chance or by his caprice.¹

Note 1. p. 732. p. 572.

This defect of an exact accord between the painting and the text to which it relates is easily explained. All this mythology which the painter undertakes to translate into images is not from the direct study of the persons that he knows. Perhaps at the great Panathenion he had been present at those recitals of the poems of Homer, which are said to have been instituted by Pisistratos; but the Homeric epics constituted but a small part of the vast entirety of fictions where he sought his themes. What he knew of the rest of these fictitious histories, he had learned only by oral tradition, by the tales that had amused his infancy, especially by those repeated among workmen under the sheds of Ceramicos, in commenting on the orders of the chief of the industry, given to the painters which he employed. This was like a diffuse mythology which did not comprise a rigorous precision. It created itself, as has been said, as a sort of Golden Legend for the use of the workshops. This popular version of the myth sometimes abridged the epic tale

from which it was derived. More frequently in passing from mouth to mouth it became changed with glosses more or less happy. On occasion it was adorned by humorous traits intended to provoke a smile. Thus being given the manner in which occurred the mythological education of the painter, he felt himself very much at ease to allow himself those embellishments of the myth and even this waggishness.²

Note 2. p. 782. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 8, 33. Pottier has developed this in regard to a Corinthian cup of the royal library of Brussels, a Corinthian cratera and the fragments of a cup of the Louvre attributable to the workshop of Brygos, which all represent the death of Troilos. (Vases peints grecs a sujets homeriques, Pls. 13-17; in monuments et memoires, Vol. XVI, p. 99-136). See how he summarizes the ideas that caused him to undertake this work: - "thus the golden legend from which came the imagery of the Greeks also floated in the undecided and vaporous state in the imagination of artists about the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries. Scraps of epic songs and sonorous verses, of heroic names sung in the memories; no person required himself to give these a rigorous accuracy. These names and legends were found in a plastic and picturesque form in previous works of art, like the coffer of Cypselos consecrated in the 7th century in the temple at Olympia, like the theme of the Apollo of Amyclea executed in the 8th century by the Ionian Bathycles and his pupils, and like the numerous monumental sculptures, reliefs and paintings now vanished. From these multiple sources of information, the industrial workers derived a repertory made for their use, rich and confused; they take the material for a beautiful decoration of the vases, peopled by combatants in noble attitudes, enriched by inscriptions that fill the grounds and recall the prominent episodes of the epic poetry. I believe that such was the mentality of the archaic painters, the first illustrators of Homer. Later in the 5th century, during the period of red figures, they perfected the method and the literary knowledge became precise; a cup of Euphronios or of Brygos no longer has the both ignorant and audacious artlessness of the ancient age; one is right in attributing to it a greater agreement than the texts (p. 102-103)."

The regime to which was subjected in Greece the ceramic industry brought into play, among the collaborators that concurred in making and finishing the vases, faculties that in the modern world and in the same industry, are only called into action in the chiefs of the undertaking. Indefatigable creator of forms and of types that vary with each vase that his fingers moulded on the wheel, the potter made a perpetual effort in invention; but it was especially the role of the painter which profoundly differed from that produced among us by other conditions of labor. Today a manufactory of porcelain or of faience retains some decorators shut up in their rooms, who execute at leisure the models that the house to which they are attached proposes to utilize in the course of the year. They alone are true artists among all the employees of that house. Below them is a multitude of workmen. By processes that require only a little attention and care, the latter place on the clay the designs approved by the director of the factory. Thus originated and are distributed through the world thousands of plates and cups, each of which is an exact repetition of the other pieces that form a part of the same service, as it is said. Entirely otherwise was the course of life in a workshop of the Ceramicos of Athens, such as that of Nicosthenes or of Hiero. Every artisan employed in the common work is an artist in the full sense of the word, since he imagined, invented his decoration, figures or ornaments, each time that he seized the brush, since whether little or great, very simple or covered by rich rich decoration of images, each vase that left his hands found itself taking the value of a unique piece, an original. This is why we are authorized to assign to the painters of vases so large a place in this history of Greek arts. All are certainly not an Euphronios, Douris or Brygos, but all, those of the second order like those of talent without peer, those who proudly signed their works as well as the anonymous men without number, several of whom were truly too modest, all those decorators of clay in the exercise of the profession that they had embraced, have in the most brilliant fashion made proof of intelligence, initiative and of a vivid feeling for the beautiful.

On the other hand, this freedom that seems thus freed from all restraint was exerted only within the limits of a domain

very rigorously defined. The curiosity of the artist did not extend to all nature, as does in the West that of our modern art, as also does in the extreme East that of Chinese and Japanese art. The Mycenaean painter had the instincts of a landscapist. He was interested in the plant and the animal, in the picturesque aspect of rocky coasts and of the depths of the sea, in the strangeness of their fauna and flora; he sought there the most characteristic elements of his decoration. Nothing like this in the painters of the classical age, in the painter of vases which only followed in this respect the examples given him by the painter of history. Both seem indifferent to the amplitude and the nobility of the forms of earth, to the richness and beauty of their covering of grass and flowers. They seem to have never suspected the interest that could be presented by what we call landscape. There are landscapes in Greek poetry. They never occupy much space and do not turn to their description. They are there rather sketched than painted and that carried as far as the picture; but in those sketches the touch has often a singular freshness and a very lively accent; it attests the sincerity of the impression received. It is entirely otherwise with the paintings of our vases. If one sees sometimes indicated there a movement of the ground, some rocks and trees, hills, trees and rocks only figure there as accessories, as elsewhere do the silhouettes of porticos and temples, just as in scenes in the interior of halls do the furniture scattered in the hall, the baskets and musical instruments suspended on the walls.

In all nature, these artists of Ceramics of Athens see only man. What they try to see and imitate is always the human being, the woman and man, regarded in the most beautiful types of the species, in the variations made by the age and profession, in the attitudes and movements to which they are bent by their customary occupations, or that are imposed on them in a given case by some abrupt necessity, and then finally in the last progress of design, in the gestures interpreting the soul, in the changing expressions, that the feelings and emotions impress on the lines of the face. I know no example of another art, of an adult and wise art, that has thus voluntarily limited its horizon. By this method taken for concentrating thus

its efforts, of devoting it entirely to a single object, this Attic art seems to be inferior, compared with arts that had greater ambitions; but what it loses in this way in comprehension, it regains in intensity and depth. No other school of painting has been so passionately enamored of the beauties of the living form, of the nude and of the draped form, nor has had a sense of it so vivid and so developed. This passion and this sense are doubtless found in modern painters; but this is rarely except in the designs of the masters. On the contrary, what characterizes the Greek school of painting is that in it, the qualities which we have indicated are found not only in the works of Euphronios and of Brygos, but are also more or less marked in those of a multitude of anonymous decorators, who acquit themselves of their task without a desire for glory, without other care than to gain their daily livelihood. It was not alone some exceptional masterpieces of this art, which caused the admiration of a draftsman like Ingres. When in the museums he stopped before the glass cases containing the Attic vases, everywhere he found reason to praise the purity of line, the correctness of a complex movement placed by a single stroke of the brush, the fidelity of an intelligent and sincere rendering.

To acquire this rapid and sure skill of the line, the painters of frescos and after them the ceramic painters of the 7th to the 5th centuries had not ceased to exercise themselves in reproducing by adhering closer to the model, this figure of the man and of the woman, which alone furnished the material of their compositions. Industrial painting applied itself constantly to renovate and renew by changes of details, these customary themes, the mythical subjects of familiar scenes. Anxious to succeed in avoiding wearying repetitions, in making the new from the old, these decorators modified from one vase to another the arrangements adopted to place the same data in the work. In the course of these perpetual alterations, they were led to play with the human figure in a way, to present it in all the poses that its structure permitted it to assume, to show it on all its sides and under these different aspects. To bend it forward or backward, to cause it to lean to one side, to fold and twist it in all directions, in accord with

the action in which they had placed it, they enjoyed facilities wanting to the sculptor. They did not have to count like him on the resistance of the material.¹ The point of their tool traced a light sketch on the clay, of an isolated figure or of a group, that already gave them an entirety and allowed them to judge of the effect. Their brush resumed this sketch, corrected and completed it. Thus from variation to variation, they eyed by finding for each theme that they attacked, the arrangement which gave the most beautiful lines, and that best led the spectator to seize at first sight the sense of the images. Offered to the eye on vases, which before being inclosed in the tombs, decorated the houses and particularly the dining halls, those images which amused and interested all those who had the sense of art.

Note 1. p. 783. This was very well seen by Leonardo da Vinci, to whom is due such profound reflections on the conditions produced in the different arts of form by the difference in the methods applied to them. He lauded the predominance of painting, and the predilection expressed by him resulted from the "little material and the small muscular efforts, that sufficed for that art in comparison with what statuary required." (E. Michel. *Nouvelles études sur l'histoire de l'art; Le dessin chez Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 117).

We have stated why statuary was certainly behind painting in the 6th century, and it seems that the latter had retained in its advance, although in perhaps less marked fashion, in the course of the following century until the time of the first works of Polycletes, of Myron and of Phidias. When for all that that period of the passage from archaism to free art, one verifies between a vase painting and a relief one of those analogies, that is difficult to explain as a simple accident, there is reason to believe that the sculptor inspired the work of the painter. Such is the case for a cup attributed to Douris. According to him that published it, in the oinisteria,² one of the festivals of the ephebes. "The ephebes who desired to have their hair cut, it is said, brought to Hercules a vase of great height filled with wine, the is caller oinesteria, and after making a libation, gave it to their comrades to drink." In the interior of the cup the brush has shown an ephebe who pours the wine into a canthara held by the priest (Fig. 417). Around him

on the border of the cup file 26 persons in pairs, led by a flute player and an aged man; they are joined in pairs of erastai and of eromenoi, as on the cup of Peithinos. These were young ephebes belonging to the same band of ephebes as the person represented in the middle of the vase. Fourteen names are inscribed near them. But there is some monotony and uniformity in this procession. I much prefer the exterior. It is divided into two symmetrical halves. At one side is the same flute player as on the other side; blowing with full lungs, he regulates the march of four pairs of persons arranged after the same principle (Fig. 418), but on the other side are four figures that follow an aged man armed with a great rod similar to those held in the hand of the masters of the gymnasium (Fig. 315). Then come three young men and an adult man in poses very similar but not alike; three of them lean on their staves; a fourth holds it before him in the attitude of walking (Fig. 419). That makes one think of the eastern frieze of the cella on the Parthenon. Those arrephores advance in pairs, their march being regulated by heralds, this group of magistrates who in chatting await the arrival of the ceremony. We do not wish to say that there is imitation; but it is the same manner of arranging a procession, the same mingling of symmetry and freedom.

Note 2. p. 786. Hartwig. Text, p. 591-592. He cites Pamphilos after Atheneus. XI, p. 545.

Elsewhere is another celebrated motive of the same frieze, the beautiful group of Zeus and Hera in the assembly of the gods, that we find sketched on a cup of Douris in the group formed by Nereus and his wife, who turns toward him while removing from her head her great veil (Fig. 307). It would be easy to multiply the examples of those accords which one does not know how to qualify.¹ The word borrow would be too strong. The current repertory of the painters was so rich and varied that sculptors found there in great number happy ideas by which they profited, that suggested to them motives and attitudes, especially modes of grouping. While reserving the adaptation of these data to the conditions of another art, sculptors must have taken the primary data from many compositions that did them most honor.

Note 1. p. 789. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 633, 848-850, 947, 950, 963, 974, 1084.

Further, in the course of this period, the painters must have had on their part much to learn from the school of sculpture. If the latter often borrowed from the painters the subjects and even the form of his reliefs, he had also given them useful lessons. At the origin the painter scarcely occupied himself with more than the external contour. This alone furnished the silhouette projected by the sun on the screen. For the detail of the forms that must find a place within this contour, he risked yielding to temptation to indicate it with the same negligence. When the sculptor had to place a nude figure on foot, he could sacrifice or juggle nothing. He was required to make the bony framework felt beneath the flesh, to accent the projection of the muscles. By the examples that he offered from the end of the 6th century, he incited the painter to model with more precision, at first by lines incised in the black of the image, then by lines of diluted color detached on the red clay.

Between the painting and sculpture, there was thus from the first hour a perpetual flow of action and reaction, a constant exchange of fruitful suggestions. For a long time, painting seemed to be first and to give more than it received, due to the freedom that it possessed. After the appearance of the masterpieces that statuary produced in the Athens of Pericles, the current seems to have been reversed. Athens was then the metropolis of industrial painting. The artisans of Ceramicos had under their eyes in the great entreties that had been created by the mastery of Phidias and of his rivals, models whose marvellous beauty could only incite them to imitation. Their style has gained thereby. They have rendered more easily the suppleness of the form, and at the same time they have given that form a grander character. What proves the influence that the works of contemporaries in statuary exercised on these decorators is, that on a certain number of vases which date from the end of the 5th and the first years of the 4th centuries, there have been indicated motives which appear to be borrowed from the sculptors of the Parthenon, from those of the pediment and frieze, as well as from the reliefs which decorate the shield of the grand Athena Parthenos. Elsewhere from the decoration of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and of the pedestal of

the chryselephantine statue, that other painters of the same time seem to have taken the subject of the arrangement of certain of their paintings. In many figures of Athena, Hermes or of victorious athletes which we meet with in the ceramic paintings of that epoch, it has been believed that there are recognized imitations of the statuary of the 5th century.¹

Note 1. p. 790. Pottier. Catalogue, p. 1084-1087.

Another influence that appears to be exerted on the painting with red figures from the beginning of the 5th century is that of the theatre. The methods of composition have not ceased to be modified since the time of the black figure. Thenceforth men frequently had the idea of placing in relations the front and back of an amphora, but what changed was the mode of realizing this relation. The ancient school proceeded by identity or antithesis of subjects. It freely opposed a warlike subject to a pacific subject, a joyous to a sad scene. We have seen it for the Francois vase. This system also lasted till the time of archaic red figures. The cratera of Euphronios is conceived on the same principles; a mortal combat of Hercules and Anteus, and a musical contest between ephebes (Figs 244, 245); but usually the new school adopts another system, that of composition by synthesis which is also termed cyclic. From the appearance of the red figure the effort is apparent to connect those subjects. Sometimes it is a single scene that unfolds on both sides of the cratera or the two sides of the cup (Figs. 269-270). These two subjects are sometimes borrowed from the same myth or the same familiar scene (Figs. 271, 272). This is what may be called a binary composition. The evolution will be complete when there is placed on the three parts of the cup, interior and exterior, three subjects belonging to the same species, (Figs. 257, 257 bis, 258, 259), or better still, the three acts of the same drama, like the exploits of Theseus (Pl. IX, Figs. 216, 217), and the death of Troilus (F. 432, 433), paintings executed in the workshop of Euphronios, or indeed the dispute over the arms of Achilles with Douris (Figs. 308, 309, 310), the abduction of Tithonios (Figs. 278, 279), and the adventures of Telephe by Hiero, the taking of Troy by Brygos, (Figs. 328, 329, 330). This is ternary or trilogic composition. There is in fact a general movement that swept away minds in

literature and all as in art is not also by a similar evolution that the dissociated and loose works of Choerilos and his contemporaries gradually led to connected trilogies of Eschylus?

This accord which we verify between the progress of dramatic art with that of plastic art also never goes to a copy of the stage and its accessories; no allusion to the costume, the decoration or the chorus. The influence of the theatre did not take at that epoch the character of a material translation, as later in the 4th century. This is the synthetic spirit of the drama, the pathetic sense that animates the painters. How was it otherwise? Why did the literary form that best addressed itself to the multitude, had no effect on the industrial workers, especially at the time when tragedy commenced to move the souls, when Phrynichos and Choerilos prepared the coming of Eschylus? The satyric drama itself did not appear to have remained without affecting certain works of Douris and of Brygos. Why not think of Pratinas and the great success of his Silenus buffoons, in presence of Hercules lying in the midst of Menads and dancing Silenes, or the episode of Hera and of Iris attacked by the frisky satyrs? (Figs. 322-323).¹

Note 1. p. 792. Pottier. Catalogue. p. 831-833.

It is not in all ways to the examples given by the theatre that must be attributed the desire that manifested itself then in the painter to condense the action in his paintings, and at the same time to strike the mind of the spectator by pathetic expressions. The only plays of the features employed by the representations in the theatre of Dionysos were those that the hand of the modeler had fixed in the tragic masks, but to make apparent to the eyes of the spectators the emotions which agitated his persons, the poet did not content himself with the expression fixed in the mask. He made the actor assume a certain attitude at times in the orchestra in which he played the piece, and when sustained during a time more or less long, concurred with the words of the poet in defining the character of the hero of the drama and the feelings experienced at a given moment. There were finds in costume, pose and gesture, whose sense and interest could not fail to strike the eye of the artist lost in the multitude. Thus was the effect of the scene arranged by Eschylus, which suggested to the painter of a great

cratera of the Louvre the idea of his beautiful figure of a veiled Achilles, sunk in rage and grief, who listens immovable and silent to the prayer of the envoys sent to him by the chiefs of the Greeks (Fig. 420).²

Note 2.p.792. *Laure. Hall G, 183.* This veiled Achilles is again found on several other vases, a list of which will be found accompanied by figures in an Atticle by Laurent. *L'Achille voilé dans les peintures de vases grecs* (Rev. arch. 1898. p. 153-188).

These suggestions from the theatre certainly concurred in arousing in the painter the desire to seek expression; but what allowed him to attain it is the knowledge of form which he had acquired, the sureness of drawing whose free boldness already almost reached perfection. The rapid progress of this drawing and its superior quality is explained by the method that the Greek painter had taken to concentrate on the study and reproduction of the human body and the effort of his passionate curiosity. Success crowned this effort. The artists agree that archaeologists to admire with a full heart the painted vases of Athens; but what enchants them in these vases is the beauty of the drawing. From the change of method in which ended the evolution of Greek ceramics, these decorators of clay are only draftsmen. If we have given them the title of painters in this entire study, this is by a sort of abuse of language. The brush is indeed the instrument which they used to create images, but they employed it as a modern artist uses the pencil. The vases with white coating and polychrome decoration in the work of the Greek ceramist were only an exception without great consequence, only the fact of isolated experiments. They had their moment of vogue; but even the success which they obtained in Ionia and Athens had no decisive effect on the progress and character of art. In this entirety, the latter always remained attached to the principle of monochromy or rather of the original dichromy.

When in a museum like that of the manufactory of Sevres, men pass from Italian majolicas, French faience, Chinese and Japanese porcelain to the glass case in which are arranged the painted vases of the Greeks, they experience a singular impression. The eye has just been dazzled and charmed by the warm and vivid

tints of these many colored vessels, and is saddened by the slightly gloomy aspect of the pottery of Corinth or of Athens. It is necessary to make an effort to restore his self and to react. It is only after a certain interval of reflection and of meditation, that one feels in a measure ready to appreciate fully the merits and originality of a ceramics, which resembles its rivals so little, to admire besides the richness and elegance of the ornamentation, the free execution of the figures, the wise accuracy of their contours, and that of the lighter lines that model the torso and its members, the correctness of the members, the boldness and refinement of the pure line.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 24. Two beautiful specimens of the archaic fabrication of Eretria are given by Nicole in his *Supplement au catalogue du musée nationale d'Athènes*, after watercolors of M. Gilleron, Jr. The form of one (No. 888] Plate VII) entirely recalls that of Melos, and the figures are also barbaric. On the neck are soldiers and on the body is a lion. The second is already more free in the curvature and more advanced for the figures. There is seen a quadriga on the neck; on the body is the combat of Hercules against the hydra of Lerne, and below is a file of animals. (No. 889, Pls. VII, IX).

p. 35. The elements of the decoration are very similar to those of Fig. 22 on a Beotian cothon published in the colors of the original by Nicole in his *Supplement*. Zone of passing animals in three groups. A Siren between two lions. The flesh of the face and the hair are in white retouches. The manes of the lions are spotted with white hair as well as the wings of the Siren. Two sirens facing each other. Two cocks facing and separated by interlaced serpents darting their split tongues. One serpent is striped by white lines. Rosettes on the field. Purple retouches on the animals and rosettes.

p. 42. In the *Supplement* edited by Nicole we find on a guttus the name of another Beotian potter:—Mnasalkes potese on the edge. (Pl. IV).

p. 67. Nicola (*Supplement*, Pl. XU) gives an interesting specimen of the style of Vourva. This is a cup with black figures and red retouches. In the interior at the centre a person is mounted on a lion that bounds to the right. On the exterior are lions facing each other with one paw raised, separated by a palmetum placed on a lotus bud. Two panthers facing each other. Between them is a winged horse or Pegasus.

p. 70. Fig. 73. *Jour. Hell. Studies*, p. 370-384, Pl. X-XII. M. A. Richter describes a protoattic vase which has the same subject (A new early Attic vase). It is a great amphora of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. It also represents the combat of Hercules and Nessos; but it is much less advanced and especially less well preserved. A sketch of it will be found in the archaeological chronicle of *Revue des Etudes Grecques*. 1913. p. 419.

- Beazley; master of the amphora of Berlin, No. 2160, 630, note 1; 634; the potter Euergetes, 707.
- Bellerephon; 226; on a vase of the Cabirion, 301.
- Beotia; art was not one for export, 28; vases, 29,-49; general characteristics, 512; addition to the fabrication, 795.
- Berchmans; *Esprit decoratif*, etc., 764.
- Berezan (island); 309.
- Boulanger; memoir on workshop of Nicosthenes, 256, note 1.
- Brauronians; return of, 774.
- Briseis; removal from Achilles, 482; in bowl of a cup, 568.
- Bronze worker; workshop of, 653-656.
- Brygos; potter; ten cups, 554; his epoch, 555-557; cup of Paris and Helen, 558-559; cup of Silenes attacking Hera and Iris, 560-565; scene of comos, 566-567; cup of Ilioupersis, 568-571; general judgment, 575-578; vases attributed to, 604-630; conjectures on his foreign origin, 619-620;.
- Burgon; lebes of, 57, note 3.
- Cabiria; one in Beotia, three at Lemnos and Samothrace, 295; worship rendered, 296.
- Cabirion; vases of, 53, 294-306.
- Cachrylion; potter, signed vases, 380; one by Euphronios, 381; commonplace decoration, 381-382; cup of abduction of Antiopeia by Theseus, 381-382.
- Calliades; potter; 530, 753.
- Callis; painter; 590.
- Camiros; vases in form of figurines, 745.
- Carder of wool; 657-660.
- Cassandra; at the feet of the Palladium, 627-628.
- Cavaliers' racing on shoulder of vase, 12, 14, 15; exercises, 446-453.
- Centaurs; combat with Lapithes, 121, 154; representation of, 796.
- Chalcis; industry and commerce, 3-4, 6; colonies in northwest, 4-5; pottery and alphabet, 6-9; vases, 9-15; influence on E Beotian painting, 49-50; epoch of Chalcidian ceramics, 313, 321; influence of Chalcidian potter on ceramics of Athens, 325-329.
- Charinos; potter; 749.
- Charitraios; potter; 199.

- Chelis; potter; signed a vase of mixed technics, 280, note 4; signed cups with red figures, 306; signed a cup with name of Memnon kalos, 387;.
- Cheval; "Horse"; winged, 65; type at Athens in 6 th century, 202; in 5 th century, 446-451.
- Chimera; 226.
- Chiron; centaur on vase of Ergotimos, 145; on vase of Gabisirion, 300; on vase of Pamphaios, 389.
- Chryseis; 477.
- Chryses; 477.
- Chrysippos; hero, 564-565.
- Cicognes; "Storks-" facing on Beotian vases, 32.
- Circe; on vase of Gabisirion, 299.
- Cleomeles; cup of, 646-647.
- Collignon; Catalogue, 675, note 1, 677, note 1; loutrophore, 677, note 1; lecythes, 737, note 1.
- Comos; 443, 457, 496-498, 566-567.
- Composition; binary, trilogic or ternary, 480, 538, 541, 568, 791.
- Coqs; "Cocks;" facing, 19, 20; on neck of amphora, 80.
- Corinth; influence on Chalcidian ceramics, 21; on Beotian ceramics, 38; on Athenian ceramics, 101-106; commerce with West, 310; date of vases, 311-318.
- Cottabos; game of, 394-397, 465.
- Coupes; "Cups;" Ionian of Siana, 217-218; of Cyrene, 219-220; Attic with black figures, 221-236; of Nicosthenes, 264-265; of Epictetos and his group, 358-374; how they contributed to progress, 374-376; axis of medallion, 377; until Euphronios, 414-417; with white ground, 709-744; forms, 719.
- Croesus; on funeral pile, 638-648.
- Cypras; vases in form of figurines, 745.
- Cyrene; specimens of painting on white ground from American excavations, 798.
- Damas; kalos, 626.
- Demeter; in Beotia, 43; at Eleusis, 486.
- Demosthenes; vases of his time denoted tombs of young unmarried persons, 669.
- Drawing; by cast shadows, 247-250.
- Diogenes; kalos, 656.
- Diomedes; accompanies Agamemnon, 482; duel with Eneas, 602.

Dionysos; surrounded by Silenes and Menads, 108, 276, 462, 494-495; on caratara of Ergotimos, 146-152; on amphora of Amasis, 182-183, 190; voyage at sea, 222; return to Olympus in vase of Altos, 470; present at attack of Silenes on Hera and Iris, 562. Dioscures; hunt of wild boar of Calydon, 156; appearance to mortals, 700-702.

Dipylon; vases of, 321-323.

Douris; painter; thirty vases, 523; lecythes signed in a special way, 524-525; probable era of, 526; contrast between first and last works, 527-528; cup with warlike duels, 531-533; Eos carrying the corpse of Memnon, 534; exploits of Theseus, 536-538; Nereids, 539; dispute over arms and return of these arms to Neoptolemus, 540-541; influence of theatre, 542; preparations for combat, 546-547; scenes in gymnasium, 549-550; in a school, 551-552; vases attributable to him, 598-603.

Ducati; work on Brygos, 554, note 1.

Ecole; "School;" interior, 551-553.

Egina; cup from, 76-79.

Eleusis; personified, 486.

Eneas; carries Anchises on shoulders, 248-249; 628; disputes with Ajax the corpse of Patroclus, 469; accompanies Paris to Sparta, 476; duel with Diomedes, 602.

Eos; carries Tithonios, 493; carries the corpse of Memnon with Douris, 534; with Pamphaios is present at the transfer of this corpse, 535; near Memnon when fighting against Achilles, 602.

Epictetos; painter; signed four mixed cups and 23 vases, 358; makers for whom he decorated vases with red figures, 358; cups predominate in his paintings, 359; taste for isolated figures, 360-361; more complex compositions, 363-365; always signed, 593.

Epidomos; kalos; on anonymous cups, 387.

Epilycos; painter; vase with mixed technics, 278; vase with red figures, 366-367; acclaimed as kalos on various vases, 366, note 2; 581; on a balsam vase in form of figurine, 749-750.

Eretria; history, 8-24; its vases, 25-26; cups with white ground discovered in Eretria, 719; additions to the manufacture, 795.

Ergoteles; potter; son of Nearchos, 202, 337.

Ergotimos; potter; 137, 140.

Erichthonios; miraculous birth, 646, 757.

Eros; "Cupid;" cupids flying in the field on Hiero's vases, 474,

- 490; carries the lyre, 690-691; flying around Aphrodite on cup with white ground, 715-717.
- Ethiopid; of Arctinos and Miletus, 605-606.
- Eucheiros; potter; 224.
- Euergides; potter; 797.
- Euphronios; represented in the rubbish of the fire on Acropolis, 343; began to produce about 510 and painted till 470, 391; signed vases with epoiesen, 391; signed one on which appears the name of Cachrylion, 392; three vases that he signed as painter, 393-409; weakness of his drapery, 410; seven vases signed as potter, 411-434; progress of, 434-439; chatera of Arezzo, 440-444; general judgment, 444, 446; vases attributed to him, 444, note 1; negligence in signature, 593-594; cup with white ground not painted by him, 706-707; cup signed as potter, 770-772; cup attributed to him, 772-776; paints the thing seen, 776.
- Eurysthenes; terror of, 211, 368, 425-426.
- Eustathes; on loutrophores, 670.
- Euthymides; painter; defiance of Euphronios, 391, 455; five vases signed by him, 455-459; vases attributable to him, 593-597; conjecture of Furtwängler on his subject, 597.
- Euxitneos; potter; 468.
- Exekias; his vase of Geryon, 12, 194; signed as potter and painter, 178; vases, 191-197; cups, 221, 224.
- Fairbanks; Athenian lekythoi, 685, note 3.
- Festin; "Feast;" scenes, 396, 519, 521, 530, 583, 619-620.
- Figures; little and winged, representing the soul of the dead, 668.
- Figures, red; appeared on vases about 530 or 520.
- Figurines; vases in form of, 749-752; Attic equivalent of Corinthian alabaster and aryballa, 753-754; what they became in the 4th century, 756-757; rhyton with figure, 757-759.
- Francois vase; 138.
- Frickenhaus; Lenaeanvasen, 496, note 1.
- Fröhner; Deux peintures, etc., 691, note 2; collection Tyskiewicz, 725, note 3.
- Furtwängler; Griech.Vasen. etc., 139, note 2; variations on question of Euphronios, 428, note 1, 429, note 1; comparison made between figures of Douris and pediments of Egina, 544, note 1; character of his work, 643; found at Egina the fragments of a cup with white bottom, 706, note 1.

Gabrici; his work, 318, note 1.

Gamedes; Beotian potter, 41, 44.

Ganymede; 472, 555.

Geranos; 158.

Geryon; on Chalcidian vases, 10-12; on vases of Exekias, 13; on vases of Euphronios, 399-403.

Claucon; son of Leagros, 344-345, 346, 705, 709, 710.

Gorgons; 40, 46, 72, 118, 162.

Gräf, B.; his work, 88, 193, note, 342, note 2.

Guerrier; "Warrior;" departure for battle, 196.

Gymnasium; scene in, 466, 549-550; 629-630.

Hartwig; Meisterschalen, 433, Note 5.; list of cups with white glaze, 706, note 1; explanation of these experiments lasting only for a time, 733, note 1; Kephale Aithiops, 759, note 1; proposed interpretation of a cup, 774, note 1.

Hauser; continued Griech.Vasen., etc., 643, Note 1, 706, note 1.

Hector; takes leave of Andromache, 22; arms himself, 446; combat with Ajax, 521, 533; corpse under the couch of Achilles, 616; dragged by Achilles under walls of Troy, 687.

Hecuba; assists arming Hector, 446; receives Helen, brought to Troy by Paris, 558.

Hegisiboulos; potter; 589, 726.

Hegias, painter; 590.

Helbig, W.; Athenian hippeis, 202, note 4.

Helen; flight from Sparta, 474-477; meeting with Menelaus, 475, 477-478; flight on Spinelli vase, 480; received at Troy by Hecuba and Priam, 558-559.

Hephaistos; return to Olympus, 151-153; honored by potters, 165; bringing to Thetis the arms of Achilles, 653; crowns Pandora, 717.

Hera; on cratera of Ergotimos, 146, 151, 153; competed before Paris, 489-491; attacked by Silenes, 560-561; on cup with white ground, 714-716.

Hermes; accompanying Parseus, 118; on cratera of Ergotimos, 147-153; at dispute of the tripod, 186; brings Alcestes from Hades, 211; aids Hercules to surprise Alcyonea, 466; in assembly of the gods, 472-509; presents the goddesses to Paris, 489-491; repulses the Silenes that attack Hera, 562; associated with a Silenus and a deer, 630-632.

Hermogenes; potter; 226

Hermanax; painter; 590.

Herodotus; changes at Athens after fall of tyrants, 349; tale of safety of Croesus, 641; tells that Euphorion had received the Dioscures, 700.

Hesiod; supplied theme for a painting, 717.

Hestia; replaced Hera on vase of Oltos, 470-472; on cup of Sosias, 508.

Hetaires; on psykter of Euphronios, 394-397; in conversation, 517; supporting the head of a drinker, 565-566; taking part in a komos, 566-567; names of, 702.

Hiero; potter; 31 vases with his name, 473, note 1; did he employ Macron to paint all his vases, 475, note 1; abduction of Eriseis and embassy to Achilles, 482-483; his art of composing, 489; vase of judgment of Paris, 489-491; vase of abduction of Tithonios, 492-493; vase of Menads at the altar of Dionysos, 494-495; komos and amorous scenes, 497-498; does not represent the nude, 499-500; worked a long time, 501-503.

Hilinos; potter; 367.

Hippalectyon; 263.

Hipparchos; name on vases with red figures, 344.

Hippodamas; kalos with Douris, 600.

Hischylos; potter; 358, 367.

Horai; on cratera of Ergotimos, 146; on a cup of Sosias, 508.

Houssay; reserarches on axis of medallion in cups, 377, note 1.

Hypsis; painter; 490.

Iloupersis; vase of Erygos, 568-574; Vivenzio vase, 626-629.

Incendie; "Burning;" of Acropolis, traces left, 329-343.

Inscriptions; frequency on ceramics of Athens, 104.

Iolaos; cuts off heads of hydria of Lerne, 688.

Ionai; influence on Beotian ceramics, 34-37; on proattic vases, 86-88; on more advanced Attic ceramics, 160; how early are most ancient Ionian vases, 308-310; taste for light coating, 684.

Iphicles; takes lesson in music, 585.

Iphitos, slain by Hercules, 710.

Iris; attacked by Silenes, 560-562.

Kaineus; Lapiithe, 154.

Kalos; earliest inscription, 196; arguments for presence of s

some names of kaloi on vases of different artists, 346.

Kerkyon; 422-423; 536-537.

Klein; works, 390, note 1; opposed to Furtwängler, 458, note 1.

Kleophades; potter; 224, note 2; signed a cup decorated by Douris; perhaps was son of Amasis, 590.

Klitias; painter; 137, 140; subject of decoration of his cratera, 164-166; style, 169-172.

Kypselos; coffer, influence on painting, 313-318.

Laches; kalos, 629.

Latera; insulted by Tityos, 612-613.

Leagros; probable date, 344-346; on cups of Cachrylion, 387; name on 45 vases of Cachrylion to Euthymides, 388; on vases of Euphronios, 397, 407-408; his name serves to date vases with figurines, 747.

Lecythes; of Locres, 683-684, 704; white funerary, 705-706; 736-742; many of these lecythes in national museum of Athens, 799.

Leonardo da Vinci; why he prefers painting to sculpture, 786, note 1.

Leroux, G; catalogue of vases of Madrid, 208, note 1.

Lievre; "Hare;" hunting, 65, 703-704; tamed hare, 492, 497, 550-551.

Linos; 585-587, 602.

Lion; decorative on amphora of Piraeus, 80; on shield of Eneas, 474, 480.

Lotus; at Chalcis, 16-17.

Loutrophores; twofold sense of word; served to bathe the corpse, and after 5th century, are placed on tombs of young persons dying unmarried, 666-670; with black figures, 671-673; derived from vases of Dipylon, 674-675; vases with red figures continue that tradition, 676-679. marriage festivals represented, 669, 681; loutrophore replaced by lecythe, 681.

Lyandros; kalos, 716.

Lydos; painter; 198.

Macron; painter; vase signed by him, 473-479.

Mala; on cratera of Ergotimos, 147.

Marriage; wedding festival, 729-730.

Medicine; clinic on aryballa, 660-663.

Memnon (hero); Eos carries his corpse with Douris, 534; same

- subject with Pamphaios, 534-536; duel of Achilles and Memnon, 602.
- Memnon kalos; cup with name, 368; 34 cups in his name, 368; on cups of Cachrylion and of Chelis, 387; name read on cups of mixed technics, 387.
- Menads; on amphora of Amasis, 183; on amphora of Phintias, 462; on vases of Oltos, 472; surrounding altar of Bacchus, 497; on anonymous vase, 623, 625; Menad in interior of cup with white ground, 712-713.
- Menelaos; meeting with Helen, 389, 475; duel with Paris, 532.
- Menon; potter; 390, 589.
- Methapos of Athens; reestablishes mysteries of Cabires, 305.
- Metope; "Panel;" decoration in, 174-213; date, 335-337.
- Meybaum; der Becher des Pistoxenos, etc., 584, note 2.
- Milani; accident to Francois vase, 139, note 1; published cup with white ground of museum of Florence, 715, note 2.
- Miletus; manufacture of, 308-311.
- Miltiades; name on vase with red figures, 344.
- Minotaur; slain by Theseus, 538, 799.
- Mnasalkes, 795.
- Moirai; on cratera of Ergotimos, 147.
- Morin, Jean; his book, 234, note 1.
- Murray; designs for Greek vases, 372, note 1; rhyton in form of sphynx, 757, note 2.
- Muses; on cratera of Ergotimos, 146; on cup with white ground, 720-721.
- Mycalessos; excavations at, 33, note 1; 37, note 7; 53.
- Nearchos; potter and painter; 199, 202, 327.
- Negroes; alabasters with figures clothed in oriental costume, 691-692; probable use of these, 692-694; head on mouth of balsam vase, 751-752; lecythe with palm tree found at Ampurias, 799.
- Neoptolemos; receives from Ulysses the arms of Achilles, 541; brandishes body of Astyanax to strike Priam, 569; prepares to strike Priam, 626.
- Nephele; 726.
- Nereus; on Beotian vase, 39; on cratera of Ergotimos, 47.
- Nereids; bringing his arms to Achilles, 123; announcing to Nereus the abduction of Thetis, 539.

Nessos; amphora of, 70-74; vase with same subject, 795.

Nicosthenes; white figure on neck of amphora; perhaps inventor of red figure, 254-257; his workshop, 257-258; amphoras of, 258-259; cratera if, 260-268; Oenochoe of, 260-261, 264; cup of, 261-264; pyxis of, 262; perhaps a motive of Ionian origin, 262; his white coating, 267; cup with mixed technics, 272-273, 358.

Nudity; female, 647-650.

Nymphs; on cratera of Ergotimos, 152.

Odyssey; much fewer paintings from than from Iliad, 636-637.

Oeil; "Eye;" treatment at different epochs, 355, 766.

Oakopneles; cup of, 90, note 1; good reproduction of vase, 795.

Oinisteria; 786.

Olbia; 309.

Olive; cultivation in Attica, 124-126.

Oltos; painter; 468-473.

Onesimos; signer of vase of potter Euphronios, 411, 446-453; vases proposed to attribute to him, 454, note 1.

Or; "Gold;" applied on pottery; traces left, 557, 610, 614, 705, 731.

Oreille; "Ear;" treatment at different epochs, 355-356.

Orpheus; on a cup of Acropolis, 709.

Pamphaios; signs vase of mixed technics, 280, note 1; passes to red figure and signs two amphoras, 389-390; vase with Eos and Memnon, 534-535; signs a cup on white ground, 705; cup in museum of Madrid, 797.

Pan; most ancient image of, 643-644.

Panaenos; 606-607.

Panaetios; kalos celebrated by Euphronios and by Douris, 425, 526.

Panatheniac; amphoras, 127-134, 293. questions concerning them, 706.

Pandora; 799.

Pantner; bounded on bosom of Menad, 462; held with head down by Menad, 713;

Paris; takes leave of Helen, 22-23; judgment of, 489-491; 559; abducts Helen, 476, 635.

Pariades; potter; alabaster of, 698-699.

Patroclus; body carried off by Ajax, 166; fight around body.

- 469; wound dressed by Achilles, 504-508; his eidolon accompanying Achilles who drags body of Hector, 687.
- Pausanias; 606, 701.
- Peithinos; painter; cup representing Thetis and Peleus with a amorous scenes on exterior, 514-518.
- Peitho; accompanies Helen at her departure, 476.
- Peleus; with Atalanta, 15-16; marriage of Thetis and Peleus on cratera of Ergotimos, 144-148; hunting wild boar of Calydon, 156; the Peleid, 162-163; on a vase of the Cabirion, 300; Peleus and Thetis, 514.
- Penthesilea; duel with Achilles, 604-610.
- Peplos; introduction in costumes of figures on vases of Dorian peplos, 615.
- Perrot, C; De l'étude et de l'usage, etc., 781, note 1.
- Perseus; on Boeotian vase, 46; on amphora of Nessos, 72; Attic-Corinthian vase, 118.
- Persephone; 486.
- Phalerum; vases of, 67-68.
- Pheidippos; painter; 367.
- Phenix; sending arms to Achilles, 186; embassy of Greeks to Achilles, 483.
- Phintias; painter; vase of Hercules and Alcycaneus, 283; 7 vases signed by him; figure of young man buying a vase, 461; comparison to Euphronios, 466-468.
- Phitadas; Boeotian potter; 42.
- Phrygians; costume, 180, 181.
- Pinax; 311; at Rhodes, 419-426; 432, 442; 482-484.
- Piraeus; amphora from, 79-84; commerce in wine, 291-292.
- Pisistratos; his influence on Athens, 135, 348, 390.
- Pistoxenos; potter; especially seeks character, 584-588.
- Plassart; Archers d'Athènes, 797.
- Pliny; evidence on thinness of cups, 719, note 2.
- Pollak; adds to work of Hiero, 473, note 1.
- Polyeidos; 723.
- Polygnotos; painter; 590.
- Polyxena; sacrificed on tomb of Achilles, 110-112; at the fountain, 121, 150; carried off by Acaas, 569.
- Poseidon; on cratera of Ergotimos, 146; on amphora of Amasis, 182.
- Potter; goods displayed, 464.

- Pottier, E; catalogue of vases of Louvre; Greek vases of Susa, 665, note 1; judgment of Euthymides, 459, note 1; hypothesis on Onesimos, 454, note 1, 2; 555, note 1; book on Douris, 530, note 1; Dessin par ombres portee, 247, note 1; 767, note 1; pourquoi Thesee fut ami d'Hercule, 98, note 1; Une clinique grecque, 660, note 2; list of vases with white ground, 705, note 1; Etude sur les lecythes blancs, 736, note 1; sur quelques vases grecs, 781, note 2.
- Pozzi, Dr; explains meaning of painting, 662.
- Priam; at arming of Hector, 456; characterized by baldness, 456, 477; at arrival of Helen in Troy, 558; struck by Neoptolemos, 569; goes to claim body of Hector from Achilles, 614-618; holds Astyanax on his knees and awaits the fatal stroke, 628.
- Procles; potter; 747-748.
- Procrustes; 422, 536.
- Protoattic vases; 54-92, 321-330.
- Psiax; painter; 367.
- Pygmies; combat with cranes on cratera of Ergotimos, 159-161; on vase of Catirion, 300-301.
- Python; potter; employs Epictetos, 358; also employs Douris, 526.
- Reichhold; Griechische Vasenmaleri, 138, note 2; fidelity of drawings, 643.
- Reinach, T; Pour mieux connaitre Sapho, 640, note 2.
- Rhyton; character, 746; flanked by sphynx and decorated by painting, 751-759.
- Robert, K; Article on Brygos, 554, note 1; criticizes theory of Frickenhaus on Leneans, 797-798.
- Ross, L.; fixes date of appearance of red figure, 339-340.
- Sanglier; "Wild boar;" on cover of cratera, 191; of Calydon, 155-156; of Erymanthea, 211-212; of Krommyon, 537, 582.
- Sappho; on a hydria, 240; on a cratera, 624-626, 640.
- Satyr; grape harvest, 190; on cup of Epictetos, 358; on vase of Oltos, 472.
- Scythians; archers, 360; in swaddling clothes, 597; in costume, 709.
- Sechan, L.; Memoir on Leda et le cygne, 757, note 1.
- Serpent; funerary symbol, 168; crowns a Menad, 713.
- Signes; "Marks;" why we have chosen vases to represent the art

of an epoch, 205-208; 575-580, 591-592.

Silenes; in Beotia, 44; on cratera of Ergotimos, 152; on amphora of Phintias, 462; associated with Hermes, 631-632; head modeled in relief, 754.

Siren; Siren eimi on vase, 122.

Skiron; 422-423; 536-537.

Skyphos; in form of woman's head, 748, 653.

Skythes; painter; 581; tablets with black figures, but vases with red figures, 582-583.

Smicros; painter; scene of feast, preparations, 318-321; stamnos representing combat of Ajax and Hector, 321-322; foot of cup signed by him in Persian rubbish, 323.

Sokles; cup of, 797.

Solon; rules for culture of olive, 124; influence on Athens, 135; causes Athens to mix in Greek affairs, 333-335, 348.

Sondsos; potter; 224, note 3.

Sophilos; painter; 198.

Sosias; potter; cup, 503-513; expression, 506-507; correct drawing of eye, 507-508; that true subject on exterior of cup is the assembly of the gods, 509-510; work of two different hands in medallion and outside of cup, 511-512; little plate signed by him, 513.

Sotades; potter; 591; originality, 722; cups, 723-729; name on a great vase brought from Susa, 757, note 2.

Stadion; most ancient representation of Greek stadion, 109-110.

Stern, E.; his book, 309, note 2.

Stuart Jones; restoration of coffer of Cyrselos, 314, note 3.

Studnicza; on determination of era when appeared the red figure, 341, note 1; 345, note 2.

Style; severe, meaning of word, 353-355.

Taleides; potter; 198.

Talthybios; 482.

Tanagra; tripod from, 45-47.

Taureau; "Bull;" of Marathon, 424; before Artemis, 696.

Teiselas of Athens; established at Tanagra, 53.

Telamon; sustains with Hercules the attack of army of Amazons on cratera of Arezzo, 440; on cratera of Douris, 542-545.

Theatre; influence on painting of vases, 540-542; 561-562, 588, note 1, 761-763, 792-793.

Theognis; verses transcribed on cup, 602.

Theozotos; potter; vase of, 29, note 1, 233-234.

Theseus; on cratera of Ergotimos, 154, 157-158; abducting Antiopeia, 382-383; seeking ring of Amphitrite, 41-42; exploits on exterior of cup, 422-423; combat with Kerkyon for Euthymides, 458; exploits for Douris, 436-438; for Skythes, 582; carries off Korona, 595-596.

Thetis; brings arms to Achilles, 122, 187-201; marriage of, 144-148; contest with Paleus, 514, 539; receiving from Hephaistos the arms of Achilles, 659.

Theophos; 158, 587.

Thucydides; Athens the school of Greece, 349.

Timagoras; potter; 198-200.

Tithonos carried off by Eos, 493.

Tityos; giant, 612.613.

Tleson; potter; son of Nearchos, 202; his cups, 223, 226-227, 337-338.

Tombs; how Greeks of classical age represented those of the heroic age, 687, 724.

Triptolemos; 485-486, 714.

Troilos; surprised by Achilles; on Boeotian vases, 38-39; on cratera of Ergotimos, 149-150; on cup of Euphronios, 433.

Troy; vases in form of figurines, 745.

Tychios; potter; 199.

Typheides; potter; signed vase of mixed techniques, 280, note 1.

Tyrrhenians; so-called amphoras, 94-96.

Ulysses; on cratera of Ergotimos, 754; on vase of Cahirion, 298-299; delegated as envoy to Achilles, 483; disputing arms of Achilles with Ajax, 540, 685; restoring them to Neoptolemos, 541; and the Sirens, 657-658.

Valois; views on architecture represented on vases, 796.

Van Branteghem; collection, 435, note 1, 492; indicates Athens as source of cups with white ground, 719, note 1; cups of Sotades, 722-728.

Vernis; "Glaze;" black glaze inside crateras and amphoras, 176-177.

Vine; culture in Attica, 125-126.

Vomiting in the komos, 565, 567, 772.

Vourva; vases from, 67-69; additions to the manufacture of, 795.

- Theognis; verses transcribed on cup, 602.
- Theozotos; potter; vase of, 29, note 1, 233-234.
- Theseus, on craters of Ergotimos, 154, 157-158; abducting Antiopeia, 382-383, seeking ring of Amphitrite, 41-42; exploits on exterior of cup, 422-423; combat with Eerkyon for Euthymides, 458; exploits for Demris, 436-438; for Skythes, 502; carries off Korona, 525-526.
- Thetis, brings arms to Achilles, 122, 197-201; marriage of, 144-148; contest with Palens, 514, 539; receiving from Hephaistos the arms of Achilles, 659.
- Theophos, 158, 587.
- Thucydides; Athens the school of Greece, 349.
- Timagoras, potter; 198-200.
- Tithonos carried off by Eos, 493.
- Tityos; giant, 612-613.
- Tleson; potter; son of Nearchos, 202; his cups, 223, 226-227, 337-338.
- Toads; how Greeks of classical age represented those of the heroic age, 687, 724.
- Triptolemos; 485-486, 714.
- Troilos; surprised by Achilles; on Boiotian vases, 38-39; on craters of Ergotimos, 149-150; on cup of Euphronios, 433.
- Troy; vases in form of figurines, 745.
- Tychios; potter; 199.
- Typhoides; potter; signed vase of mixed temnics, 280, note 1.
- Tyrrhenians; so-called amphoras, 94-96.
- Ulysses; on craters of Ergotimos, 754; on vase of Gahirion, 298-299; delegated as envoy to Achilles, 483; disputing arms of Achilles with Ajax, 540, 685; restoring them to Neoptolemos, 541; and the Sirens, 657-658.
- Valois; views on architecture represented on vases, 796.
- Van Branteghem; collection, 435, note 1, 492; indicates Athens as source of cups with white ground, 719, note 1; cups of Sotades, 722-723.
- Varnia; "Glaze;" black glaze inside craters and amphoras, 170-177.
- Vase; culture in Attica, 125-126.
- Voziting in the koros, 565, 567, 772.
- Wourva; vases from, 67-69; additions to the manufacture of, 77.

Willamowitz-Möllendorf; Sappho und Simonides, 640, note 2.

Winnefeld; Alabastra mit Negardarstellungen, 691, note 2.

Wolters; adjunct to B. Gräf for classifying rubbish from burning of the Acropolis, 342; published 34 loutrophores, 667, notes 1, 3.

Yeux; "Eyes;" prophylactic eyes on cups, 220-221.

Zeus; on chatera of Ergotimos, 146; on a vase of Oltes, 469-472; abducting a woman on a cup attributed to Douris, 600-601.

TABLE OF PLATES WITHOUT TEXT AND VICNETTES.

I. Plates without text.	Page
I. Beotian cup- - - - -	30
II. Vase of Attic-Corinthian style - - - - -	116
III. Amphora of Exekias - - - - -	192
IV. Alabaster- - - - -	242
V. Amphora of Nicosthenes - - - - -	258
VI. Amphora. Style of Andokides. Black figures- - -	276
VII. Amphora. Style of Andokides. Red figures - - -	278
VIII. Cratera of Euphronios. Hercules and Anteus - -	406
IX. Cup of Euphronios. Theseus before Amphitrite -	418.
X. The same. Engraving by Sulpis- - - - -	420
XI. Cup with name of Cleomelos. By Douris. Eos carrying Corpse of Memnon - - - - -	582, 646
XII. Cup signed by Brygos. Taking of Troy - - - - -	568
XIII. The same.- - - - -	570
XIV. Murder of Penthesilea by Achilles- - - - -	604
XV. Alceus and Sappho- - - - -	624
XVI. Anonymous cup. Taking of Troy- - - - -	626
XVII. Silenus and Hermes - - - - -	627
XVIII. Loutrophore in museum of Athens- - - - -	678
XIX. Lecythe of Pasiades- - - - -	696
XX. Aphrodite on swan- - - - -	710
XXI. Hera - - - - -	714
XXII. Muse - - - - -	720
XXIII. Skyphos in form of woman's head- - - - -	749
XXIV. Alabaster in form of doubled head- - - - -	750
XXV. Sphinx attached to Rhyton- - - - -	756.

II. Vignettes.

- Flower on title page. Pottier. Douris - - - Fig. 25.
- Chap. 22. Ornament of vase. Furtwängler-Reichhold. Pl. 51.
- Chap. 23. Bottom of a cup. Böhlau. Beotische Vasen. Fig. 4.
- Chap. 24. Handle of proattic vase. Published by G. Smith.
- Chap. 25. Handle of vase of Nicosthenes.
- Chap. 26. Decorative band. Athen. Mitt. Vol. VI, Pl. 3.
- Chap. 27. Workman fashioning a helmet. Van Branteg. Pl. 4.
- Chap. 28. Mother before child. Bowl of cup. Do. No. 163.
- Chap. 29. Decoration of head in form of figurine.
- Chap. 30. Cup of Cachrylion. Perchmans. Fig. 11.

List of Figures inserted in Text.

1. Hydria of Chalcis. General view- - - - -	9
2. Amphora of Hercules and Geryon. General view - - - -	10
3. The same. Combat - - - - -	11
4. The same. Cavalier on shoulder - - - - -	12
5. Combat of Hercules and Geryon. Vase of Exekias - - -	13
6. Back of Amphora of Hercules and Geryon - - - - -	14
7. Hydria. Contest of Atalanta and Peleus - - - - -	16
8. Cratera of Wurzburg. Body- - - - -	19
9. The same. Cover- - - - -	19
10. Amphora of Wurzburg- - - - -	20
11. Zeus blasting a winged giant - - - - -	22
12. Farewell of warriors - - - - -	23
13. Amphora of Eretria - - - - -	25
14. The same - - - - -	25
15. The same - - - - -	26
16. Beotian amphora- - - - -	29
17. Beotian cup- - - - -	30
18. Beotian amphora- - - - -	31
19. Stamnos- - - - -	32
20. Beotian cup with eagle - - - - -	33
21. Beotian amphora- - - - -	34
22. Beotian cap on three feet- - - - -	35
23. Beotian canthara. One side - - - - -	36
24. The same. Other side- - - - -	36
25. Beotian vase of ovoid form - - - - -	38
26. Beotian lecythe, upper band- - - - -	39
27. Beotian kyathos- - - - -	40
28. Beotian lecythe- - - - -	41
29. Facsimile of signature of Phithadas- - - - -	42
30. Beotian amphora- - - - -	42
31. Beotian casket, one side - - - - -	43
32. The same, second side- - - - -	43
33. Oenochoe of Gamedes- - - - -	44
34. Beotian plate- - - - -	45
35. Beotian plate- - - - -	46
36. Beotian plate- - - - -	46
37. Beotian cup- - - - -	47
38. Tripod of Tanagra- - - - -	48
39. The same. Detail of coffer - - - - -	48

40. Tripod of Tanagra. Detail of leg - - - - -	49
41. The same. - - - - -	49
42. The same. Decoration of coffer - - - - -	50
43. The same - - - - -	50
45. Beotian oenochoe - - - - -	51
46. Beotian amphora- - - - -	52
47. Fragment of cratera- - - - -	58
48. Hydria of Analatos. General view - - - - -	59
49. The same. Painting on neck - - - - -	61
50. The same. Band on body - - - - -	62
51. Cratera. General view -- - - - -	62
52. Amphora from Hymettus - - - - -	63
53. Oenochoe from Phalerum- - - - -	64
54. The same - - - - -	65
55. Oenochoe from Phalerum, fragment - - - - -	66
56. Oenochoe from Phalerum, general view- - - - -	66
57. The same. Figures on neck- - - - -	67
58. Goblet from Phalerum, general view - - - - -	67
59. The same. Decoration of body - - - - -	67
60. Cup from Vourva- - - - -	68
61. Amphora from Vourva- - - - -	69
62. Fragment found on Acropolis- - - - -	70
63. Amphora of Nettos, general view- - - - -	71
64. The same. Painting on neck - - - - -	72
65. The same. Painting on body - - - - -	73
66. Cup from Egina. General restored view- - - - -	75
67. The same. Part of upper band - - - - -	76
68. The same.- - - - -	77
69. The same. Fragment of two lower bands- - - - -	79
70. Amphora from Piraeus. General view - - - - -	81
71. The same. Decoration of body - - - - -	83
72. Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	101
73. Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	102
74. Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	103
75. Amphora. Birth of Athena --- - - - -	105
76. The same.- - - - -	107
77. Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	108
78. The same. Painting on shoulder, departure of Amphias- - - - -	109
79. The same Chariot race- - - - -	111

80. Amphora. Sacrifice of Polyxena - - - - -	113
81. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	115
82. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	116
83. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	117
84. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	118
85. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	119
86. Dinos of Louvre- - - - -	120
87. Polyxena at the fountain - - - - -	121
88. Combat of Centaurs and Lapithes- - - - -	121
89. Hydria of Louvre - - - - -	122
90. Hydria of Louvre - - - - -	123
91. Amphora of Louvre. Market scene- - - - -	127
92. Amphoras, Panathenaic- - - - -	129
93. Cratera of Ergotimos.-View restored- - - - -	141.
94. The same. Detail of embroidery on mantles- - - - -	143
95. The same. Dionysos and the Hours - - - - -	145
96. The same. Zeus, Hera and the Muses - - - - -	148
97. The same. Hermes, Maia and the Moires- - - - -	149
98. The same. Troilos fleeing before Achilles- - - - -	151
99. The same. Dionysos, Hephaistos and two Silenes - - -	152
100. The same. Assembly of the gods - - - - -	153
101. The same. Chariot race - - - - -	154
102. The same. Combat of Centaurs and Lapithes- - - - -	155
103. The same. Hunt of wild boar of Calydon - - - - -	156
104. The same. Theseus and Ariana at Delos- - - - -	157
105. The same. The Ship - - - - -	159
106. The same. Combat of cranes and Pygmies - - - - -	160
107. The same. The saem.- - - - -	161
108. The same. Gorgon on volute of handle - - - - -	165
109. The saem. Decoration on flat of handle - - - - -	167
110. The same. Ares - - - - -	173
111. Amphora of Anasis. General view- - - - -	179
112. The same. Decoration on shoulder - - - - -	180
113. The same. The same - - - - -	181
114. The same. Decoration on one side - - - - -	182
115. The same. Decoration on the other side - - - - -	183
116. The same. One side - - - - -	184
117. The same. Restoration of dispute of tripod - - - - -	184
118. The same. The other side - - - - -	187

119.	Olpe of Amasis. General view - - - - -	-188
120.	The same. Hercules - - - - -	-189
121.	Amphora attributed to Amasis - - - - -	-190
122.	The same - - - - -	-191
123.	Amphora of Exekias. General view - - - - -	-193
124.	The same. Combat of Hercules and Ceryon- - - - -	-194
125.	The same. Departure of the warrior - - - - -	-195
126.	The same. Cover- - - - -	-196
127.	Cup of Exekias. Louvre - - - - -	-197
128.	Amphora of museum of Boulogne. Suicide of Ajax - - -	-199
129.	Hydria of Timagoras. Louvre- - - - -	-200
130.	Fragment of canthara of Nearchos - - - - -	-201
131.	Fragment of cratera- - - - -	-204
132.	Fragment of cratera- - - - -	-205
133.	Dispute of Apollo and Hercules - - - - -	-207
134.	Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	-208
135.	The same. Alcestes returning from Hades- - - - -	-209
136.	Amphora. Hercules and wild boar of Erymanthea- - -	-210
137.	The same. Terror of Eurystheus - - - - -	-211
138.	Cup of Exekias. General view - - - - -	-222
139.	The same. Interior of bowl - - - - -	-223
140.	The same - - - - -	-225
141.	Cup found at Camiros. Louvre - - - - -	-225
142.	Cup of the Louvre- - - - -	-226
143.	Cup signed by Tleson - - - - -	-226
144.	Cup signed by Hermogenes. Louvre - - - - -	-227
145.	Cup found at Camiros. Interior of bowl - - - - -	-228
146.	Cup. Exterior- - - - -	-229
147.	Cup found at Camiros. Louvre - - - - -	-230
148.	Cup. Exterior- - - - -	-231
149.	Cup. Bowl. Hunter and birds- - - - -	-232
150.	Kyathos of Theozotos. General view- - - - -	-233
151.	The same. Development of decoration- - - - -	-234
152.	Cup of Anacles - - - - -	-235
153.	Sappho on hydria - - - - -	-241
154.	Painting on lecythe in red and white - - - - -	-242
155.	The same - - - - -	-243
156.	Painting, white on black ground- - - - -	-245
157.	Cup of Nicosthenes. Louvre - - - - -	-243
158.	The same. Eneas and Anchises - - - - -	-249

159. Amphora of Nicosthenes. Satyr on handle- - - - -	256
160. Cratera of Nicosthenes. General view - - - - -	257
161. Oenochoe of Nicosthenes. General view- - - - -	258
162. Oenochoe of Nicosthenes. Two spouts- - - - -	259
163. Cup of Nicosthenes. Louvre. General view - - - - -	259
164. Cup of Nicosthenes with strainer - - - - -	260
165. Pyxis of Nicosthenes - - - - -	261
166. Amphora of Nicosthenes - - - - -	262
167. Cup of Nicosthenes - - - - -	262
168. Cratera of Nicosthenes. Decoration - - - - -	263
169. Hippalectryon- - - - -	263
170. Cup of Nicosthenes. Louvre. Exterior - - - - -	264
171. Cup of Nicosthenes. Interior - - - - -	265
172. The same - - - - -	266
173. Oenochoe of Nicosthenes. Louvre- - - - -	267
174. Cratera of Nicosthenes - - - - -	268
175. The same - - - - -	268
176. Amphora attributed to Nicosthenes- - - - -	269
177. Cup of Nicosthenes. Louvre - - - - -	273
178. The same. Exterior - - - - -	273
179. The same. The same - - - - -	273
180. Cup of Andokides - - - - -	275
181. Amphora attributed to Andokides. Louvre- - - - -	277
182. Cup with name of Epilycos. Exterior- - - - -	278
183. The same. Interior - - - - -	279
184. Amphora. Hercules slaying Alkyoneus- - - - -	282
185. Fragment of decoration of hydria. Louvre - - - - -	284
186. Fragment of decoration of amphora. Louvre- - - - -	285
187. Hydria of Louvre - - - - -	286
188. Amphora with circular zones- - - - -	287
189. Amphora of Louvre- - - - -	288
190. The same. The other side - - - - -	289
191. Hydria with paintings. Louvre- - - - -	291
192. Amphora, Panathenaic - - - - -	293
193. Neck of amphora- - - - -	295
194. Vase from Cabirion - - - - -	297
195. Vase from Cabirion - - - - -	298
196. Vase from Cabirion. Fragment - - - - -	299
197. Vase from Cabirion. Ulysses and Circe- - - - -	301

198. The same. Chiron, Paleus and Achilles- - - - -	303
199. Scratches on vase of Dipylon - - - - -	323
200. Jar from Dipylon bearing scratches - - - - -	323
201. Table of evolution of drawing of the eye - - - - -	354
202. Table of evolution of drawing of the ear - - - - -	355
203. Amphora in style of Euthymides - - - - -	357
204. Cup of Epictetos - - - - -	360
205. Cup of Epictetos. Interior. Louvre - - - - -	361
206. Cup of Epictetos. Exterior - - - - -	362
207. Cup of Epictetos. Exterior. Louvre - - - - -	362
208. Cup of Epictetos. Interior - - - - -	363
209. The same - - - - -	364
210. Cup of Epictetos. Exterior.-Murder of-Bacchis- - - - -	365
211. Cup of Chelis of Louvre. Interior- - - - -	366
212. The saem. Exterior - - - - -	366
213. Cup of Epilycos. Interior- - - - -	367
214. Cup of Pheidippos. Interior- - - - -	368
215. Cup with name of Memnon. General view. Louvre- - - - -	369
216. The same. Interior - - - - -	369
217. The same. Exterior. Terror of Eurysthenes- - - - -	370
218. The same. Chariot of Ulysses - - - - -	371
219. Interior of a cup- - - - -	372
220. Interior of a cup- - - - -	373
221. Interior of a cup- - - - -	374
222. Interior of a cup- - - - -	374
223. Exterior of a cup. Madrid- - - - -	375
224. Position of cup on table of painter- - - - -	377
225. Cup of Cachrylion. Interior- - - - -	382
226. The same. Exterior - - - - -	382
227. The same. The same - - - - -	383
228. The same. Interior - - - - -	383
229. The same. One side. Theseus abducts Antiopeia- - - - -	384
230. The same. Interior - - - - -	385
231. Cup with name of Epidromos - - - - -	386
232. Cup with name of Leagros. Interior - - - - -	387
233. Amphora of Pamphaios. Louvre - - - - -	388
234. The same. The other side - - - - -	389
235. The same. Louvre - - - - -	390
236. Psycter of Euphronios. General view- - - - -	393

237. Cup of Euphronios. General view- - - - -	395
238. Cratera of Euphronios. Louvre. General view- - - - -	395
239. Psycter of Euphronios. Decoration of body- - - - -	396
240. The same. Facsimile of inscription - - - - -	397
241. Cup of Euphronios. Interior- - - - -	399
242. The same. Exterior. Combat with Geryon - - - - -	400
243. The same. Exterior. Herd of Geryon - - - - -	401
244. Cratera of Euphronios. Louvre. Hercules and Anteus -	405
245. The same. Other side. Flute player - - - - -	409
246. Cup of Euphronios. Louvre. Exploits of Theseus - - -	422
247. The same. Exterior. Exploits of Theseus- - - - -	425
248. The same. Interior - - - - -	425
249. Cup of Euphronios. Exterior. Terror of Eurystheus- -	426
250. The same. Exterior. Departure of warrior - - - - -	427
251. Cup of Euphronios. Head of Achilles- - - - -	433
252. Relief on Ludovice throne- - - - -	437
253. Cratera of Arezzo. General view- - - - -	440
254. The same. Lower band. Combat of Hercules and Amaz- s -	441
255. The same. Upper band. Komos- - - - -	443
256. Cup signed by Euphronios and -imos. Exterior - - - -	447
257. The same. The same.- - - - -	449
258. Cup of Louvre. Interior- - - - -	452
259. The same. Exterior - - - - -	453.
260. Amphora of Euthymides. Arming a warrior- - - - -	456
261. The same. Second side. Komos - - - - -	457
262. The same. Arming a warrior - - - - -	459
263. Cup of Phintias. Exterior. Hercules and Alkyoneus- -	461
264. Amphora of Phintias. Dionysos with satyrs and Menads	463
265. Phintias. Interior of cup. Display of a potter - - -	464
266. Hydria of Phintias. Decoration of body - - - - -	467
267. Cup of Oltos. General view - - - - -	469
268. Cup of Oltos. Interior - - - - -	469
269. The same. Exterior. Assembly of the gods - - - - -	470
270. The same. Dionysos introduced in Olympus - - - - -	471
271. Signature of Hiero - - - - -	473
272. Skyphos of Hiero. Flight of Helen- - - - -	474
273. The same. Meeting of Menelaos and Helen- - - - -	475
274. The same. Abduction of Eriseis - - - - -	484
275. The same. Embassy to Achilles- - - - -	485
276. The same. Departure of Triptolemus - - - - -	487

277. Cup of Hiero. Judgment of Paris- - - - -	490
278. The same. Eos carrying off Tithonios - - - - -	492
279. The same. Exterior. Relatives present at same- - - -	493
280. The same. Exterior. Bacchus and Menads - - - - -	495
281. The same. Exterior. Komos- - - - -	497
282. The same. The same - - - - -	498
283. The same. Interior - - - - -	495
284. Cup of Sosias. Interior. Achilles dressing Patroclus	505
285. The same. Exterior. Assembly of the gods - - - - -	509
286. Plate signed by Sosias - - - - -	513
287. Cup of Peithinos. Interior Thetis and Peleus - - - -	515
288. The same. Painting on exterior - - - - -	517
289. Panther's skin with Peithinos- - - - -	518
290. The same with Sosias - - - - -	518
291. Stamnos of Smicros. Banquet scene- - - - -	519
292. The same. Preparation for banquet- - - - -	521
293. Lecythe of Douris- - - - -	525
294. The same - - - - -	527
295. Cup of Douris. Interior- - - - -	528
296. The same. Exterior. Drunken satyrs - - - - -	529
297. The same. The same - - - - -	529
298. The same. Interior - - - - -	530
299. Douris. Forms of his most ancient cups - - - - -	531
300. Douris. Forms of his more recent cups- - - - -	531
301. Cup of Douris. Exterior. Duel of Menelaos and Paris	532
302. The same. Duel of Ajax and Hector- - - - -	533
303. Cup of Pamphaios. Transporting body of Memnon- - - -	535
304. Cup of Douris. Exterior. Exploits of Theseus - - - -	537
305. The same. The same - - - - -	537
306. The same. Interior. Theseus and Minotaur - - - - -	538
307. The same. Exterior. Fleeing Nereids- - - - -	539
308. The same. Dispute over arms of Achilles- - - - -	540
309. The same. Voting of Greek chiefs - - - - -	540
310. The same. Interior. Ulysses restoring arms of Achille	541
311. Cantharis of Douris. General view- - - - -	543
312. Cantharis. Exterior. Combat of Hercules and Amazons	544
313. Cantharis of Douris. Combat of Telamon and Amazons -	545
314. Cup of Douris. Exterior. Arming the warriors - - - -	547
315. The same. Young men in gymnasium - - - - -	549

316. Cup of Douris. Interior. Ephebe and hare - - - - -	550
317. The same. Exterior. Interior of a school - - - - -	551
318. The same. Interior. Abduction of Ganymede by Eros- -	553
319. Cup of Brygos. Exterior. Priam, Hecuba and Helen - -	559
320. The same. Interior. Apollo and Artemis - - - - -	560
321. The same. Fragment of exterior - - - - -	561
322. The same. Hera attacked by Silenes - - - - -	563
323. The same. Iris attacked by Silenes - - - - -	563
324. The same. Interior. Chrysippos and Zeuxo - - - - -	564
325. The same. Interior. After-supper - - - - -	565
326. The same. Exterior. Komos- - - - -	566
327. The same. The same.- - - - -	567
328. The same. Interior. Eriseis- - - - -	569
329. The same. Louvre. Exterior. Last night of Troy - - -	570
330. The same. Exterior. The same - - - - -	571
331. Cup signed by Skythes- - - - -	580
332. The same. Exterior - - - - -	581
333. Cup signed by Epilycos. Fragment - - - - -	583
334. Kyathos of Pistoxenos. General view - - - - -	585
335. The same. Einos and Iphicles. - - - - -	586
336. The same. Hercules and a slave woman - - - - -	587
337. Cup of Hegesiboilos. old man and dog - - - - -	589
338. Theseus carrying off Corona- - - - -	595
339. Dog foreshortened- - - - -	597
340. Cup attributed to Douris. Artemis racing - - - - -	598
341. The same. Ephebe - - - - -	599
342. The same. Zeus abducting woman - - - - -	601
343. Cup attributed to Brygos. Apollo and Tityos- - - - -	613
344. The same. Priam with Achilles- - - - -	617
345. Cup. A feast - - - - -	619
346. Amphora. General view- - - - -	622
347. A Menad- - - - -	623
348. The same - - - - -	625
349. Vase Vivenzio. The Iloupersis - - - - -	627
350. Two wrestlers- - - - -	629
351. Dispute of the tripod. Apollo- - - - -	632
352. The same. Hercules - - - - -	633
353. Interior of a cup. Paris leading Helen away- - - - -	635
354. Stamnos. Ulysses and Sirens- - - - -	637

355. Amphora. Croesus on funeral pyre - - - - -	639
356. Cup. Young woman at her toilet - - - - -	647
357. The same. The same - - - - -	649
358. The same. Young woman completing her toilet- - - - -	651
359. Hephaistos and Thetis- - - - -	653
360. Cup. Exterior. Workshop of bronze worker - - - - -	655
361. The same. The same - - - - -	657
362. Cup. Interior. Women preparing wool- - - - -	659
363. Aryballa. Creek clinic - - - - -	661
364. Cup. Interior. Ass loaded by a pack- - - - -	665
365. Loutrophore. General view- - - - -	667
366. The same. Preparations for wedding - - - - -	669
367. Woman carrying a loutrophore - - - - -	669
368. Loutrophore placed on tomb - - - - -	671
369. Pyxis. Women washing body of Acteon- - - - -	673
370. Mourning women on neck of loutrophore- - - - -	677
371. Loutrophore. Exhibition of the body- - - - -	679
372. Lecythe. Dispute over arms of Achilles - - - - -	686
373. The same. Development of the image - - - - -	687
374. The same. Achilles dragging corpse of Hector - - - - -	688
375. The same. Hercules and hydra of Lerne- - - - -	689
376. The same. Development of the image - - - - -	690
377. The same. Eros bearing a lyre- - - - -	690
378. The same. Hercules and lion of Nemea - - - - -	691
379. Alabaster with palm tree - - - - -	692
380. The same. The same - - - - -	693
381. Alabaster with player of lyre- - - - -	695
382. The same. Scene of libation- - - - -	696
383. Lecythe. Artemis making a libation - - - - -	697
384. The same. The Dioscures- - - - -	701
385. The same. Hunting the hare - - - - -	703
386. Cup signed by Euphronios- - - - -	707
387. Fragment of cup found on Acropolis - - - - -	707
388. Exterior of cup. Torso of barbarian- - - - -	709
389. Cup. Interior. Hercules slaying Iphitos - - - - -	711
390. Cup. Interior. Menad - - - - -	713
391. Cup. Interior. Amphitrite- - - - -	717
392. Cup of Sotades - - - - -	719
393. Cup with flat bottom - - - - -	719

394. Cup. Interior. Louvre. Player of lyre- - - - -	721
395. Cup of Sotades. Interior - - - - -	723
396. The same. Resurrection of Glaucos- - - - -	725
397. Cup attributed to Sotades. Hunter fighting a dragon-	727
398. Cup of Hegesiboulos. Player with top - - - - -	728
399. Cup of Sotades. Gatherer of apples - - - - -	729
400. Pyxis. Marriage festival - - - - -	730
401. The same. The same - - - - -	731
402. Cratera. Infancy of Dionysos - - - - -	733
403. Vase of Procles- - - - -	747
404. The same. Bottom - - - - -	749
405. Vase for perfumes. Doubled woman's head- - - - -	750
406. Woman's head in front view - - - - -	751
407. Skyphos. Head of Hercules- - - - -	753
408. Rhyton. Painted decoration. Birth of Erichthonios- -	758
409. Painted decoration of sphynx. Figs. of satyr and wom.	759
410. The same. The same - - - - -	759
411. Cup of Euphronios. Interior. Flute player and dancer	769
412. Exterior of cup. End of feast- - - - -	770
413. The same. The same - - - - -	771
414. Interior of cup. Sick drunkard - - - - -	773
415. Exterior of cup. Fight between drunkards - - - - -	774
416. The same. The same - - - - -	775
417. Interior of cup. Ephebe and priest - - - - -	787
418. Exterior of cup. Procession of ephebes - - - - -	788
419. The same. The same - - - - -	789
420. Achilles veiled- - - - -	793
421. Dionysos borne on his chariot- - - - -	798

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

BOOK XIII. ARCHAIC GREECE.

Chap. XXII. Vases of Chalcis and Eretria- - - - -	1-27
Chap. XXIII. Beotian vases- - - - -	28-54
Chap. XXIV. Attic ceramics. Proattic vases- - - - -	55-92
Chap. XXV. Attic vases with black figures - - - - -	93-306
1. Vases with circular bands; Attic-Corinthian vase	93-137
2. Cratera of Ergotimos and of Klitias- - - - -	137-173
3. Vases with panel decoration. Amasis. Exekias- - -	174-213
4. Cups - - - - -	213-236
5. Passage to red figure. Transition vases- - - -	236-255
6. Workshop of Nicosthenes- - - - -	255-270
7. Survival of black figure - - - - -	270-306
Chap. XXVI. Chronology of vases- - - - -	307-352
Chap. XXVII. Attic vases with red figures in severe style - - - - -	353-682
1. Introduction - - - - -	353-357
2. Cups. Epictetos and his group- - - - -	358-378
3. Cachrylion and Euphronios- - - - -	378-446
4. Onesimos and Euthymides- - - - -	446-459
5. Phintias - - - - -	460-468
6. Oltos- - - - -	468-473
7. Hiero and Macron - - - - -	473-503
8. Sosias and Peithinos - - - - -	503-518
9. Smicros- - - - -	518-523
10. Douris - - - - -	523-554
11. Brygos - - - - -	554-576
12. Potters and painters of the second order - - -	576-590
13. Anonymous vases- - - - -	591-666
14. Loutrophores - - - - -	666-682
Chap. XXVIII. Attic vases with white grounds - - - -	683-744
1. Lecythes with solid white glaze- - - - -	683-705
2. Cups with white grounds- - - - -	705-744
Chap. XXIX. Vases in form of figurines - - - - -	745-760
Chap. XXX. Methods of work of ceramic painters, and relation of their art to that of grand painting	761-794
Additions and corrections- - - - -	795-799
Alphabetical index - - - - -	801-808
Plates without text and vignettes- - - - -	809-810
Figures inserted in text - - - - -	811-816